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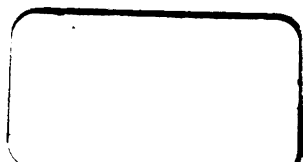
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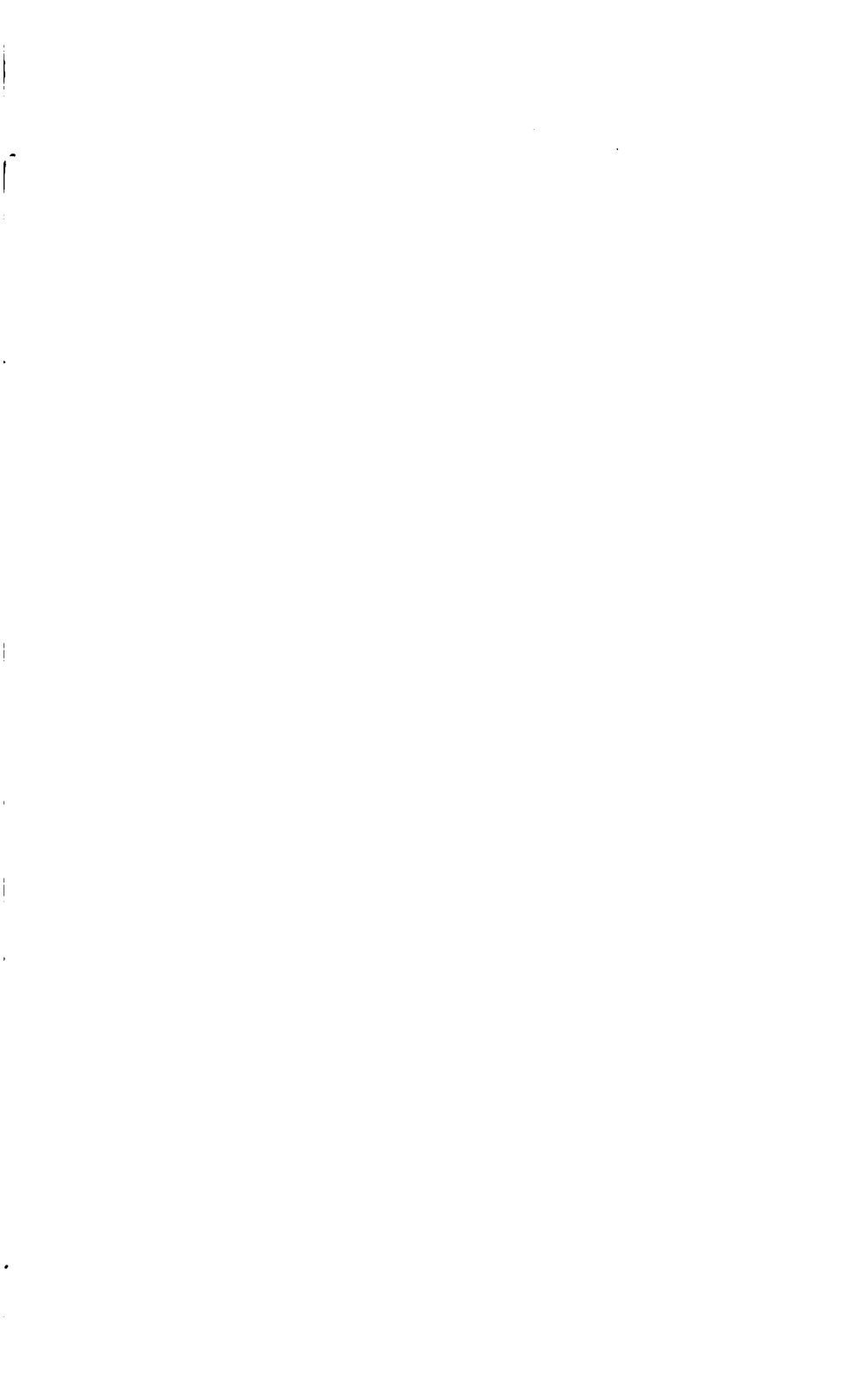
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HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

KILKENNY

(COUNTY AND CITY),

WITH

ILLUSTRATIONS AND APPENDIX,

COMPILED FROM

INQUISITIONS, DEEDS, WILLS, FUNERAL

ENTRIES, FAMILY RECORDS,

AND OTHER

HISTORICAL AND AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HEALY, P.P.

VOL. I.



Gift of
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of
New York
(I)

KILKENNY:

PRINTED BY P. M. EGAN,
HIGH-STREET.

1893.

DEDICATION.

IN MEMORY OF THE LATE
VERY. REV. PHILIP CANON MOORE, P.P., JOHNSTOWN,
THE ZEALOUS PRIEST, THE PROFOUND HISTORIAN
AND ANTIQUARY,
ONE OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDERS
OF THE
KILKENNY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
NOW THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS, IRELAND—
AND IN CONSIDERATION OF MANY YEARS OF PERSONAL
ACQUAINTANCE AND UNBROKEN FRIENDSHIP,
THE PRESENT VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED BY
THE AUTHOR.

P R E F A C E .

To illustrate local History and Antiquities is a most useful and interesting literary occupation. Some years ago, whilst reading over the "Inquisitions of Leinster," the thought occurred to me that much might be done for Kilkenny by publishing, with notes, those that had reference to our County and City, as it would rescue from oblivion the names of families and places whose memories and worthy traditions have almost perished with time. Ancient feudal castles and battle grounds, ruined monasteries and decayed churches, holy wells, raths, cromlechs, cairns, &c., are plentifully enough scattered over the length and width of the county, but their history is largely neglected, and the story of their former significance is mostly lost. It is no small task for a clergyman, face to face with the sterner duties of his profession, to undertake the elucidation of such subjects even in an humble way. Yet I hope the day will ever be when many such can command time for the profound study of their country's history, and like another Keating, or an O'Clery, "find it quite consistent with the strict observance and efficient discharge of the onerous duties of a Catholic priest."

Circumstanced as I have been in this way I do not therefore dread unfriendly criticism on the incompleteness and defects of my work either from ordinary readers, or from those of profounder knowledge and more scholarly attainments. Never-so-little light on the "unknown" and "forgotten" will always be acceptable to inquiring men of literary dispositions, be their rank what it may, in mental culture and ability. My concern is not therefore for my own reputation as judged by my attempt. The consciousness of my incapacity to do merited justice to my subject is my only regret. If, however, after considerable self-denial and prolonged literary toil, I have succeeded in opening the way to deeper and more extensive knowledge of the history of my native county, of its ancient families and local antiquities, I am more than content. Others will appear whose interest once aroused shall expand

my work in the future, and "glories" now obscured shall own the light of inquiring minds. It will not be expected that the accounts of the several families appearing in this volume shall be very exhaustive. Such a display is unsuited to the pages of any ordinary book. A history like this is also of necessity local in its character. To generalize it as far as possible for the public has been one of my chief aims. How far I have succeeded in doing so by the relation of events of national importance the reader himself must judge. Probably it is the "Book of Survey and Distribution," which forms the Appendix to my work, that will arouse the keenest interest. How it will affect the present agrarian movement of our country is no affair of mine. I am only responsible for the faithfulness of the copy. The robbery it reveals is the deed of other men.

W. HEALY, P.P.

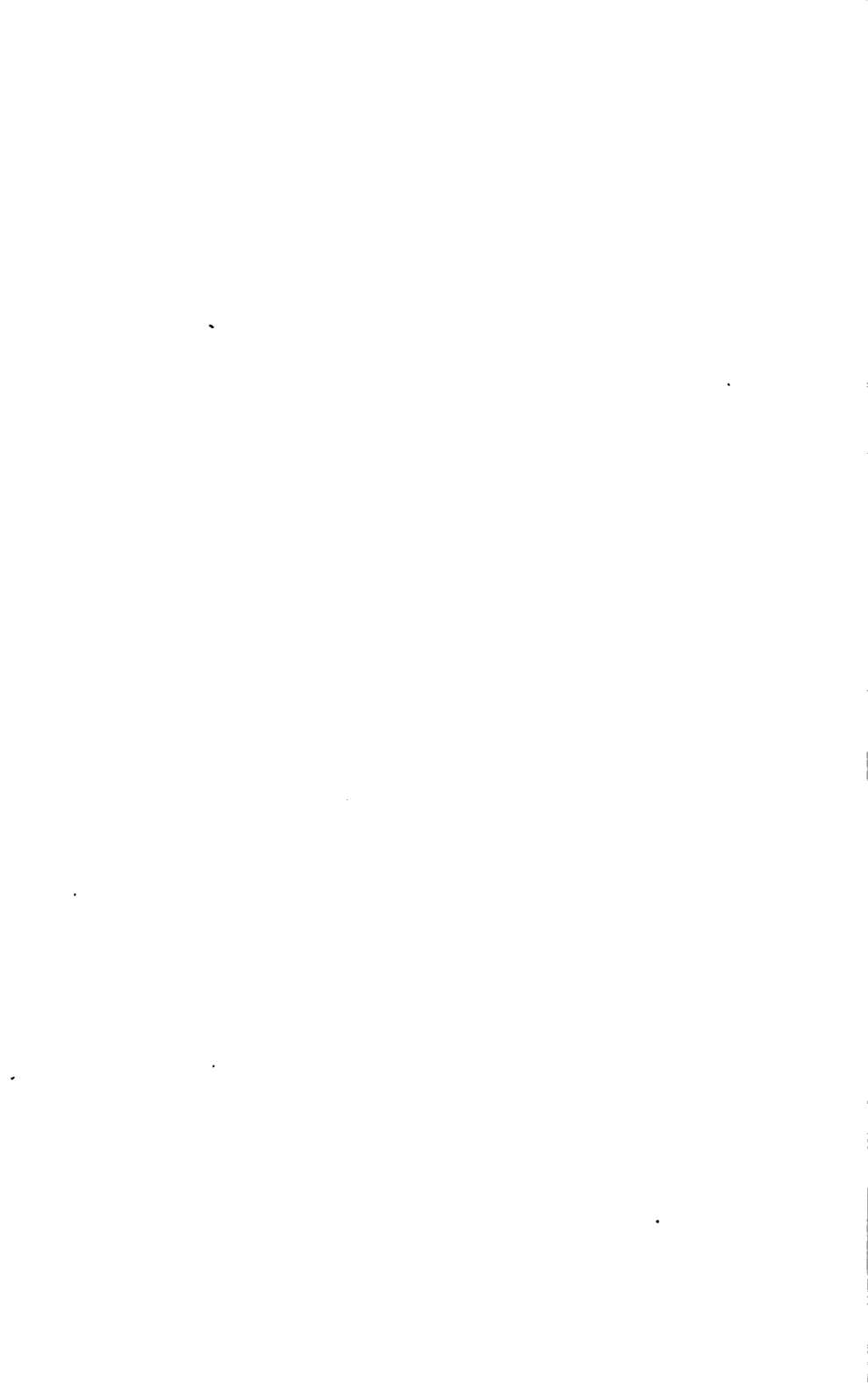
Johnstown, County Kilkenny,
April 5th, 1893.



LIST OF CORRECTIONS.

- Page 30, line 26, for "stipped" read "stripped."
Page 30, line 35, for "ranking" read "rankling."
Page 60, line 6, for "new" read "now."
Page 88, line 30, for "ingum" read "Jugum."
Page 88, line 35, for "Agen" read "Ager."
Page 175, line 16, for "of" read "or."
Page 227, line 11, for "egus" read "ejus."
Page 228, line 4, for "conquerer" read "conqueror."
Page 270, line, line 37, for "additonal" read "additional."
Page 313, lines 21, 24, 25, 41, for "Land" read "Laud."
Page 321, line 13, for "peace-meal" read "piece-meal."
Page 329, line 18, for "Land" read "Laud."
Page 330, line 16, for "Land" read "Laud."

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HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

KILKENNY

(COUNTY AND CITY).

GENERAL PRELIMINARIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF IRELAND.—ANTEDILUVIAN INVASION.

ALL Annalists and Historians agree that Ireland was peopled at a very early period—almost incredibly so if we adhere to the chronology of “The Four Masters,” who make the age of the world at the birth of Christ 5,200. According to the Four Masters the world was 2,242 years old at the time of the Deluge, and in this they adopt the computation of the Septuagint as given by St. Jerome. According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise and other ancient sources the world, from the Creation to the Flood, reckoned no more than 1656 years, or 586 years less than that assigned it by the Septuagint. This was the computation of the Hebrews, and was the one which the calculation of the ancient Irish poets most favoured.

The verses of two such are thus rendered into English by Keating:—

I.

“From the sixth day when Adam first was form’d,
Till God’s avenging wrath drown’d all the world,
Was fifty-six and sixteen hundred years.”

II.

“Six hundred and a thousand years,
And fifty-six it plain appears,
Was all the time the world had stood,
From the Creation to the Flood.”

There are various opinions regarding the first mortal who landed in Ireland, a matter not to be wondered at since the same difficulty

presents itself when treating of the origin of almost all nations. Those who claim for our island an antediluvian settlement say that Seth, the son of Adam, and three fair daughters of Cain were the first who beheld *Bamba*, a name which the kingdom received after the eldest of these sisters.

After them mention is made of *Ladhra* (from whom the name Ardladhan, near the Maigue, in Limerick), with two others and fifty women, who occupied the island for forty years, when a plague came which left it uninhabited for two hundred years. Others tell us that three fishermen from the coast of Spain arrived here a year before the flood according to an ancient poet:—

“Twelve months before the flood, the noble Iale
Of *Bamba* first was seen by *Cupa*, *Laighne*,
And *Luasa*, men of strength and fit for war.

Finally there is mention made of *Cæsar*, daughter of *Beatha* or *Bith* (supposed niece of Noah) as being the first who came to Ireland before the deluge; but all those antediluvian occupations are as childish romances as poetical fiction and absurd legend could make them.

“It is pity,” says Ware, “that the first authors of these stories of our antediluvian adventurers had not followed the example of *Manetho*, and found out some inscriptions or pillars like those of *Hermes* to give a little countenance to their tales: for otherwise what memorials could we possibly have of passages before the deluge? For my part I dare not adventure to advance anything with an air of confidence concerning Ireland in those early ages.”

CHAPTER II.

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND AFTER THE DELUGE.

BEFORE any real conquest of Ireland was attempted after the deluge mention is made of one *Adna*, son of *Beatha*, who visited her shores about one hundred and forty years after the flood. He returned to his master with a bunch of grass which he presented to *Nion*, son of *Pelus*, as proof that he had discovered the soil of the country. “This adventure,” says Keating, “is mentioned by an old poet whose verses are to be found in the *Psalter of Cashel*.”

“Adna, Biotha’s son, we all agree,
After the flood first try’d the *Irish* sea,
He prov’d the soil, and from the earth he tore,
A handful of rich grass, then left the shore,
And so returned.”

Antiquarians do not consider that *Adna*’s visit was a real occupation of the island as his stay was short, and no mention is made of his

having left any inhabitants after him. Hence we must look to some subsequent period for the permanent colonization of the country. Ware admits that in Holy Writ alone can be found anything worthy of credit regarding the origin of nations.

In Genesis (c. 10) Moses recounts in order the children of Noah and their genealogies by whom the world was peopled after the flood. By the sons and grandsons of Japheth "were divided the islands of the Gentiles in their lands, everyone according to his tongue, and their families in their nations" (Gen. c. 10 v. 5). By the islands of the *Gentiles* commentators understand all Europe and the maritime districts of Asia. Accordingly, to account for the occupation of Ireland by the posterity of Japheth, Ware quotes Josephus as placing them in those countries of Asia extending from Mount *Taurus* and *Amanus*, near the Mediterranean, to the River *Tanais*, north of the *Euxine*, and from thence to Cadiz. "If this be so," adds Ware, "it is easy to conceive how the rest of Europe came in time to be peopled. For as the nature of man is inquisitive after novelties, and as the numbers of our ancestors increased, both necessity and curiosity forced them to go in quest of other countries at once to gratify their ambition and find room for their people. From Cadiz we can easily see them dispersing themselves over Spain; from thence in process of time pushing one another forward into Germany, Gaul, &c., and across the narrow Frith from *Calais* to the coast of Kent; from thence by degrees northward into that part of Britain since called Scotland, and south and southwest to Wales; from each of which countries Ireland is visible, and might easily receive colonies in their wicker *Corraghs* and other contrivances of these early ages; and this I take to be the most rational way of accounting for the first planting of Ireland; as it is most natural to suppose that islands were first planted from countries that border nearest to them; which is the reason given by *Tacitus* why the Gauls first peopled Britain." (Ware *Antiq.*, p. 13, Dublin, 1745).

If the first inhabitants of Ireland were really drawn from *Britain*, as seems natural enough, then the question would arise from which of the sons of Japheth were they descended. Ware, on the authority of Josephus, argues that if our descent be through the Britains, we must have come from Gomer, Japheth's eldest son, and founder of the *Gomarians*, indiscriminately called *Galatians* and *Gallo-Græcians*, and corruptly, *Cimbrians* or *Cimry*. "The Britains," says Cambden, "call themselves *Cimri* and *Kumeri*; a British woman is called *Kumeræes*, and the British language *Kumeræg*, from whence in Latin the names *Cambri* and *Cambria* have been coined." It is probable that a colony from Britain did visit Ireland and take possession of it at a very remote age, and that this was the fundamental reason why Ireland was originally reckoned one of the British isles.

"It seems also no way improbable," says Ware, "that the *Brigantes* of Ireland (whose situation Ptolomey places near the river Brigus, Barrow) were descended from the *Brigantes* of Britain."—(Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 16, Dub., 1745). Tacitus mentions that there is but small

difference between the soil and climate of the two countries, and the religious worship and dispositions of their peoples, *i.e.*, the ancient Irish and the people of Britain. It is said, however, that many of the customs of the ancient Irish in their marriages, social gatherings, and funeral solemnities differed in nothing from those of the Scythians. But who were the Scythians? Are we to suppose them the inhabitants of Northern Asia in the region of Siberia, or tribes that dwelt on the shores of the Euxine and Caspian Seas? If so I cannot understand why the first inhabitants of Ireland should not have come from those parts instead of from Britain. It is the opinion of others that the Irish were named *Scythians* from their dexterity in shooting—Scythians being derived from *scutten*, to shoot, or the Latin *scutum*, a shield or target—words from which we could readily receive the name of *Scots*. It seems to me an error to reject all traditions of prehistoric settlements in Ireland as mere fables, and accept only the colonies of Partholon and Nemedius as the first who took possession of the island.

If we accept it as the most probable that Ireland was first peopled from Britain, we must not deny that other nations also contributed to her colonization, though we have nothing certain as to the exact dates when such arrived.

"The *Cauci* of Ireland," says Ware, "seem to take their origin from the *Cauci* of Germany; the *Gangani* and *Luceni* from the *Concani* and *Lucensi* of Iberia or Spain (which name *Iberia* was at length adopted by the whole island according to *Isidore*), and the *Menapii* from the *Menapians* of *Belgic Gaul*," &c.—(Ware's *Antiq.*, p. 17). Partholon, according to the *Four Masters*, arrived in Ireland in the year of the world 2520, or, according to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, A.M. 1934. He was the son of Sera, and seventh in descent from Japheth, son of Noah. He is said to have come from Greece after having murdered both his parents in order to secure the crown to the exclusion of his elder brother. It is from his arrival the ancient annals begin to record facts which can be accepted with anything like historical reliance.

CHAPTER III.

THE DIFFERENT NAMES BY WHICH IRELAND WAS DESIGNATED BY THE ANCIENTS.



HE name Ireland is supposed to be derived from the Irish *iar* (iar) which signifies *west*, its European situation being so remote. The Latins called it *Hibernia*, and the Greeks *Ιερυν* (ierun). The former seems to be derived from the *Iberians*, who formerly colonized the island. The latter from *Erin*, by which the natives called Ireland—would be the origin of *Ierne*, *Juverna*, *Overnia*,

Iris—names by which Ireland was formerly known. From *Eri* or *Erin* also an Irishman would be called *Erigena*, as Ware remarks, and the notable John Scotus, of the 9th century, was known by that name. *Scotia* was a very general name given to the island by ancient writers. There is much difference of opinion regarding the origin of this name. Some derive *Scotia* from *Scota*, Pharaoh's daughter, and mother of *Gadelus* or *Gaedhuil*, a Scythian from whom the Irish are called *Gaels*.

Others with more probability derive the word from Scythia—*Sciticus*, *Scoticus*, *Scotia* being its natural derivatives, so that in course of time the Scythian name survived in that of the Scots. It is easy to conceive how Ireland would be thus known as *Scotia*, and its inhabitants as *Scots*, from the prevalent opinion that the Scythians were amongst the first peoples who colonized her. "Hence," says Ware, "it is more than probable that this island (Ireland) first took the name of *Scythia* from them, although afterwards by corruption of the word it came to be called *Scotia*." The opinion of some who think that Ireland was called *Scotia* from the Greek *σκοτος* (*skotos*), darkness, as if it had been enveloped in darkness, hardly seems deserving of notice. It is worthy of remark that a hot controversy at one time prevailed between Irish and Scotch writers with regard to *Scotia*, as mentioned by ancient authors. The latter, with Dempster as their principal, in the seventeenth century contended that Ireland was never known by the name of *Scotia*, and hence they made little scruple of pilfering the calendar of Irish saints, giving many of them an Albanian origin, because they were popularly known as *Scots*.

Dempster, for this unworthy attempt, was stigmatized by the Italian *Ferraris* (whom he at first deceived) as the *saint stealer*, and by overwhelming testimonies quoted by Usher, Messingham, and our own David Roth, of Kilkenny, it was proved beyond a doubt that Ireland was anciently known by the name of *Scotia*, and her inhabitants were called *Scots*. Ware, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, quotes several authorities which place the controversy beyond question. Quotations from a few of them will here suffice. Ethicus, in his description of Europe, says:—"Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus Colitur"—*Ireland is inhabited by the Scots*. Prosper, of *Aquitaine*, speaking of *St. Palladius*, the precursor of *St. Patrick*, says that he was ordained by Pope Celestine, and sent as first bishop to the "Scots believing in Christ." Venerable Bede, the Father of English history, who died in A.D. 735, makes mention of letters by Pope Honorius and some Roman clergy to "the Scots inhabiting Ireland, an island next to Britain." Isidore, who flourished in 630, says:—"Scotia, which is one and the same with Ireland, is the next island to Britain, less in extent, but more fertile by situation. It is extended from south to north, the southern coasts whereof point out to Iberia (Spain) and the *Canabrian* Ocean, from whence the island hath borrowed the name of *Ibernia*; but it is also called *Scotia*, because it is inhabited by the Scots." Adamnau, who wrote the life of *St. Columba*, says:—"St. Columba, in the second year after the battle of *Caledreidne*, sailed out of

Scotia into Britain." In lapse of time North Britain and Ireland were promiscuously called Scotia, but this happened by the union of the Picts and Scots, when the former, swarming from their highland fastnesses, whither they had taken shelter from the Roman legions, sought to regain a foothold on their original soil of Britain south of the Tweed and Cheviot. Writers accordingly were careful to mark a distinction between the Scots of Ireland and the Scots of North Britain, until Ireland by custom at last ceased to be called *Scotia* and the name was entirely transferred to modern *Scotland*, or the ancient North Britain of the Picts, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

CHAPTER IV.

DIVISIONS OF IRELAND.

RARTHALON, who is said to have landed in Ireland about 300 years after the Deluge, divided the island between his four sons, Er, Orna, Fearon and Feargna. They are commonly believed to have come from Greece, and were of Scythian extraction. To Er he gave from Ulster to Dublin, in Leinster. To his second son from thence to Barrymore, in Munster; to his third from thence to Galway, and to his fourth from thence to North Ulster, thus making the centre of the island from north to south the line of boundary between the four great divisions terminated by the eastern and western coasts. The second colony under Nevy, or Nemedius, who inhabited the country for about 200 years had it divided into three parts under his sons, *Beothach*, *Simon* and *Britan*. According to Keating all from *Toirinis*, in the North of Connaught, to the River Boyne, in Leinster, was given to the first; from thence to the meeting of the three streams near Cork, in Munster, became the second son's share, and from thence around to the aforementioned *Toirinis* fell to the third son, Britan.

This colony is said to have suffered from plague, and the remnant finally engaging in conflict with Fomorian pirates at Tory Island, on the north-west coast of Donegal, was cut away to a few survivors, who subsequently spread their posterity in Britain, the northern parts of Europe and Greece.

Those who had departed under Simon, surnamed *Breac*, or the *Speckled*, and settled in Greece were reduced in that country to a state of vassalage, and being compelled to carry loads in sacks or bags were nicknamed *Firbolgs*. According to the Four Masters the Firbolgs took possession of Ireland at the end of A.M. 3266. The five sons of Deala, viz., *Slainge*, *Gannd*, *Genann*, *Seangann*, and *Rudhruighe* (*Rury*) were their chieftains, and *Slaigne*, who possessed the Province of Leinster, was acknowledged High King over the other four brothers. This

division of Ireland was called the *Pentarchy*, and prevailed with some few interruptions to the invasion of the English. The five provinces into which the country was divided are thus noticed by Cambrensis :— "This country was anciently divided into five nearly equal parts, viz., the two Munsters (Desmond and Thomond), Leinster, Ulster and Connaught. Under the Milesians, who arrived in Ireland A.M. 2934, according to the chronology of O'Flaherty, another division is said to have taken place between Heremon and Heber Finn.

Keating, however, denies this. "It is certain," says he, "that Ireland was never thus divided; for the two provinces of Munster, at that time called *Deisoil Eirionn*, that is the south of Ireland, were given to *Eabhear-Fionn*, the province of *Conacht* and *Leinster* to *Ereambon*, and the province of *Ulster* to *Eubhear*, the son of *Ir*, their brother's son."

Heremon having slain Heber in battle assumed the sovereignty over the five provinces, which he distributed among his followers.

Cearmna and *Sobhairce*, two brothers, in A.M. 3045, are said to have divided the island between them. It is probable they did not reign alternately as some assert, as each had his royal palace called after his name, the northern one *dun Sobhairce*, and the southern *dun Mac-Patrick*.

Ugaine mor divided Ireland into twenty-five parts about A.M. 3623, in order to provide a suitable portion for each of his twenty-five children, three only of whom were females. The great division of Ireland known to the present as *Leath Conn* and *Leath Mogha* was made about the year A.D. 193. Conn of the Hundred Battles having found a military rival in *Mogha Nuada*, called also Eugene or Owen the Great, of the race of Heber Finn, and King of Munster, after many battles of alternate success agreed to divide the country with him.

The northern part was called *Leath Conn* or *Cuin*, i.e., Conn's share, and lay north of a line drawn from Dublin to the head of Galway Bay. All the country south of this line became *Mogha Nuad's* share—*Leathmoah*. The inhabitants of both parts were called, respectively, the northern and southern Scots. The Firbolgian division of Ireland into five parts already mentioned was the origin of the five-province partition. Meath was anciently a distinct province, as it was the seat of Irish royalty, and the revenues thereof belonged to Tara Palace. The foundation of Meath as a distinct royal province, exempt from all taxes, contributions, laws, and independent of all the kings and princes of the island, is assigned to Tuathal Teachtar, who reigned from A.D. 79 to A.D. 109. It is uncertain at what precise time Meath became a part of the province of Leinster and ceased to be accounted in itself a distinct province.

The four provinces were subsequently divided into *counties* at different periods. It is commonly believed that the counties of Leinster and Munster were erected by King John in 1210. Meath was subsequently divided into two counties in the time of Henry VIII., and in the time of Philip and Mary Leix, Slievemargie, Irry, and Glenmalire, on the south side of the Barrow, were erected into the Queen's County,

and the rest of Glenmalire, on the Philipstown side, with the territory of Offaly, was erected into the King's County. The respective names of those counties and their chief towns, Maryboro' and Philipstown, were given them in honour of Queen Mary and Philip, her husband. Ware maintains that counties were instituted in Ireland before the reign of King John, and even from the time of King Henry II. He says:—"That there were *Sheriffs* and other ministers of justice in Ireland in the reign of King Henry II., may be collected from a patent granted by that monarch to *Nicholas de Benchi* of lands in Ireland which is enrolled in the *Chancery Office*, 2nd Edw. II., among other grants, entitled *Antiquissimæ literæ, Patentes* and *Commissiones*, which he directs to all *Archbishops, Bishops, Sheriffs, Ministers, Justices, &c.*, of Ireland." Ware argues from this that there were sheriffs and justices in Ireland in the time of Henry II., and, if sheriffs, they should have been of counties or cities, or districts of the same nature as counties or cities. King John may have given properly defined limits to counties which hitherto were in *confuso*, and thus was said to have been the originator of *counties*. We may assume then that Kilkenny was thus erected into one of the counties of Leinster by King John in 1210, and in pursuing its local and family history we shall take as our ground work the Inquisitions of the County and City.

CHAPTER V.

SITUATION.—BARONIES AND PARISHES.—AREAS IN STATUTE ACRES.

KILKENNY County extends from 52° 14' to 52° 52' north latitude, and from 6° 56' to 7° 37' west longitude. Its greatest length from north to south is about 36 Irish miles, and its width from east to west varies from 12 to 20 Irish miles. Tighe, in his "Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny," thus mentions its boundaries:—"On the north the County of Kilkenny is bounded by the Queen's County, from whence it is divided in the lower grounds by two or three little streams, and in other parts by common fences, except where the Nore, the Oonbeg, or Iron Mills river, and the Donane river form the boundary, each for a small space. On the east it is joined by the County of Carlow, from whence its limits are obscurely marked over a tract of wild and boggy mountain, until at last they sink into the plain and run to the Barrow; from hence that river, continuing in a course nearly north and south, separates it first from the County Carlow and afterwards from the County Wexford; and at last joins the Suir, which on the southern side divides this county from that of Waterford. On the western side lies the County of Tipperary, separated from it at first by the small and rapid river Lignan, afterwards by ditches not easily traced through a moist and

low plain, until they meet a part of the King's river; to the north of Callan its mearing is formed for several miles by a mountain stream called the Munster river, from thence to its north-west angle its principal bounds are ditches, part of which run through a branch of the Bog of Allen near Urlingford, which part was styled anciently Mon Ely Bog. Its southern and western limits are also those of the province of Leinster of which this county forms the south-west extremity. Beyond its ancient limits to the north an insulated portion of the Queen's County, containing, with the town of Durrow, 1902 acres, was annexed to this county by Act of Parliament at the instance of the Duke of Ormonde. His object was to repress the outrages committed by the Fitzpatricks' against his tenantry, who, when tried in the Queen's County, were always acquitted, but when brought to Kilkenny never escaped with impunity. This piece of ground forms part of the barony of Galmoy, and is separated at its south-east angle from the County of Kilkenny by a very narrow slip of land." Kilkenny County contains nine baronies, the County of the City of Kilkenny and the Liberties of Callan.

The following gives the name of each, with its parishes and areas in statute acres :—

CRANAGH BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Ballinamara ...	3839	1	23	Killaloe (part of) ...	489	2	30
Ballycallan ...	6834	1	28	Kilmanagh ...	5620	2	39
Ballylarkin ...	1394	0	20	Odagh (part of) ...	4113	0	26
Clashacrow ...	999	1	13	Sheffin (part of) ...	787	0	4
Clomantagh ...	3703	3	9	St. Canice (part of) (River			
Coolraheen (part of) ...	743	3	26	Nore, 28a. 0r. Op.) ...	6003	0	8
Fertagh (part of) ...	1273	3	7	Tubridbritain ...	4140	0	4
Freshford (detached por-				Tullaghanbrogue (part of) ...	1160	0	21
tion, 171a. 0r. 4p.) ...	2171	1	8	Tullaroan ...	12359	2	10
Garranamanagh ...	529	0	6				
Kilcooley (part of) ...	328	1	3	Total (water, 28a. 0r. Op)	58075	1	39
Killahy ...	1584	2	16				

FASSADININ BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Abbeyleix (part of) (de-				Dunmore (River Nore,			
tached portion, 248a.				15a. 1r. 4p.) ...	2379	2	1
0r. 20p.) ...	680	2	30	Dysart ...	7938	1	16
Attanagh (part of) ...	1930	0	22	Grangemacomb (detached			
Castlecomer ...	21592	0	1	portion, 401a. 3r. 12p.)	3485	3	37
Coolraheen (part of) ...	1764	2	19	Kilmacar ...	4815	2	21
Donaghmore ...	5270	1	28	Kilmademoge ...	1726	1	36

FASSADININ BARONY—(Continued).

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Kilmadum (part of) ...	903	3	24	Odagh (part of) ...	428	3	25
Kilmenan ...	1008	1	6	Rathaspick (part of) ...	639	3	30
Mayne ...	1940	3	28	Rathbeagh (part of) ...	354	1	28
Mothel (part of) (detached portion, 2478a. 2r. 7p.) ...	6846	1	30	Rosconnell (part of) ...	761	1	25
Muckalee ...	3706	0	16	Total (water, 15a. 1r. 4p.)	68174	0	23

GALMOY BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Aharney (part of) ...	5546	1	21	Glashare (part of) ...	2326	0	22
Balleen ...	2559	1	4	Rathbeagh (part of) ...	2469	0	33
Borrismore ...	1271	1	16	Rathloghan ...	484	3	7
Coolcashin ...	1670	2	30	Sheffin (part of) ...	1701	0	14
Durrow (part of) ...	668	2	9	Urlingford ...	3497	3	26
Erke (part of) ...	12595	0	10	Total ...	40236	1	39
Fertagh (part of) ...	5446	0	7				

GOWRAN BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Ballylinch (River Nore, 17a. 0r. 22p.) ...	1167	1	24	Jerpoint West (part of) (detached portion, 899a. 3r. 27p.; River Nore, 15a. 1r. 35p.) ...	1819	1	35
Blackrath (River Nore, 7a. 2r. 19p.; north portion, 839a. 3r. 13p.; south portion, 918a. 3r. 14p.) ...	1758	2	27	Kilderry ...	2192	1	36
Blanchvilleskill ...	854	1	4	Kilfane ...	3971	2	12
Clara ...	3201	1	9	Kilkieran ...	1105	3	21
Columkille (River Nore, 18a. 3r. 6p.) ...	4473	0	7	Killarney ...	155	0	34
Dunbell (River Nore, 14a. 0r. 34p.) ...	2578	2	5	Kilmacahill ...	4583	0	15
Dungarvan ...	5881	1	10	Kilmadum (part of) ...	2521	1	5
Famma, (River Nore, 21a. 3r. 0p.) ...	492	1	25	Mothell (part of) ...	245	2	5
Gowran ...	6347	1	26	Pleberstown (River Nore, 9a. 2r. 2p.) ...	898	0	14
Graigenamanagh (River Nore, 46a. 0r. 23p.) ...	12422	3	10	Powerstown (River Barrow, 11a. 2r. 37p.) ...	5432	2	25
Grangesilvia (River Barrow, 40a. 2r. 29p.) ...	4807	0	26	Rathcoole (detached portion, 285a. 0r. 33p.) ...	3672	3	25
Instioige (River Nore, 30a. 3r. 20p.) ...	9741	1	19	St. John's (part of) (River Nore, 29a. 2r. 25p.) ...	5259	2	31
Jerpoint Abbey (River Nore, 4a. 1r. 8p.) ...	1008	0	23	St. Martin's (River Nore, 4a. 0r. 20p.) ...	782	1	37
				St. Maul's (part of) ...	243	3	12
				Shankill ...	6469	0	26
				Thomastown (River Nore, 28a. 0r. 8p.) ...	2341	3	33

GOWRAN BARONY—(Continued).

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Tiscoffin ...	4708	2	5	Woolengrange (detached portion, 83a. 2r. 37p.; River Nore, 20a. 0r. 12p.)	1663	2	25
Treadingstown (part of) (detached portion, 7a. 1r. 2p.; River Nore, 11a. 0r. 35p.)	692	3	2	Tideway (River Nore, 64a. 0r. 18p.; 1a. 3r. 24p. River Barrow)	66	0	2
Tullaherin ...	5052	0	6	Total (water, 439a. 3r. 11p.)	111772	0	35
Ullard (part of) (River Nore, 42a. 1r. 34p.)	3186	3	18				
Wells (part of) ...	253	0	86				

IDA BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Ballygurrin ...	1923	3	29	Listerlin (part of)]	3161	3	7
Clonamery ...	3390	1	38	Rathpatrick ...	4479	1	38
Dunkitt (Lough Cullin, 7a. 3r. 0p.)	6773	1	25	Rosbercon ...	2674	2	4
Dysartnoon ...	6207	2	27	Rossinan (part of)	1705	1	2
Gaulskill (Lough Cullin, 1a. 3r. 36p.)	1302	2	21	Shanbogh ...	1802	1	26
Jerpoint West (part of)	1167	0	38	The Rower ...	10758	0	20
Kilbride ...	1696	2	28	Tideway (River Barrow, 1019a. 1r. 6p.; River Nore, 237a. 0r. 37p.; River Suir, 314a. 2r. 37p.)	1571	1	0
Kilcoan ...	1583	0	19	Total (water, 1596a. 3r. 12p.)	61703	3	33
Kilcolumb (Lough Cullin, 15a. 8r. 16p.)	8274	0	21				
Kilmakevoge ...	3231	3	10				

IVERK BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Aglish ...	1343	2	10	Pollrone ...	3596	0	24
Arderra ...	776	3	23	Rathkieran ...	3478	3	38
Ballytarsney ...	895	3	25	Tiberaghay ...	1147	2	18
Clonmore ...	2091	2	7	Tubrid ...	1004	1	2
Fiddown (part of)	9688	0	0	Ullid ...	2248	3	25
Kilmacow ...	4445	0	5	Whitechurch ...	2186	2	39
Muckalse (part of)	1141	1	29	Tideway of River Suir	840	0	34
Owning ...	4030	2	13	Total	41368	2	32
Portnaecully ...	2452	3	20				

KELLS BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Ballytobin ...	2393	2	3	Dunnamaggan (part of)	3547	2	1
Coolaghmore ...	5504	2	23	Kells (part of)	3920	0	27

KELLS BARONY—(Continued.)

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Killamery ...	6525	2	8	Stonecarthy (part of) ...	55	0	36
Kilmaganny ...	7454	3	10	Tullahought ...	4601	3	21
Kilree ...	1947	1	24				
Mallardstown ...	2525	2	16	Total ...	38376	1	9

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Aghaviller ...	5670	3	28	Kilkeasy ...	3317	3	17
Derrynahinch ..	8339	3	29	Killahy ...	2803	2	18
Dunnamaggan (part of) ...	4	1	22	Knocktopher ...	4722	1	37
Ennisnag (part of) ...	233	3	3	Lismataige ...	1643	2	17
Fiddown (part of) ...	1421	0	31	Listerlin (part of) ...	2270	2	2
Jerpoint Church(detached portion, 1345a. 1r. 10p.; River Nore, 25a. 0r. 28p.) ...	5994	2	34	Muckalee (part of) ...	1570	2	32
Jerpoint West (part of) ...	2529	3	39	Rossinan (part of) ...	2628	0	39
Kilbeacon ...	3402	2	33	Stonecarthy (part of) ...	210	2	33
				Total(water, 25a. 0r. 28p.)	46765	1	14

SHILLELOGHER BARONY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Ballybur ...	667	1	33	Outrath ...	2050	0	26
Burnchurch ...	3363	2	37	Stonecarthy (part of) ...	1224	0	5
Castleinch, or Inchyholohan	2366	3	19	St. Canice (part of) ...	454	1	5
Danesfort (River Nore, 36a. 2r. 14p.) ...	5062	2	27	St. John's (part of) (River Nore, 0a. 2r. 2p.) ...	9	0	4
Earlstown ...	2938	0	29	St. Patrick's (part of) (River Nore, 20a. 3r. 14p.) ...	4121	0	14
Ennisnag (part of) ...	1502	0	28	Treadingstown (part of) (River Nore, 0a. 1r. 37p.)	18	3	36
Grange ...	1934	2	24	Tullaghanbrogue (part of)	2327	1	30
Grangekilree (River Nore, 4a. 3r. 30p.) ...	991	2	7	Tullamaine ...	1171	3	39
Kells (part of) (detached portion, 168a. 2r. 18p.)	589	3	15				
Kilferagh (River Nore, 24a. 0r. 12p.) ...	964	2	22	Total(water, 87a. 1r. 29p.)	36684	3	32
Killaloe (part of) ...	4926	0	32				

CALLAN.

PARISH.	AREA.			PARISH.	AREA.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Callan ...	5633	8	36	Killaloe (part of) ...	19	0	9
				Total ...	5653	0	5

MUNICIPAL BOROUGH OF KILKENNY.

PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
St. Canice (part of) (River Nore, 4a. 2r. 9p.) ...	458	1	21	St. Maul's (part of) ...	68	2	15
St. John's (part of) (River Nore, 16a. 1r. 20p.) ...	262	2	31	St. Patrick's (part of) ...	65	2	30
St. Mary's (River Nore, 2a. 1. 16p.) ...	65	3	24	Total (water, 23a. 1r. 5p.)	921	1	1

The following parishes abstracted from the table above constitute the

PARLIAMENTARY BOROUGH OF KILKENNY,

(The Ancient County of the City).


PARISHES.	AREAS.			PARISHES.	AREAS.		
	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
St. Canice and detached portions (River Nore, 32a. 2r. 9p.) ...	6915	2	34	St. Maul's ...	312	1	27
St. John's (River Nore, 46a. 2r. 7p.) ...	5531	1	26	St. Patrick's and detached portion (River Nore, 20a. 3r. 14p.) ...	4186	3	4
St. Mary's (River Nore, 2a. 1r. 16p.) ...	65	3	24	Total (River Nore, 102a. 1r. 6p. ...)	17012	0	35

CHAPTER VI.

INQUISITIONS.—PLANTATION OF IRELAND WITH ENGLISH

SUBJECTS THE UNIFORM DESIGN OF THE CROWN.—

NATURE OF THE INQUISITION.

“F all possessions in the country,” says Mr. Prendergast, “land is the most desirable. It is the most fixed. It yields its returns in the form of rent with the least amount of labour or forethought to the owner.” “The laws of most of the States of Europe, since the days of the Northern invasions, have been made by the land owners. They have been enabled to prescribe to the mass of the people on what conditions they shall live on the land, or whether indeed they shall live there at all.” The balance of power which land confers on its owners, gives them a dictatorial, if not an absolute power, over the bulk of the people who live under them, and hence, monopoly in land consequent on almost all conquests has ever been productive of social discontent. The permanency of the French monarchy, founded by Clovis towards the close of the 5th century, was chiefly due to his wise policy regarding the distribution of conquered lands. After the battle of Soissons, in A.D. 486, in

which he defeated Syagrius, and again, when by his victory over Alaric at Poitiers, in A.D. 507, he annihilated for ever the sway of the Visigoths from the Loire to the Pyrenees, he did not expel the natives from the subdued provinces, but only divided the land between them and his followers ; so that the conquerors and the conquered inhabiting and dwelling together on the same soil, soon fused into one powerful people. Why such a happy result has never yet taken place in this country is, as Mr. Prendergast observes (*Cromwellian Settlement Preface*, p. 6), that "from the days of the first invasion the King and Council of England intended to make English landed proprietors in Ireland the rulers of Ireland, as William the Conqueror had made the French of Normandy landlords and rulers of the English." This plantation design on the part of the English kings and queens took effect whenever an opportunity seemed favourable. The powerful House of Kildare had scarce perished with the execution of Silken Thomas and his five uncles, at Tyburn, when Henry the Eighth projected the colonization of Ireland to the Shannon with English. His children, however, made good the "plantation design" as they found the main obstacles removed, namely—the House of Kildare, and the power of the Irish Parliament, which, by Poyning's Act, could no longer make new statutes, or pass any one that had not first received the approval of the Privy Council of England. Thus, under Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth, new English plantations sprang up. The native Irish—the O'Moores, the O'Connors, the O'Neils—were first stripped. The old English, under James the First, were deprived of, or supplanted in, all offices of the State, and by "injuries" and "insults" from the planters of the new religion they were finally goaded into the ranks of the Irish in the king's defence in 1641-2. Cromwell's sword prevailed in 1652. "And then," says Mr. Prendergast (*Cromwellian Settlement Preface*, page 11), "took place a scene not witnessed in Europe since the conquest of Spain by the Vandals. Indeed," he adds, "it is injustice to the Vandals to equal them with the English of 1652, for the Vandals came as strangers and conquerors in an age of force and barbarism ; nor did they banish the people, though they seized and divided their lands by lot ; but the English, in 1652, were of the same nation as half of the chief families of Ireland, and had, at that time, the island under their sway for five hundred years. The captains and men of war of the Irish, amounting to 40,000 men and upwards, they banished into Spain, where they took service under that King ; others of them, with a crowd of orphan boys and girls, were transported to serve the English planters in the West Indies ; and the remnant of the nation, not banished or transported, were to be transported into Connaught, while the conquering army divided the ancient inheritances of the Irish amongst them by lot." To transplant, transport, confiscate, and by every means lawful or unlawful within the reach of brute force—to eradicate the Irish race from the soil has been, from the days of Henry the Second, the principal aim of England ; and the emigrant ship, freighted with living Irishmen, is

as favourite a sight to-day for Englishmen as the Union Jack floating over the impregnable Gibraltar. It is true, English kings and queens had not been always able to exterminate the Irish in the name of discipline and by feudal law according to their thirst, but this was owing to domestic troubles or foreign wars.

Speaking of the turbulent state of Ireland in the reign of Edward the First, Mr. Haverty remarks:—"No attempt was made to reconcile the native race to the new order of things, or to consolidate the two races into one nation. To supplant or exterminate the old Celtic population had been all along the policy of the invaders; and to effect this object means more diabolical than human were resorted to; feuds were fomented under the pretence of crushing rebellion, incessant hostilities were kept up, and by every kind of provocation and injustice national rancour was perpetuated." If this policy of extermination, by means more "diabolical" than "human," had not been pushed on with uninterrupted effect and passionate resolve this was, as I have already said, owing to the domestic or foreign difficulties with which England had to grapple. Edward the First was engaged in the conquest of Wales; he had likewise the troubles of Scotland to arrange, with Baliol, Bruce and Wallace in arms against him; yet more he had involved his country in a costly war with France. His successors inherited no more profound peace. The wars with France commenced by Edward III. exhausted the resources of England for an entire century. The frightful civil contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, known as the "Wars of the Roses," not only drained away her wealth, but during the thirty years of its continuance cost the loss of eighty princes of the Royal blood and the flower of her nobility. Thus it was that from Edward II. to the closing years of Henry VIII. the regular administration of English law was suspended in this country save within the Pale; but on the fall of the House of Kildare the feudal law was resumed and "Inquisitions" taken; "on the death of every landowner recorded in Chancery, his death, the estates he died seized of—who was his heir, and whether under age and unmarried, for in that case the king became entitled to the guardianship and marriage of the heir, and to the rents of the estate during the minority without account."—(Crom. Settle. Pref., p. 17). To give a clear and distinct idea of those Inquisitions allow me to quote the words of James Hardiman, Esq., on them:—"The inquisitions," says he, "preserved in the Roll's Office of the Court of Chancery of Ireland are records of the highest authority and value. They may be classed under two distinct heads, viz.—*Inquisitions Post Mortem*, which are the most numerous, and *Inquisitions on Attainder*. They are divided according to the four Provinces and the several counties of Ireland into Reigns, and generally commence in the time of Elizabeth, few being prior to that period. The former class ceases soon after the Restoration of Charles II., when the feudal tenures were abolished by Act of Parliament. The latter extends to the reign of William III. The *Inquisitions Post Mortem* were taken under commissions directed to the *escheators* of each

province and others joined with them, and find by the oath of a jury what lands any person died seized of, by what rents and services they were held, and who was the next heir, and his age, by which the right of the Crown to escheat or wardship was ascertained. On them were founded all grants of wardships, of body and marriage, liveries of lands, pardons of intrusion, pardons and licences of alienation, etc., in virtue of the tenures *in capite*. They are the best evidences of the descent of families, and of the transfer and possession of property during the period they embrace. Numerous family settlements, deeds, wills, leases, and other instruments relating to property in Ireland, are set out in full, or copiously recited, and of the greater number of these there are at present no other traces to be found.

"The *Inquisitions on Attainder* were generally taken under commissions directed to Commissioners in the several counties, and show whether any person was attainted, in which case his lands and other property, which were also found, were seized into the King's hands. These important documents have suffered much injury from time and neglect, but have been carefully arranged, cleansed, and placed in port-folios, by order of his Majesty's Commissioners, on the public Records, a process which will tend to secure their future preservation. Under the same authority a Repertory of their contents has been formed. The Province of Leinster contains in general—

"The date of each Inquisition, and the place where taken.

"The name or names of the person or persons to whom it relates.

"The lands of which he, or they, was, or were, seized; their acreable or other contents, and real or nominal value.

"The time of his, or her, death.

"The heir or heirs, and his, or their, age, or ages, and marriage.

"The tenure by which the lands were held under the Crown, or its tenant (*in capite*) or by knight's service, &c., &c."

These observations of Mr. Hardiman are quite sufficient to explain the meaning and import of the Inquisitions. They are printed in Latin, and my object is to compile an English translation of them, in so far as they deal with the County and City of Kilkenny, and to append thereto some useful and explanatory notes. Many lay members unacquainted with the Latin language, will, I am sure, welcome the work, as otherwise they could never expect the enviable perusal of those valuable records.

INQUISITIONS (KILKENNY),

TRANSLATION OF, WITH NOTICES OF FAMILIES.—LOCALITIES.—
ANTIQUITIES.

(INQUISITION I.)*

THE TIME OF PHILIP AND MARY, KING AND QUEEN.

"Kilkenny, Thursday next, after the Feast of
"John the Baptist, years 5-6 (1557-8).

LEWIS BRIAN¹ is seized² in his demesne³ as of free tenure of the town⁴ of Whiteswall, with its appurtenances by demise⁵ of James Le Butler⁶, late Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, for the term of his own (Lewis') life; he holds also the manor of Damagh with its appurtenances by demise of Thomas Le Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, for the term of 21 years, but the terms commence at the festival of Easter, in the year 2 and 3 of the King's and Queen's reigns. The said Lewis has 2 horses value £13 6s. 8d., 2 other horses, Anglice, called hackneys, value £8, 24 draught horses value []; 26 mares, Anglice, called stud mares, value £34 13s. 4d.; 40 cows, value £40; 300 sheep, value £20; in pigs and bonhams, 60, value £8; in house utensils, value £40; and in grain, viz., wheat, oats, barley, peas and other grain, value 100 marks."

(1)—THE BRYAN FAMILY.

(Chiefly from a Pedigree kindly supplied to me by Mr. Burtchaell, B.L.)

The origin of this name is unknown. Mr. Butchaell, B.L., in a pedigree of the Bryans, published in the *Irish Builder*, November 15th, 1887, says:—"This family was very probably a branch of that of O'Byrne, the name becoming finally anglicised into Bryan. I am inclined to think the family is of English not Irish descent. Lewis Byran, mentioned in the above Inquisition, is also called Leuse Brin, a name of repute in the County of Lancaster in the 14th and 15th centuries. In 'Collin's Peerage of England,' vol. 4, p. 191, London, 1735, mention is made of the marriage of the daughter and heir of *Peter de Bryn*, of Brynhill, in the County of Lancaster, with William Lord Gerrard, or Fitzgerald, of Bromley, whose son, Sir Peter Gerard,

* The numbers at the heads of the several divisions of the subject refer to the index numbers in the Inquisition, and to the corresponding portions of the Inquisitions which are annotated.

succeeded to the estate of *Bryn*, and died in 1380. By patent, 4th March, 1588, we find a *Thomas Bryn* appointed Pursuivant, or Chief Messenger, to attend the 'Heighe Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical.' Lewis Brian, of Whiteswall, may have been a close connection of Sir Francis Brian, Lord Justice in the reign of King Edward VI. (1550). He died 15th October, 1568, leaving issue:—

- I. James, his heir, whose wardship, &c., was granted 12 March, 11th Eliz. (1568-69), to Henry Davells, gent. He appears to have died about 1574.
- II. Barnaby, heir to his brother, whose wardship, &c., was granted to Henry Davella, 16 Aug. 1574. He was living in 1603, as the name of Barnaby Fitz-Lewis, of Whiteswall, gent., is included in a pardon of 9 July, 1st James I.
- III. John, of whom presently.
- IV. Gerald Fitz-Lewis Bryan, or Bryn, 1587, 1590.
- V. Charles Fitz-Lewis Bryan, of "Whiteswodd," 1590, 1597.
- VI. Lewis Brin Fitz-Lewis, of Castlereogh.

John Bryan, of Kilkenny, generally known as John Fitz Lewis, was a trustee, with others, to receive grants of land to the use of the Earl of Ormonde, in 1604. It would appear that he was originally intended for the Church; as, in 1567, a licence was granted to John Bryan, Vicar of Eyrke, son of Lewis Bryan, of Damagh, gent., to be absent from Ireland for three years for study (20 Feb., 11th Elizabeth). He left, with a *dau.*, who m. Gerald Fennell, M.D., a prominent member of the Confederated Catholics, 1642-49, two sons:—

- I. James, his heir, of whom presently.
- II. Lewis, of Kilkenny, living 1621, m. Douglas, *dau.* of Henry Shee, who had, with two *daus.*—(1)—*m.*—St. Leger, and had a son, John St. Leger; and (2) Douglas, m. William Archer, and had a son, Luke Archer, who d. 1679—a son.

John, of Kilkenny, rated at 10s. hearth-money for Jenkinstown, 1664. According to Burke ("Landed Gentry," 1886), he was younger brother of James Bryan, of Bawnmore, and son of *John Bryan*, son of *Lewis*, who died 1568. In that case he would have been *uncle* to John Bryan, of Whiteswall, whom he calls his *cousin* in his will (proved 13 November, 1671), "to be interred in the monument of my auncestors at Kilkenny, in Our Blessed Lady's Church there, while he refers to John St. Leger and Luke Archer as his nephews. He m. Anne, *dau.* and heir of Henry Stanes, of Jenkinstown, by whom, with two *daus.*—Mary m. Walter Lawles, of Talbot's Inch, High Sheriff of Co. Kilkenny, 16t9; and Frances; and two younger sons—he left a son:—

James, of Jenkinstown, a student of Lincoln's Inn, appointed an Alderman of Kilkenny by James II.'s Charter, 1687; M.P. for that city in 1689; m. Rose, younger *dau.* of Edward Rothe (one of the four Commissioners who negotiated the surrender of Kilkenny to Cromwell in 1650), and sister of Lieut.-General Michael Rothe, K.O. St. L., Colonel of Rothe's Regiment in the

Irish Brigade in the French service. His will, dated 9 February, 1708, was proved 14 April, 1714. He left two sons:—

1. Peter, or Pierse, of Jenkinstown, of whom hereafter as representative of the family.
2. Henry.
1. Catherine *died* in Kilkenny, April, 1770.

James Fitz-John Bryan, of Whiteswall, *d.* 24 April, 1629 (will, 17 April, 1629, proved 24 April, 1630). By inquisition taken at Kilkenny, 21 June, 1630, he was found to have been seized of Whiteswall, Rathbough, Rathbane, and Philipstown, held of the king by knight service; and of a moiety of Bawnericken, or Rathricken; and to have enfeoffed John Butler and Patrick Shea of the premises to certain uses, 30 January, 1621. He *m.* Eleanor, *dau.* of Piers Butler, of Callan, Co. Kilkenny, and had five *sons* and four *daus*:—

I. John, his heir.

II. Edmund

III. Patrick (a barrister), *d.* 4 June, 1663, *bur.* in St. Audoen's on 7 June (see *Irish Builder*, 1 January, 1887), *m. dau.* of (James) Dryland, of Kilberaghan, Co. Kilkenny, and had issue:—

1. Pierse, of Shule, Queen's County, and Luddenham Hurst, Kent, M.P. for Maryboro' 1689, *d.* 1712 (will, 31 Aug., 1711, proved 5 June, 1712) *m.* (1st) Ellinor, widow of Alexander Barrington, of Cullenagh, and *dau.* of Francis Crosby, of Stradbally, Queen's County, who had three *sons* and one *dau.* He *m.* (2ndly), 1693, Bridget, widow of Sir Robert Hartpole, of Shrute, and *dau.* of Sir William Domville, but by her had no issue. The children of the 1st marriage were:—

- (1) Dryland, *d.* young.
- (2) Francis, *d.* young.
- (3) James, heir to his father.

(1) Theodosia, *m.* Richard Warren, of Carlow, who *d.* 1 February, 1733.

2 James, of Nash, Kent, *d.* 1699.

IV. Piers.

V. Thomas.

1. Catherine.
2. Mary, *m.* Edward Loftus (3rd son of Sir Thomas Loftus, of Killyan).
3. Jane.
4. Margaret.

John Bryan, of Bawnmore and Whiteswall, was of full age and un married at the death of his father. He was a captain in the army of the Confederates. In the civil war of 1641, the Castle of Castlecomer was besieged by Walter Butler, of Paulstown, at the head of the O'Brennan's and "many gentlemen of the old Anglo-Norman blood of Kilkenny." The garrison of the castle sustained a siege of eighteen

weeks, according to the deposition of one Ffenton, sworn at Dublin, March 15, 1652, and finally surrendered to the assailants under the command of Captain Bryan, *of Whiteswall*; Captain Edward Brennan and Captain Purcell. On this occasion the O'Brennan's protected Sir Christopher Wandesford's wife and children, having conducted them safe to the English garrison at Ballinakill.—(Trans. Kilk. Archælog. Society, vol. 1, p. 243). On the reduction of Ireland by Cromwell, his estate in the County Kilkenny, comprising 3,736 acres, was sequestered, and he himself ordered to transplant to Connaught. At the Restoration he returned, and was apparently residing at Whiteswall in 1664, when he was rated at 6s. hearth-money. He *died* 1673-4; left by his will "to be buried in the chappell or chauncell of the parish church of of Eirke, which was built by my auncestors" (will 1 Dec., 1673, proved 24 January following). He *m.* (1st) in October, 1634, Jane, *dau.* of Sir Thomas Loftus, of Killyan, Co. Meath, by Ellen, *dau.* of Robert Hartpole, of Shrule, of Queen's County, and by her had four *sons* and two *daus.* :—

I. James, his heir.

II. Thomas, of Ardragoole, Queen's County, and Maynebeg, County Kilkenny, (will 6 May, 1698, proved 4 September, 1700); left by his will "to be buried in the church of Irke;" *m.* Elizabeth Archdeacon, and had four *sons*—Edmund, Richard, John and James.

III. Edmund.

IV. John.

1. Ellen *m.* Pierse, 2nd Viscount Ikerrin (ancestor of the Earl of Carrick).

2. Catherine.

He *m.* (2ndly) in October, 1660, Ursula, *dau.* of Walter Walsh, of Castlehoel, M.P. for County Kilkenny, 1639, by Lady Magdalen Sheffield, *grand-dau.* of Edmund, 3rd Lord Sheffield and 1st Earl of Mulgrave, K.G., and by her had three *sons* and two *daus.* :—

I. Walter, attainted 1691, of Akip, Queen's County.

II. Lewis.

III. Francis.

1. Elizabeth, *d.* 13 June, 1736, *m.* (1st) Oliver Grace, of Shanganagh, Queen's County; M.P. for Ballinakill, 1689; Chief Remembrancer of the Exchequer (ancestor of Sir Percy Raymond Grace, Bart.); 2ndly, Edmund, 6th Viscount Mountgarret.

2. Mary, *d. unm., bur.* at St. Audoen's, 5th May, 1682.

Ursula (called *Auxelia* in St. Audoen's Register), widow of John Bryan, *m.*, 2ndly, 1676, Edmund Blanchville, of Blanchvillestown, Co. Kilkenny, and by him had three *daus.* :—(1) Margaret; (2) Anne, *m.* Walter Keally, M.D., M.P. for Gowran, 1689 (*d.* 1718), and had a *dau.* Mariana; (3) Grace.

James Bryan, of Bawnmore, was restored to his father's estate in 1660, and appointed a J.P. for the County Kilkenny, in 1664. He had a commission for assessing the supply in the County Kilkenny,

1695. He died in 1696, having *m.* Elizabeth, *dau.* of Sir Popham Southcote, of Boneytreney, Devonshire, by whom he had :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| I. John, <i>d. s. p.</i> | 1. Jane. |
| II. James, <i>d. young.</i> | 2. Ellen. |
| III. Henry, <i>d. young.</i> | 3. Elizabeth. |
| IV. Popham, <i>d. s. p.</i> | 4. Margaret. |
| V. Pierse, of whom presently. | |

Pierse Bryan, of Bawnmore, *d.* 1720 ; a commissioner for supply County Kilkenny, 1697 ; *m.* 1st., 1692, Jane, *dau.* of Abraham Yarnier (by Mary, *dau.* of Sir John Temple, M.P.), by whom he had an only surviving son, James. He *m.* 2ndly Isabella (*d.* 1725), widow of Lemuel (Wagstaff) Stubber, and *dau.* of Thomas Prior, but by her had no issue. He was succeeded by his son.

James Bryan, of Bawnmore, High Sheriff of County of Kilkenny, 1732, *d. s. p.*, 5th October, 1740, when the representation of the family developed upon his kinsman.

Pierse Bryan, of Jenkinstown (*son* of James Bryan, M.P. for Kilkenny, 1689, and Rose Rothe), *m.* Jane, *dau.* of Lieut.-Col. George Aylmer, of Lyons, County Kildare, by Mary, eldest daughter of Right Hon. Sir Valentine Browne, Bart., 1st Viscount Kenmare, and had four *sons* and three *daus.* (His will dated 11 Aug., 1753, was proved 20 Feb., 1777).

I. James, his heir.

II. George, *b.* 1720, *m.* Catherine Xaveria (*d.* July, 1779) only child of Henry Byrne, of Oporto, by Catherine, *dau.* of James Eustace, of Yeomanstown, County Kildare (see *Irish Builder*, 15 April, 1887), and had two sons :—

1. Eustace, *d. s. p.*

2. George, who succeeded his uncle.

III. Aylmer, a major-general in the French service.

IV. Pierse.

1. Alice ; 2. Rose ; 3. Mary.

James Bryan, of Jenkinstown, *b.* 1719, *d. unm.*, August, 1805, and was succeeded by his nephew.

George Bryan, better known by the name of Major Bryan, deserves a more than passing remark. He was born in Devonshire Square, London, in 1770. Though born an *Englishman* he avowed before a public assembly in 1811 that his father, "a mere Irishman to be sure," never let slip an opportunity of impressing purely Irish principles upon his mind. The penal laws sent him abroad for education. At the age of fourteen he went to Liege, and from thence to Strasburg, accompanied by his uncle, a brigadier-general in the French service, and his brother, who died at Metz, in 1786. In 1787 he returned from Caen to England, and subsequently passed over to Munich and Vienna. In the spring of 1792 he went to Paris, and was witness of those scenes at the Tuileries which only a mob maddened and infuriated by the teachings of a Marat, Danton, and Robespierre could act in all their

exceptional massacres and horrors. He was also witness of the King's execution, so much thirsted for by the Girondins and Jacobins, and subsequently in the August of 1793 he was arrested at Nancy, and during sixteen months imprisonment became indelibly impressed with the boasted "freedom" of the National Convention and the "blessings" to be shared under Robespierre's "happy constitution."

During his stay at Nancy he formed a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the Count De Rutant, "who from her highly polished education and kindness of heart," says a contemporary, "diffuses happiness not only throughout her own immediate family but the respectable circle in which she moves, and the whole neighbourhood in which she resides." He returned to London in 1795, and in May, 1797, nine months after the death of his father, bought a commission in the Guards, where he was afterwards promoted to a lieutenantancy with rank of captain in the army. In 1803, he got a polite hint that a great personage would not have anyone of the *Romish persuasion* to hold a commission in the Guards! He accordingly retired, and in 1805 succeeded his uncle at Jenkinstown, having also in 1806, accepted a majority in the county militia, which he resigned in 1808. "The scenes," says a contemporary, "which our admirable patriot was condemned to witness on his arrival in this country, were of themselves, God knows, more than sufficient to call forth the tear of sympathy from the heart of any man not entirely lost to the common feelings of our nature. To see this highly gifted and once happy island, the most favoured spot, perhaps, of all God's creation, broke down and trodden under foot by a few detestable Bigots—to view her stripped of her independence—even robbed of her name as a nation—and her fine, her matchless "*superabundant population*" obliged to become *hevers of wood and drawers of water* to the stranger, to be condemned, we say, to observe all this and more, was surely enough, and more than enough, to harrow up the soul of the most callous. But when we reflect on the well-known high spirit of Major Bryan—when we take into consideration the respectability and ancient fame of his family as an additional stimulus to that spirit—and above all, when we fix our thoughts with attention on the *sting* which his treatment in the Guards must have inflicted and left ranking in his breast, it will be very easy indeed to account for the malice of his conduct in everything relating to the interests and honour of our poor people." The above is but a faint picture of the unhappy state of this country when Major Bryan came to reside at Jenkinstown. Since the opening of the last session of an Irish Parliament, by Lord Cornwallis, on the 15th January, 1800, the trade and national importance of Ireland had been visibly on the decline. The clouds of wild and unsuccessful attempts at insurrection were melted away, and with the execution of Robert Emmet, had only left streaks of bloodshed and dishonour upon the horizon. The question of the veto next came under free and universal discussion, all the more dangerous because of the opinion of influential minds that it was only a "harmless interference" in each appointment of a Catholic Bishop ceded to the Crown, which would secure in return

independent State provisions for the Catholics and ultimately Emancipation. It was the crisis of the hour. The Catholic committee composed of the Catholic gentry and middle classes sprang into life. The public prints teemed with letters and speeches, which whilst they furnished an accurate gauge of public feeling against unworthy concessions attracted at the same time by their heat and violence, the attention of the Government. The Duke of Richmond, through his Chief Secretary, Wellesley Pole, issued circulars, to all magistrates with instructions to disperse all assemblages illegally constituted under the meaning of the Convention Act. A police magistrate was sent to dissolve a meeting of the Catholic Committee, held in Dublin, with Lord French in the chair. He refused to vacate his position until placed under arrest, and in the tumult, excitement and indignation which ensued throughout the country Major Bryan steps forward with his motion of unprecedented pluck and boldness for the removal of Chief Secretary Pole, and of Richmond, the Lord Lieutenant.

This circumstance has been thus alluded to by the contemporary writer already mentioned:—"The name of this invaluable patriot (Major Bryan) will be deservedly venerated by all true Irishmen to the latest posterity; for of him, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that he has, under the most disheartening circumstances, communicated a manly tone to the Catholic mind—that in opposition to a powerful faction, actuated by selfishness, cowardice, treachery or intrigue, he has succeeded in raising his oppressed fellow-citizens to a just sense of their own importance in the scale of the Empire. Far, very far, indeed, are we from denying their full share of merit to the honest, undaunted few, who at all risks co-operated with the worthy Major in touching the right string of the nation's heart, in rousing into action her native energies, and in thus placing her on the high road she now occupies. No, no, those men must and do live in the confidence and in the gratitude of their country; but what we contend for is, that it is to him who originated the idea of repelling the slovenly insult by retaliation—who, soaring above the cringing system too long and too generally acted upon by Catholics of his rank and property, quitted the disgraceful path of half-spirit and half-sycophancy; who, although deserted, nay, opposed, by some of the very leaders voluntary pledged to his support, nobly put on the armour and the attitude of independence, and openly declared that if even left alone he would appeal to the honourable feelings of Irishmen in moving the dismissal of Richmond and Pole—it is, we say, to Major Bryan, who did all this and much more, that Ireland is indebted for the happy, the wonderful happy, change which has visibly taken place in the sentiments and conduct of her real and would-be grandees."

The Catholic Committee addressed the Crown and prayed for the removal of the Duke of Richmond and his Chief Secretary; but the Government answered by a prosecution of some delegates who had assembled in defiance of a proclamation of the Castle. They were ably defended by O'Connell, and soon after the committee was dissolved. It

was on the occasion of a fete given by Major Bryan in honour of the Prince of Wales's birthday, that Moore wrote his song, "Tho' dark are our sorrows," etc. He was at first Captain of Dragoons, and afterwards Major Kilkenny Militia, J.P., D.L., High Sheriff County Kilkenny, 1830, and M.P. for that county 1837-43. He made an unsuccessful claim in 1829 to the Barony of Slane, derived through his great-grandmother, Hon. Alice Flemming, daughter of Randal Lord Slane, second wife of Sir George Byrne, Bart., of Timogue, and mother of Henry Byrne, of Oporto, whose only child, Catherine Xaveria married (as above) George Bryan. He married in 1794, Countess Marie Louise, *d.* of the Count de Rutaut, of Lorraine, as already stated, and dying 3rd October, 1843, left issue:—

1. George, his heir.

2. Mary, *m.* October, 1817, Colonel Sir John, Milley Doyle, K.C.B., M.P. for County Carlow, 1831-32.

George Bryan, of Jenkinstown, *b.* 25 Oct., 1796, *d.* Nov., 1848, Colonel Kilkenny Militia, High Sheriff County Kilkenny, 1843, *m.* 21 March, 1820, Margaret, youngest *dau.* of William Talbot, of Castle Talbot, County of Wexford (sister of Maria, Countess of Shrewsbury), and had a son and a *dau.*:—

1. George Leopold Bryan, of Jenkinstown, *b.* 29 November, 1828, *d.* 29 June, 1880; J.P., D.L., High Sheriff County Kilkenny, 1852; M.P. for that county, 1865-80, *m.* 6 December, 1849, Lady Elizabeth Georgiana, youngest *dau.* of Francis Nathaniel, 2nd Marquis Conyngham, K.P., and by her (who *re-m.* George James, 11th Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham) had an only child—Mary. *d. unm.*, 1872.

2. Augusta Margaret Gwendaline, *m.* 7 February, 1853, Edward Joseph, 2nd Lord Bellew, and had with other issue a son:—

Hon. George Leopold Bryan, now of Jenkinstown, Co. Kilkenny, Yeomanstown, Co. Kildare, and Grangegeeth, Co. Meath, who assumed the name of Bryan in lieu of Bellew on succeeding his uncle, *b.* 1857, Captain 10th Hussars, J.P., D.L., County Kilkenny.

George Leopold Bryan, the last in the male line of the Jenkinstown family, was for a long time honourably linked in name with the Irish turf, and was a liberal supporter of the Kilkenny hounds. He was first elected member of Parliament for the County Kilkenny in 1865, which position he held until declining health compelled him to resign. He was a highly accomplished gentleman, of tall stature, splendid presence, and elegant features, his brow imperative and stamped with the hauteur of ancient noblesse. In him the people prided, and on his honour they relied with unbounded confidence: in truth, he was to his dying hour *simply* their idol.

Mr. Bryan moved in the highest circles of society, and his extensive fortunes, together with a ready address and rare abilities, secured for him marked attention and respect when ever he rose in the British Senate. His death, which occurred on the 29th June, 1880, created a deep sorrow amongst all creeds and classes, the more so as with him

ended the male line of the House of Jenkinstown. His only child, Mary Bryan, died the 19th November, 1872. Both are placed in the family vault of Jenkinstown.

There is an oil-painting of Major Bryan in the Jenkinstown house, as also paintings of Bishop Roth and Thomas Roth in remarkably good preservation. The arms of Roth are on the right of the Bishop:—A white stag trippant by a tree proper on a field or., underneath the inscription reads—"A.D. 1644, David Episcop. Ossoriensis A. *Ætis* 72, Homo Pvtredo et fili, hominis vermis, Job. 25." At the left corner are the words—"Beati pacifici quoniam filii Dei Vocabvntvr;" and on the table on which the Bishop leans—"In imagine pertransit homo et frustra contrvbatvr, ps. 38." A notice of this painting, and of the painting of Thomas Roth, Dean of St. Canice, is given in the Rev. Mr. Grave's "History and Antiquities of St. Canice's Cathedral," p. 296. Jenkinstown was made the repository of several articles of Divine service, probably about the time of the Confederation of Kilkenny, or on the approach of Cromwell to the city on the 22nd March, 1650. They comprise principally a silver remonstrance with the inscription round the base:—"David Roth, Episcopus Ossorien, me fieri fecit anno 1644. Ora pro clero et populo Diocesis Ossoriensis." On one of five chalices highly chased the inscription reads:—"Ora pro D. Nicholas Cowly, Protonotario Apostolico qui me fieri fecit in usum D. Jacobi Olariprot, 1640." There were also several suits of elegant vestments, all of which, after a period of 200 years safe keeping, were presented to the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, on the completion of the new Cathedral of St. Mary's. (For a more detailed account of those relics see "Trans. of the Kilkenny Archæological Soc.," vol. 1, p. 93).

The Bryan family continued true to the Catholic faith during those long years of storm and persecution, from the early days of Queen Elizabeth to the times of Anne and the Georges. Proud lights went out and "forest oaks" fell before the angry breath of penal enactments. The name of Bryan kept glowing despite it in dimless splendour—

"Like the bright lamp that lay on Kildare's hole fane,
And burn'd thro' long ages of darkness and storm."

(2).—SEIZED—POSSESSED.

Seisin means possession, in deed or in law.

(3).—IN HIS DEMESNE.

When there is question of *corporeal* hereditaments or a corporeal inheritance, a man is said to be seized *in his demesne*; i.e., in *dominio suo*, in his property *absolutely*, if he possesses in his own right without owing any rent or service to any superior. When the owner has not this *absolute and direct dominion*, but holds of another by some

rent or service, he is not said to be seized *absolutely in dominio suo* in his own demesne or property, but only in *his demesne, as of fee, or free tenement*, because it is not purely his own, since it is held of a superior lord in whom the ultimate property resides. When the question regards an *incorporeal* inheritance, a man is said to be seized only *as of fee*, and not in his demesne, for, as incorporeal hereditaments issue out of lands and tenements, their owner has no property, *dominium* or demesne in the *thing* itself, but has only something derived out of it, and thus one man may be seized, *as of fee*, of a way going over the land of which another is seized in *his demesne, as of fee*. From what has been said it is unnecessary to remind my readers that the word *demesne* has not the signification of walled lands attached to a manor house in the above Inquisition.

(4).—TOWN.

Towns, vills, tithings are of the same signification in law. A town originally contained but one parish and one tithing, having a church, the celebration of Divine service, the administration of Sacraments and burials. The word *town* at present in its altered meaning, generically taken, signifies a borough, city, or common town. Anciently an entire vill or town consisted of ten free men, a demi-vill of five, and a hamlet of less than five free men. Tithings or towns seem to have originated under King Alfred The Great (871-901) to prevent rapine and disorder; and are so called because ten freeholders with their families composed one. These all dwelt together and were *sureties* to the King for the good behaviour or conduct of each other. Hence we find them called freemen, freeholders, or *frank pledges* indiscriminately. Originally no man was suffered to abide in England above forty days, unless he were enrolled in some tithing or town. Under Alfred the freeholders held their properties in perpetuity, and they were called *boe-lands* from *boe* the *book* or *charter* by which the titles were conveyed—and subsequently as at present *town lands*. Towns as already mentioned contained originally each but one parish or tithing of ten freemen with their families—subsequently by the increase of inhabitants they became divided into several parishes and tithings, and frequently one parish contained two or more vills or tithings. Ten towns or tithings composed a superior division called a *hundred*, governed by a High-Constable; and an indefinite number of these hundreds made up a *county* or *shire*. Shire signifying a division and “county” derived from *Comes* an *Earl* or *Alderman* to whom the government of it was intrusted.

(5).—DEMISE.

This term is borrowed from an attribute of the King's Majesty, namely, his *perpetuity*. In his *political capacity* the king never dies—Henry, Edward, George, &c., may die, but the *King* survives, and immediately on the decease of the reigning prince his *Kingship* or imperial dignity is at once vested in his heir, who on the instant, by act of law, is King to all intents and purposes. When, therefore, we

say the *demise of the Crown*, we merely mean that in consequence of the disunion between the King's *body natural* from his *body politic* the Kingdom is transferred or demised to his successor. Thus the word *demise* came to signify a transfer of property by any process or deed whatever. In the sense of the above inquisition I take it to mean *by lease*, since it applies to an estate *for life* in the first instant, and in the second, regarding the manor of Damagh, &c., to an estate for a *term of years*. A lease is properly a conveyance of any lands or tenements (*usually* in consideration of rent or other annual recompense, but *not* necessarily) made for life, for years, or at will, but for a less time than the lessor hath in the premises. The usual words of operation in a lease are "demise, grant, and to farm let," which last signifies *provisions*, for before the more frequent use of money the greater part of rents were paid in provisions, corn, poultry, and the like.

(6).—JAMES LE BUTLER.

He was the 9th Earl of Ormonde and 2nd Earl of Ossory, who had been created *Viscount Thurles* in 1535, previous to his restoration to the Earldom of Ormonde by Act of Parliament, 6th November, 1541. He died on the 17th October, 1546, by poison administered at a supper at Ely House, Holborn. "The antiquity of this (Butler) family," says Mr. Burke, "is indisputable, but its origin is not so clearly established." It appears that Theobald Walter, eldest son of Herveius Walter (one of the companions of William the Conqueror), by Maud de Valois, was the first of the name in this country, having come over here with Henry II. Having returned to England he afterwards accompanied Prince John into Ireland in 1185. He was possessed of the baronies of Upper Ormonde, Lower Ormonde, and other territories, and Prince John confirmed to him the grant of *Butlerage* upon the wines imported into Ireland. In confirming and enlarging the incorporation charters "he reserved a privilege," says Lynch, "that out of each ship that thither should happen to come his officer (Lord Theobald) might choose two hogsheads of wine for *his use* for forty shillings, that is to say, for twenty shillings each hogshead, and nothing more, unless at the pleasure of the merchant." This Theobald died in 1206, and was succeeded by his only son (by his wife, Maud, daughter of Robert Vavasour, Baron of Yorkshire.) Theobald, who, in 1221, first assumed the surname of *Le Botiler* or *Le Butler*, and was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland in 1247.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION I.)

TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Ballygawran, 21st July, an. 37.

THE Prior and Community of the house or priory of Kyllmaynam¹, in the county Dublin, were seized, as of fee, for themselves and their successors in right of the aforesaid house of 6 messuages, with appurtenances, within the town of Ballygawran,² in the county Kilkenny, commonly called 'St. John's Lands,' which are subtracted, concealed, and unjustly detained from the Queen by Thomas Butler, Knight of the most excellent order of the Garter, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory. The Prioress and Sisters of Saintmolingbeg,³ in the county Kildare, were seized, as of fee, for themselves and their successors of 1 messuage, with garden, within the town of Ballygawran, in the street called 'The Haggard Streete,' as parcell of the priory aforesaid, which messuage and garden extend in length from the aforesaid street leading to the castle⁴ of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, on the north part, to the land of the aforesaid Earl on the south part, and in width from the Vicar's land of the Church⁵ of Blessed Mary of Gawran, aforesaid, on the East part to the land of the aforesaid Earl on the West part. The aforesaid messuage and garden are unjustly detained from the Queen by the aforesaid Earl of Ormonde and Ossory—Patrick Murphy, burgess, late of Gawran, was attainted for felony, and at the time of his attainder was seized of the fee of 1 garden within the 'burgage' of Gawran, beside the way leading to the mill commonly called 'the Newe Myll.' The aforesaid garden is unjustly detained from the Queen by Edmond Stanton, burgess of Gawran."

(1).—KYLMAINNAM.

Kilmainham is so called from St. Magnend or Maighnen, who had a church and abbey here about the beginning of the seventh century, and whose festival was kept on the 18th Dec. The precise date is not known, but his father Aedh, who retired to Olonnacnoise and assumed the habit there, died in 606, at which time Archdall makes Maighnen abbot of Kilmainham. There is a curious legend about a ram of his that used to carry his Psalter and Prayer-book; having been stolen by a robber. The saint, with 27 clerics, went in search of him to the robber's house, but he having denied all knowledge of the ram, the latter, cut into four quarters and buried, spoke below, and Maighnen and his companions gave thanks to God for this miracle. The robber, in punishment, was struck blind, but having cried with a loud voice, "For God's sake, O, Maighnen, do not deprive me of the light

of heaven for the future ;" the saint prayed fervently to God for him and his sight was restored. The old burial ground adjoining called "Bully's Acre" is said to have been the ancient necropolis of the Danes, and a coarse stone of granite is pointed out as the monument of Turlough, son of Morrough O'Brian, a youth of 16 years, who, after the battle of Clontarf, was found drowned in a salmon weir, his hands entangled in the hair of a Dane with whom he grappled in the pursuit. The Munster Book of Battles by MacLiag favours this tradition, as it states that he was buried at the West end of the Chapel of Kilmainham, with a long stone standing at one end of his tomb with his name written thereon. Time, however, has obliterated this name but not the memory of the hero. It was on the site of St. Maighnen's old church that Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, founded in 1174 a Priory for Knights Templars, which received the confirmation of Henry the II. The Priory was also an alms-house and hospital for the sick, and though formally granted to the Knights Templars it was virtually under the order of the Knights of St. John, of Jerusalem, or those Knights Hospitallers who at a much later period (1560) filled the world with admiration of their heroism in their glorious struggles against the Turks at Fort St. Elme and on the ramparts of Malta. Those two military religious orders of *Knights Templars* and *Knights Hospitallers* were not established in this country till after the English invasion, and their hospital at Kilmainham was considered the noblest pile of architecture in the Kingdom. The former order dates its origin from the year 1118, when they were instituted at Jerusalem by some French and Flemish noblemen partly for the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre.

They derived their name from the house they first occupied in the Holy City, near the site of Solomon's Temple. The latter order dates its origin from about the middle of the eleventh century, when certain merchants of Naples obtained permission to build a house for Christian travellers at Jerusalem, by the payment of an annual tribute to the Saracen Caliph. They founded soon after a church and hospital in honour of St. John the Baptist, and thence took the name of *Knights Hospitallers*.

When Peter the *Hermit*, in 1095, roused by his pathetic and fervid eloquence the religious enthusiasm of Christendom for the recovery of the Holy Lands from the grasp of the Moslems, those military expeditions under the banner of the Cross, called the *Crusades*, were set on foot, and in them the *Templars* and *Hospitallers* first gave proof of their daring valour and devotedness in the cause of Christianity. Never in the annals of warfare were more extraordinary military exploits performed than were achieved by them throughout all their engagements with the Mussalman from their very first trial-day against Saladin, under the walls of Tiberias (1187). Such heroism gained them extraordinary reputation and immense possessions and riches. The Templars themselves when they brought about their abolition in the early part of the fourteenth century (1307-12) by their profligacy, apostacy, and shocking impieties, were owners of 16,000 manors throughout Christendom. To

return to the Priory of Kilmainham. It was established, as has been said, for Knights Templars, but the Knights inducted were of the order of St. John, of Jerusalem, or Knights Hospitallers. The two orders were confirmed by Henry II., in 1176, the year the noble founder, Strongbow, died; and Henry, having enfeoffed Hugh Tyrell, the Elder in the lands of Kilmahalloch, with appurtenances, etc., Hugh bestowed the said lands on the prior of the hospital. In 1316 Roger Utlagh was Prior, and in 1327 he held the offices of Prior, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Deputy of the Kingdom. Notwithstanding those great offices, he was accused of heresy in 1328, the year following, by Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory. This Roger was a near relative of William Utlagh, or Outlaw, Kilkenny, who, with his mother, Dame Kyteler, had been tried before the Ecclesiastical Court for heresy, witchcraft, demon worship, etc., in 1324, and found guilty [see vol. 1, p. 213-39 of the Trans. Ossor. Archæolog. Soc. for a full account of this famous trial, by the late M. Morrin]. Roger, Prior of Kilmainham, was tried on the accusation of Bishop Ledred, before an Ecclesiastical Court, composed of William Rodyard, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; the Abbots of SS. Thomas and Mary; the Prior of the Holy Trinity; Mr. Elias Lawless, and Mr. Peter Willeby. He was honourably acquitted, and in 1340 he was Prior, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Justice. He died on the 13th February, 1341. "A prudent and upright man," says Clynn, "who, by his care and the especial favour and licence of the King, had procured many lands, Churches, and rents for his Order." In 1342 a general assembly, convened by the Earl of Desmond and many other lords, was held at Kilkenny, to draw up a remonstrance to King Edward III. against the rigorous and arbitrary measures that were being enforced by the will of his Majesty against the Anglo-Irish nobles. They charged the English officers already in the country, of neglect, peculation, fraud, and maladministration, whereby was lost one-third part of the territories which had been conquered from the native Irish and many strong castles, such as those of Randown, Athlone, and Roscommon. John Le Archer, Prior of Kilmainham, was one of those commissioned to carry the Address before the King and his Council, and the Parliament of Kilkenny had the satisfaction of checking the misdemeanors complained of, and also of changing his Majesty's "intent's."

Prior Archer, who performed this good service, was sworn Lord Deputy in November, 1347, and died on April 3rd, 1349.

In 1396, Robert White, Prior of Kilmainham, was in possession of the churches of Ballygaveran (Gowran) and Galmoy, in the diocese of Ossory. In 1401, Thomas Le Botiler, an illegitimate son of James, 1st Earl of Ormonde, was Prior. This James was great grandson of Edward I., his mother, Elinor, being daughter of Humphry de Bohun, 4th Earl of Hereford and Essex, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. In consequence of this alliance he was created on the 2nd Nov., 1328, *Earl of Ormonde*, by Edward the III. Prior Thomas, in 1415, crossed over to France at the head of 1,600 men to aid King Henry V., and share in the glorious victory of Agincourt on the 25th of October following,

more fatal to France, with a loss of 10,000 dead upon the field and 14,000 made prisoners, than were the disastrous battles of *Crecy* and *Poiters*. He died in Normandy in November, 1419.

The Royal Hospital for disabled or superannuated soldiers, founded by Charles II., in 1679, now occupies the site of the ancient Priory of Kilmainham. Its chapel has a stained-glass window, which is said to have originally belonged to the Hospitallers' Chapel. This is the sole traditional remnant of the Knight Hospitallers of Kilmainham, the proudest and most chivalrous order of Knights that ever figured in the drama of human existence, or brightened the pages of history with deeds of glory.

By a taxation of the Diocese of Ossory, transcribed by Bishop Ledrede from the original in "*Curia Rom.*," and ascribed to the year 1306, it appears that the Templars of the Priory of Kilmainham were the rectors of the Church of Gowran, and that the vicarage belonged to the Bishop of Ossory. The following is the entry:—"Ecc. de Ballygavan, templar. st. rector. (not taxed) Ex pte. vicar. Epus. vili. xiiis. iiiiid., Decia. xiiis. iiiiid."

From this it appears that the Bishop's part,—viz., the Vicarage, was worth £6 13s. 4d., a very considerable sum in those days. After the suppression of the Templars, the Knights Hospitallers succeeded to the above rectory, as appears from a taxation in the reign of Edward 2nd, after the invasion of Bruce, and mentioned by Bishop Ledrede also:—"Ecclesia de Ballygavan, Hospital (not taxed), Liber Ruber, Ossor, fol. 22.

It is easy to account for the name of "St. John's lands" upon the messuages in Gowran, belonging to the Prior and Community of Kilmainham, since the owners themselves were Knights of St. John, and in consequence affixed the name of their Patron to them.

At what precise date those "lands" and appurtenances were annexed to the Priory of Kilmainham I am unable to find, but as Theobald Walter Chief Butler, or Pincerna of Ireland, gave a charter of incorporation to Gowran some short time after his coming to Ireland, about 1177, and as the Priory of Kilmainham had been established three years previous by Strongbow, it is very probable that the "messuages" of Gowran, mentioned in the Inquisition, were bestowed on the Priors of Kilmainham by this first of the Butlers—Theobald Walter.

(2).—BALLYGAWRAN.

GOWRAN was originally called *Gabhran*, and in Anglo-Irish records it is frequently written *Ballygaveran*. "The word *Gabhar*," says Joyce, "signifies either a *steed* or a *goat*, and it is a question which signification it bears here (Gowran), but on account of the early celebrity of the place, and as it must have constantly been the scene of Royal and Military gatherings, we may fairly conclude that it received its name from horses rather than from goats—*Gabhran*, a place of steeds." Less than a century before the Christian era Conaire Mor, King of Munster, led an army into Leinster to revenge the death of his father, who had been

treacherously slain by Nuadh Nect, the White Prince, near Kilcullen, County Kildare. In the engagement which took place at Oliach, County Carlow, the Munster army was victorious and an eric or fine was in satisfaction imposed on the men of Leinster. A portion of Leinster was also annexed to Munster—

They (the Munster men) obtained,
In full satisfaction for his death,
Laighin deas Gabhair even to the sea.

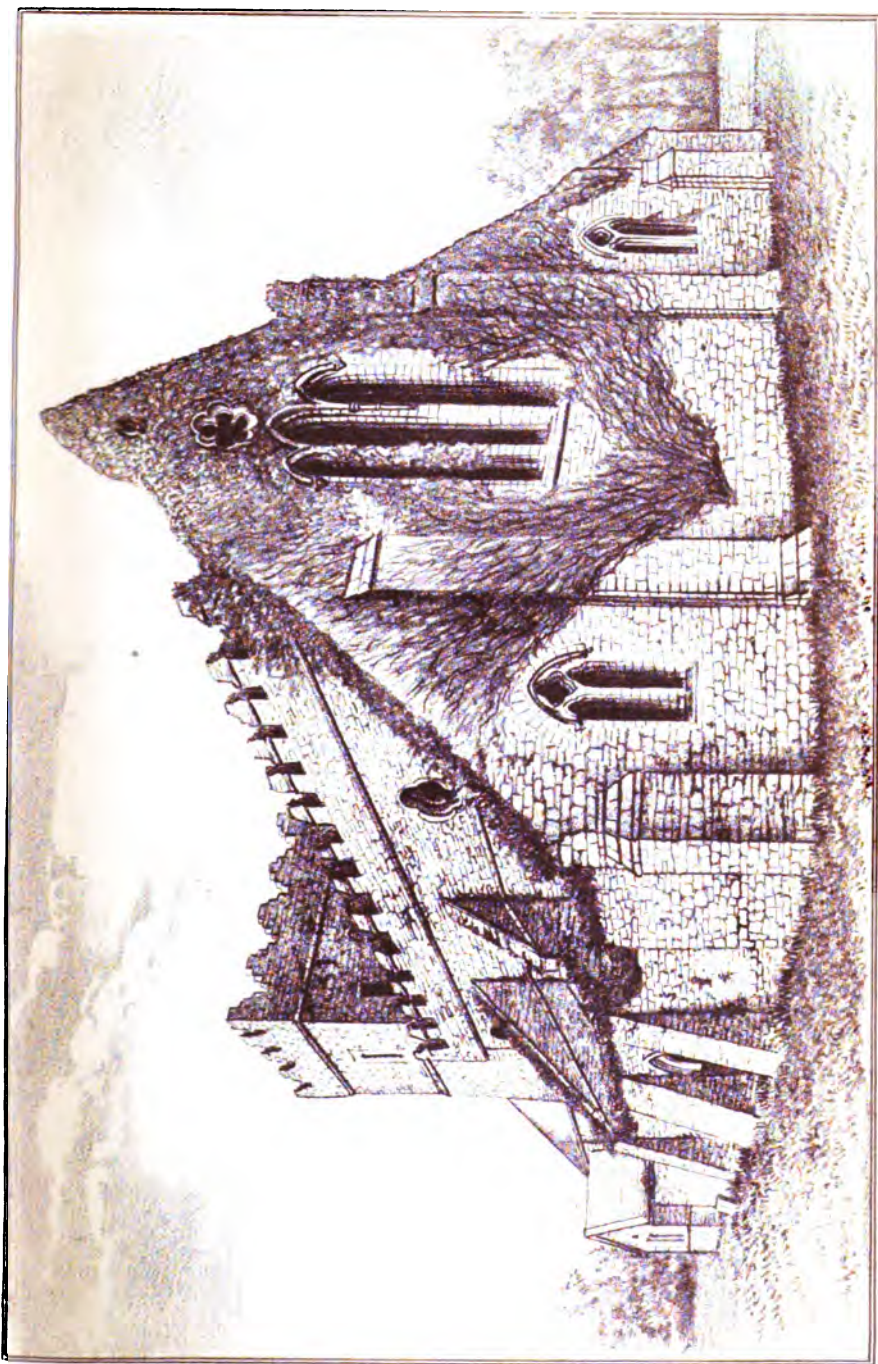
Mr. Hogan, in his "Life of St. Cieran of Ossory," a work of studied research and topographical accuracy, says (p. 52) that *Laighin deas Gabhair* represents "that part of the country insulated between the rivers Barrow and Suir," situate "South of a line drawn across the river Nore from Gabhran to Knockgraffon, on the river Suir down to the sea at Waterford Harbour." The distinguished author, after quoting a passage from Colgan regarding the journey of St. Patrick into Leinster, "Tunc venit Patricius per Bealach Gabhran, etc.," further remarks (p. 133)—"Bealach Gabhran here named is the well-known opening under the Sliabh Margie or Gabhan hills, which run in a continued ridge from near Athy to Gowran, in the County Kilkenny, and this bealach or pass gave name to the district of central Ossory, lying between the present town of Gowran and the borders of Tipperary, through which lay in ancient as in modern times the great highway from South Leinster to South and South-West Munster." When Cormac Mac Cuileannan, King of Cashel, and an Archbishop, at the evil promptings of the Munster Chiefs led an aggressive army into Leinster in 903, or, according to the Four Masters, in 908 it is more than probable his line of march lay through *Bealach Gabhran*, or, Great Pass of Gowran. It was on his direct way to Ballaghmoon, where he came up with the combined forces of Leinster, Meath, and Connaught, under command of the Monarch Flann. Ballaghmoon is set down by historians as situate a few miles north of the town of Carlow, but I am of opinion it is at Ballaghmoon, about two miles north-east of Bagnalstown, that the battle was fought. The Archbishop never returned through Gowran Pass. On the side of one of those declivities which surrounded the field of action, his horse rolled over him, and he was killed on the spot. His army, after a feeble resistance, were utterly defeated, and 6,000 of the Munster men, with many chiefs, were slain. In '83 the Very Rev. Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown, and myself visited the site of this engagement, and were informed by a layman that in working the large sand banks convenient they usually met with great heaps of bones and some weapons of warfare, which favour the suspicion that the slain were interred in them. Flann had the remains of Cormac removed to Castledermot, and there honourably buried. Carte, in his introduction to the "Life of James, Duke of Ormonde," has preserved a charter of Theobald Walter, created chief Butler of Ireland in 1177, whereby he granted "to his free burgesses of *Ballygaveran* various lands, at a rent of ten marks of silver per annum." Carte also mentions an entry in

the Register of the Diocese of Ossory, dated at Kilkenny, on the 2nd of November, 1312, from which it appears that William, Bishop of Ossory, binds himself to support, in the Church of Blessed Mary, of Ballygaveran (Gowran), four priests to pray for the soul of Edmond Le Botiler, his wife, Joane, etc. This Edmond succeeded his brother, Theobald, 5th Butler, who died, unmarried, in 1299. He received the honor of Knighthood in 1309. He was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1312. In 1314 he was made Chief Governor, under the title of Lord Justice, and on the 1st September, 1315, he was created *1st Earl of Carrick*. His wife, Joan, whom he married in 1302, was daughter of John, *1st Earl of Kildare*, by whom he had issue three sons and two daughters. He commanded a large force against Edward Bruce, and was defeated, with great loss, at Ascul, near Athy. He undertook a pilgrimage to Spain to the shrine of St. James, or, Jago de Compostella, then visited by great numbers of pilgrims from all parts of Europe. According to Clyn, he died on his return, at London, on the vigil of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, 1321, and was buried in Gowran. The four priests endowed by William Fitz John, Bishop of Ossory, above mentioned, lived together, or collegiately, as appears from the Regal Visitation Book of 1615, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. "Erant ibidem ab antiquo quatuor Vicarii in parvo Collegio, et quilibet eorum recepit ex decimis illius villae ad valorem viginti marcarum : eorum erat officium interesse divinis in ecclesia Parochiale de Gowran." Trans.—"There were there from old four Vicars in the little College, and each of them received from the tithes of that town to the value of 20 marks ; their duty was to assist at Divine offices in the parochial church of Gowran." The house or tenement occupied by those four priests is marked "College," on a Map dated March, 1710, and preserved amongst the Clifden papers. It was situate close by the church on the east side. A fac-simile of this Map was supplied by the late Mr. E. Taylor, C.E., to the Rev. Mr. Graves, in 1856, and was engraved for the Transacts. of the Kilkenny Archæolog. Soc., on a reduced scale. There is also marked on the Map a tenement "House Templers" at the south side of the "Green," and it fixes likewise the position of the Castle of Gowran, the first seat of the Ormonde family in this county. In 1317, Robert Bruce, seeing the determination of the citizens of Dublin, to resist him in setting fire to their suburbs, he abandoned the risk of a siege and directed his march through Naas, Castledermot, Gowran, and Callan, on his way to Limerick. Chroniclers say that burned towns, plundered churches, and even desecrated tombs, in search of treasures marked his line of advance. He was accompanied in his march by his brother Edward. Dowling in his annals erroneously notices this burning expedition under the date 1314, thus : "The Rebels advanced through the country burning Naas, Tristledermot (Castledermot), Cathirlough (Carlow), Gowran *alias* Ballygawran, Callan and Cashel," etc.

By Rot. Pat. Henry 5th, a grant of tolls is made to Ballygaveran for forty years, to enable the burgesses to pave and wall their town

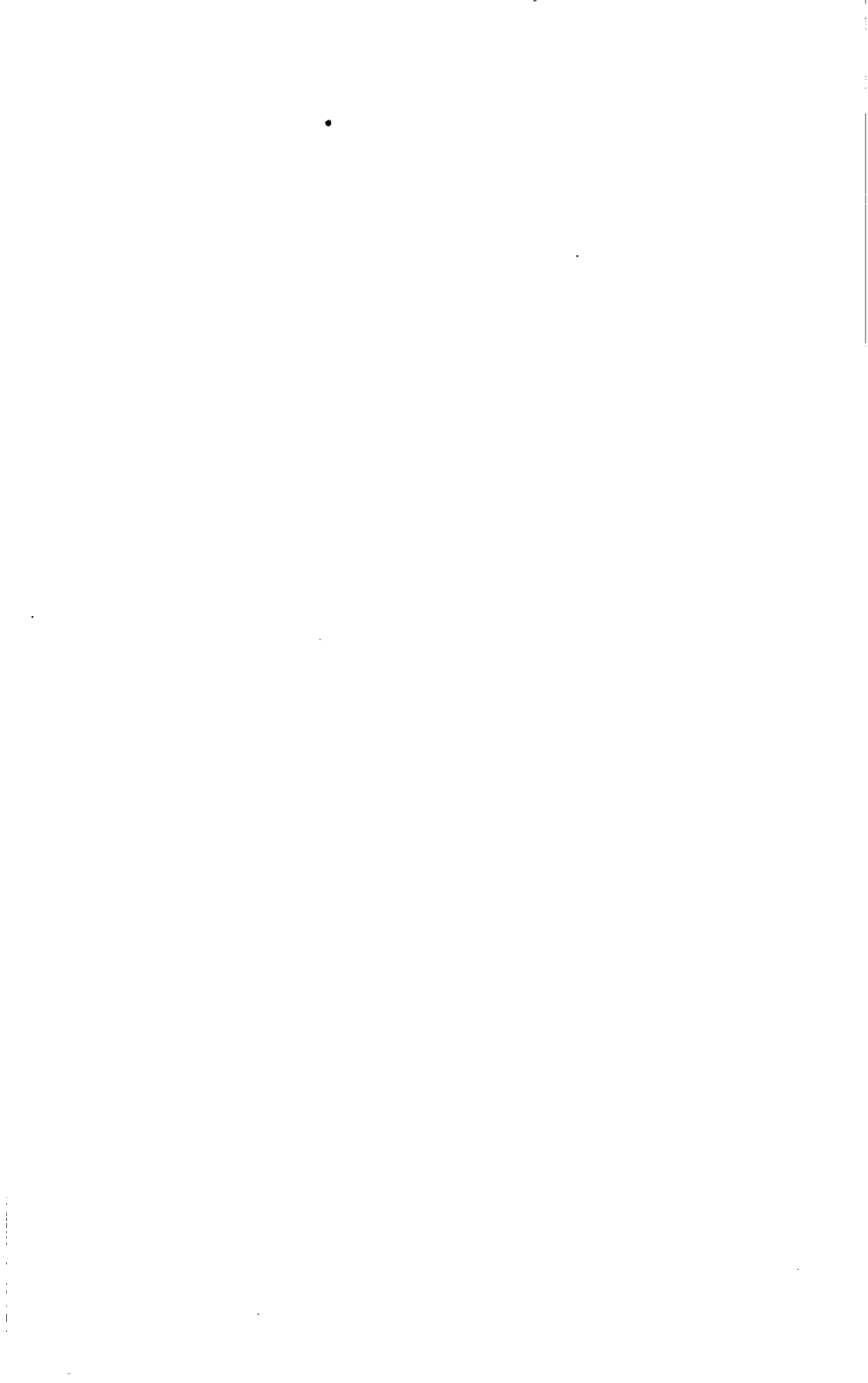
which had been lately burned by the Irish enemy, "and who daily threatened to do it again." This was about the year 1414-15, when Sir John Talbot—Lord Furnival, the Lord Justice—so mercilessly laid waste the country and exacted so severe terms of the conquered chieftains as to compel them to fight against their brother chieftains under the English standard. It became a trite saying, Furnival "obliged one Irish enemy to serve upon the other." The Church of Blessed Mary, of Gowran, still exists, but time and want of attention have encroached unsparingly on its elegance and graceful proportions; in a word, it is a ruin of regrettedly decayed grandeur. As one enters the aisle and nave by an arched doorway fluted, moulded, and ornamented with choice capitals on the north side, he cannot refrain from expressing his conviction that the age which could allow a medieval gem of such artistic taste to crumble away in lone desolation amidst the *debris* of broken arches may well be called an age of intolerable barbarism. The style is early English, and the beautiful pillars of the aisles rise in lofty elegance to support the graceful development of the Gothic arches above them. A strong tower, perforated for a bell-pull, rises above the nave and chancel, but there were no transepts. The chancel has been replaced by the Present Protestant Parish Church, within which the original baptismal font of Blessed Mary's Church is tastefully erected. On either side of the chancel and within the aisles were two *capella*s, and close towards the Altars, which were lighted by two beautiful lancet windows, were two recesses, probably for family pews, nicely surmounted with ribbed mouldings.

On the right or Epistle side-aisle is a *piscina* also moulded and arched after the manner of the recesses. The west end shows an exquisite triplet lancet window, and the pillars and arches along the right aisle have entirely disappeared. The sides of the nave were also lighted towards the roof with moulded quatre-foil apertures. It appears that Mr. Ashlin modelled his design of the new Roman Catholic Church of Gowran after this old Church of Blessed Mary. Resting against its walls on the outside are stone sculpturings of the Apostles, with some few effigies represented in armour. It was for a time thought that two of those were meant to represent Edmond Le Botiler, and his wife, Joan, above mentioned. The male effigy is represented in a "haubergeon" of chain mail, beneath a coat of plate armour. The arms are encased in "brassarts" of plate with roundlets at the shoulder joints, the right hand grasping the hilt of the sword which lies obliquely across the left thigh. A cuirass, or tippet of chain, covers the breast and shoulders, and altogether, the armour may be taken in style as belonging to the 15th or 16th century, and not of so early a period as 1321, when Edward Le Botiler is said to have been buried at Gowran. To replace those elegant monuments in their proper positions within the Church, to restore the broken arches and re-erect the graceful pillars of the aisles, to rescue the beautiful Church of Blessed Mary of Gowran from the grasp of crumbling decay, would be a cost of inconsiderable account to the youthful Lord of the Soil, whilst



GOWRAN CHURCH, CO. KILKENNY.

FROM PHOTO BY MR. ROBINSON



such a work would secure for Lord Clifden the gratitude of all men who love to look on the "grey old monuments" of time, and admire in them the lingering beauties of mediæval art. [Since the above was written the Rev. E. F. Hewson, the respected Rector of Gowran, has done very great service in clearing the *debris* from the interior of this Church. Several monuments of interest have been found in the work of clearing and placed in a position of safety and inspection within the Church. His notice may be seen in the report of "The Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead" (Ireland), for 1888-9]. The Ogham stone, of much celebrity, is thrown carelessly on the grass, on the south side of the Church, within the burial ground. This relic ought to be looked after, and inserted in a limestone pedestal to insure its preservation. In 1546 we find that Henry 8th laid his hands on the Bishop's Vicarage of Gowran. By Pat. and Close Rolls appears, "Presentation of Robert Jones to the Vicarage of Gowran, in the Diocese of Ossory, vacant by the death of Thomas O'Morho, and in the King's gift, 'pleno jure,' Dec. 6, 37°."

In 1599, Jan. 18, appears "Presentation of William Oahill to the office of one of the four chaplains of the parish church or Colledge of Gowran, in the County of Kilkenny, vacant by the decease of Anthony Harpeny, late incumbent and in the donation of the Crown," *pleno jure*, Pat. Rolls, Eliz., Dub., Jan. 18, 41° (Morrin). The Colledge of Gowran, above mentioned, received its name, *not* because it was at all an educational establishment for youths, but on account of the four Vicars endowed having lived together (*collegiately*) in the same house, which tenement thence took the name of "the Colledge." In 1628, a grant of the "rectory and office of Master and Chaplain of Gowran, in the county of Kilkenny," was made to Sir William Parsons, Knight and Baronet, his heirs and assigns for ever. In February, 1566, a warrant was issued by the Lord Deputy to the Sheriff of Kilkenny, exonerating the Portrieve, commons and inhabitants of *Gawrane town*, "from payment of cess and other county charges of horsemen, horses and boys, in consequence of the poverty of the inhabitants and the place being considered suitable for the residence of soldiers for the defence of the country," etc. In 1650 Gowran Castle was bravely defended by Colonel Hammond against the forces of Oromwell under Hewson. The officers and garrison, together with Colonel Hammond, were put to the sword, and a Catholic Olergyman—probably the Chaplain—was hanged. The Castle was committed to the flames. On the 3rd of May, 1687, the Corporation of Gowran made a formal surrender of its charters, liberties, etc., to James 2nd, who does not appear to have granted them a new charter in return. On the 6th October, 1690, after the disaster of the Boyne, a court of the Corporation was held, at which "it was unanimously agreed that King William having honoured this Corporation with his presence, ryding through the same after the *route* of the Boyne, and delivering the rod and mace of the said Corporation to Charles Agar, one of our ancient burgesses, that therefore we elect the said Charles Agar to be our Portrieve for the ensuing year." Among the Clifden

papers, with some books of the Corporation, is preserved a brass seal, with a Castle, and the date 1695 engraved. Round the edge is the inscription:—"Corporation of Gowran," and on the stem of seal is engraved "Charles Ager, Portrife."

(3).—SAINT MOLENBEG.

Timolin a village situate in the barony of Noragh and Rheban. A monastery was established here at a very early age, for Canons Regular, as mention is made of the death of the "abbot of Timolyng and lector of Glendalougha," in A.D. 927 (Monas. Hib. Archdall). The village took its name from St. Moling—*Tigh-Moling*, i.e., "the house of Moling." It was called Molinbeg or Timolinbeg to distinguish it from other religious houses of St. Moling, and many grants were made by the Archbishop of Dublin, Henry of London, to the Prioress and nuns of St. Molinbeg nunnery, in 1220. The convent was founded by Robert Fitz-Richard, Lord of Noragh, about the time of King John, for nuns of the Order Aroacia under the invocation of the Virgin Mary.

How the Prioress came to be seized of the messuage and garden mentioned in the above Inquisition in the town of Ballygawran does not appear.

(4).—THE CASTLE OF THOMAS BUTLER, ETC.

Of this Castle there is not at present a stone upon a stone. On the day of my visit to the Church of Blessed Mary, in company with Father Rocket, we proceeded on our return therefrom to the *Green*, and thence joined by an intelligent and respectable trader of Gowran, Mr. Cahill, we directed our steps to the "Newe Myll" mentioned in the above Inquisition. It is situate a short distance from the town on the old Coach-road to Waterford, and must have been designated "Newe Myll" to distinguish it from a tenement convenient called the "brewery," and said to be of much older date. A little further beside the road is a castle mantled around from foundation to top with thick ivy.

It is a mistake to hand over to ivy's clasp monumental piles—it so helps time to disfigure and overthrow them. This Castle is called—according to my informant, Mr. Cahill—*Ballyshaunmore* Castle, and is said to have been built by one of the Butlers named Big John.

John, 6th Earl of Ormonde, was one of the first noblemen of his age. It was of him Edward IV. remarked, "that if good breeding and liberal qualities were lost in the world they might be all found in John, Earl of Ormonde." He was master of many European languages, and having, through devotion, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Lands, he there died in 1478. He may have built this castle, as *Ballyshaunmore* means the town of *big*, or *great John*. The castle, however, named in the Inquisition was the one known as "The Castle of Gowran." It was built by James, 3rd Earl of Ormonde, towards the close of the 14th century and


from his having made it his usual residence, he was commonly called *Earl of Gowran*. He also purchased, in 1391, the Ormonde Castle from the heirs of Sir Hugh Le Spencer, which was originally erected by William, Earl Marshal, in the beginning of the 13th century. Mr. Cahill brought us next to the Lawn Tennis and pleasure grounds in front of the present Clifden mansion, and informed us that there once stood the stately castle of the Butlers. There was nothing left to recall its outlines or proud dimensions; nothing to re-people the spot with tilting knights and bold retainers: man's hand had wiped away the one; and the "waves of time" had sunk the haughty memories of the others deep beneath their surface.

INQUISITIONS (KILKENNY.)

(INQUISITION II.)

TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Callan, 11 April, 39. (1597).

ILLIAM LINCOLL,¹ at the time of his death, was seized of the fee² of the moiety of the stone house, or 'the bawne,' of Malardstowne, in the county Kilkenny, and of 10 acres arable, boscase and pasture, in Malardstowne, and those he held from the Queen for the eighth part of Knight's fee.³ Being so seized, he died. The aforesaid William, on the day of his death, was seized of the moiety of the castle, towne, and land of Castelltobane,⁴ in the county Kilkenny, and held the same in soccage⁵ as of the manor⁶ of Malardstown—the aforesaid moiety of the castle, etc., containing 1½ acres. Katherine Lincoll is daughter and heiress of the aforesaid William, and was five years of age at the time of the taking of this Inquisition; is not married, and is under the custody of Mar. Bryver, her mother. The aforesaid William Lincoll died the 6th January, 1595. Robert Walshe Fitz-James received, by sequestration, the profits of the aforesaid lands and tenements from the time of the aforesaid William's death to the taking of this Inquisition."

(1).—THE FAMILY OF LINCOLN.

The Lincoll family seems to have been in possession of Malardstowne and Castletobin for a considerable period. In Pat. Olos. Rolls, Memb. 25, Eliz. 39^o appears, "Grant to William Geough of the custody, wardship, and marriage of Katherine Lincoll, daughter and heiress of

William Lincoll, late of Waterford, Merchant" From the "Funeral Entries," vol. 7, p. 222, Ulster Office, Dublin, it appears one William Lincoln, of Waterford, 2nd son of Robert Lincoln, succeeded his brother, John, and dying at Waterford, about 20th July, 1637, was buried at Christ's Church. He left two sons—(1) John; (2) William, who married Mary, daughter of George Lee, gent., Waterford, and had three sons and six daughters—(1) Robert; (2) John; (3) Luke. (1) Katherine, married Bartholomew Harrold, Waterford; (2) Mary, married Francis Butler, Waterford; (3) Anstance, (4) Anne, (5) Ellin, (6) Ursula, unmarried. The origin of this family is unknown to me. It may have descended from the De Lacy, as we find that L. Henry Lasey was Earl of Lincoll (*recte* Lincoln), when he died previous to A.D. 1311. In England the Clintons and Burghleys were also Earls of Lincoln.

In addition to the above Mr. P. M. Egan, Borough Treasurer, Kilkenny, has kindly supplied me with the following list of members of the family who held the honourable positions of Mayor and Sheriff of Waterford at different periods :—

A.D.	WATERFORD		A.D.	WATERFORD	
1397	William Lincolne,	Mayor	1571	James Lincolne,	Sheriff
1417	do	do	1589	William Lincoln,	do
1428	do	do	1645	Garret Lincolne,	Mayor
1449	do	do	1611	William Lincolne,	Sheriff
1478	do	do	1627	do	do
1523	do	Bailiff	1627	Barth. Lincolne,	do
1535	do	Mayor	1635	William Lincolne,	do
1543	do	do	1635	Garret Lincolne,	do
1528	do	Bailiff	1645	John Lincolne,	do
1530	do	do			

Catherine Lincoll, mentioned in the Inquisition as of five years of age when her father died, was subsequently married to Sir Peter Aylward, of Faithlegg, in the county Waterford, and died without issue on the 9th March, 1627. Sir Peter Aylward was owner of large property in manors, castles, lands, etc., with the town, lands, mills, wharfs, etc., of Passage, in the same county. He died 24th August, 1645, and "was *not* at the time of his death of the communion of the Anglican Church." (Inq. Black Abbey, 14th April, 1664.) Mallardstown is in the old Parish of White Church, and barony of Kella. The Rev. Peter Doyle, C.C., Callan, has kindly sent me the following :— "Mallardstown has a holy well dedicated to St. James the Apostle, but there is no ruin of a Church or Monastery in the district, nor was there to the memory of anyone now living in Callan."

(2).—OF THE FEE.

This word *Fee* originated with the feudal system concerning which for the better understanding of such, and like terms of frequent occurrence in the "Inquisitions," it seems necessary to offer a few remarks. The Saxon and Norman constitutions were based on military organization. "The State," as Dr. Smyth observes, "was modelled on

the camp." This organization upheld "loyalty" to the chief and "respect" of personal rights amongst peoples in settled homes; but it was different with those hordes of Goths, Huns, Franks, and Vandals who poured in armed swarms over the countries of Europe and wasted the provinces of the Roman Empire. Their boast was "*Equality*" and "*personal independence*." When Charles the Simple asked the North men what was the title their leader bore!—they replied none—we are all equally free. "Equality of freedom" and "personal independence" suited very well for hordes banded together and bent on conquest; it was different when they began to form settled states as in Normandy. The necessity then arose to modify those principles and frame laws and base institutions upon them *so modified*. Land was the *fee*, the stipend or conditional reward to be dealt out in consideration of services rendered, whilst its possession entailed a further condition of continuing faithful service at home and in the wars, for which purpose the possessor of an allotment or of allotments of land took the *juramentum fidelitatis* or *oath of fealty*. The allotments were assigned by the General or conquering Chief to the superior officers, and by them in turn to the inferior officers and most worthy men of the rank, in smaller parcels. To defend those *fees* or allotments of land was evidently the interest of those who received them, and as they were all acquired by conquest they were naturally dependent on each other. The givers and receivers had, therefore, an interest in mutually defending each other, and thus whilst each receiver was bound, *even* in his own interest, to defend his immediate benefactor or feudal lord, so the several lords in their respective positions of superiors and subordinates were bound to protect the possessions they had allotted. "Thus, the feudal connection was established," says Blackstone, "a proper military subjection was naturally introduced, and an army of feudatories were always ready enlisted and mutually prepared to muster, not only in defence of each man's own several property, but also in defence of the whole, and of every part of this their newly acquired country; the prudence of which constitution was sufficiently visible in the strength and spirit with which they maintained their conquests." The wisdom of the policy and the valour displayed by the Northern conquerors in defending their newly-acquired dominions awakened the attention of European Princes. An almost simultaneous advance in the same direction was made by them, and *allodial* possessions of their subjects heretofore independent, as held of no superior, were soon merged under "feudal obligation," and subjected to "oath of fealty." This system, which worked a material alteration in landed property, was not systematically and rigorously adopted in England till the time of the Norman conquest, and in fact it was not till the year 1086, twenty years after the battle of Hastings, that William the Conqueror received the *oath of fealty* from all the English freeholders, and finished the great record of the landed estates of the Kingdom, known as *Domesday Book*, which registered the names of 283,000 persons who "submitted their lands to the yoke of military tenure, became the king's vassals and did homage and fealty to his person."

The King accordingly became the supreme lord of the land or *Suzerain* and the possessor of the allotted lands or *fiefs* were his *vassals* who were bound to follow his banner with a force proportioned to their respective tenures, to attend his courts, and tender him their counsel, etc.,—whilst the King on the other hand was bound to protect his vassals in the full and secure enjoyment of their *fiefs*. The development of the system worked an increase of power for the great vassals or great feudatories at the expense of the Crown, for those in turn parcelled out their estates to classes of retainers by *sub-infeudation* and administered justice to them in their own courts. The lands that remained free (which were few) that is which owed no service to a Suzerain were called *allodial* in contradistinction to *feudal*. The service rendered by the great vassals to the King, was but occasional whilst they themselves were surrounded in their fortified castles by their numerous retainers, who “feasted in their halls, shared their sports, lived under their protection,” and were kept exercised in petty broils amongst themselves to prevent “combination” against real or supposed grievances and make of their feudal masters a *military aristocracy*. The vassals received their *fiefs* from the feudal lord by *investiture*, taking the oath of *fealty* or profession of faith to the lord. *Investiture* or open delivery of corporal possession took place before other vassals so that the evidence of the property or *fee* might repose in the memory of the people or inhabitants in case of difference or disputed title and to supply the want of writing at a time when that art was but little known. The vassal also did *homage* for his *fief* to his lord which was done by “openly and humbly kneeling being ungirt, uncovered and holding up his hands both together, between those of the lord who sate before him and there professing that *he did become his man from that day forth of life and limb and earthly honor*, and then he received a kiss from his lord.” In this manner real property was disposed of. It was parcelled out, dependent upon and holden of some superior lord, by and on account of some services to be paid or rendered to the lord by the tenant or possessor. The thing holden was called *tenement*, the holder or possessor was called *tenant*, and *tenure* was the name given to the manner of possession. As the King was *Suzerain* and lord *paramount* all lands were supposed to be held immediately or mediately from him. Those who held immediately from the King were called *tenants in capite*, or in *chief*, and when they in turn parcelled out their properties to inferiors they became themselves *mesne* or *middle lords*, and their tenants were called *paravail*, as they were supposed to work the lands and make them *avail* or profitable. The *tenures* borrowed different names arising from the nature of the services respectively attached to them ; thus there was *military* tenure, or *Knight's service* tenure, *soccage* tenure, *burgage* tenure, etc., each of which will be explained as it occurs in the Inquisitions. Taking *fee* in its original meaning, as signifying a *reward* or *stipend* in consideration of services to be rendered, and as this *reward* mostly consisted of landed *allotments* the possession of such gave the receiver a vested interest in them, and such interest or estate was *absolute* or *fee-simple* when held by a tenant for himself and his heirs for

ever *absolutely and simply*, without specifying what heirs, but leaving that to his own will and pleasure. A tenant in *fee-simple*, therefore, having thus the absolute and unconditional freehold possession of his property to himself and his heirs for ever, could dispose of it by will or deed at his own pleasure, and in this, *fee-simple* property is contradistinguished from a tenure in fee tail, which is a limited inheritance, and shall be noticed hereafter in its proper place.

(3).—KNIGHT'S FEE.

On the introduction of the feudal system after the Norman conquest, the lands of the Kingdom were divided into *Knight's fees* of about 60,000 in number. For every Knight's fee, a Knight or Soldier was bound to follow the King's standard in the wars for forty days in a year. In process of time this personal service was commuted for pecuniary aids, and, in the time of Henry 2nd, a *Knight's fee* amounted to £20. It was abolished at the Restoration, by Statute 12, Car. 11, c. 24.

(4).—CASTELLTOBANE.

This locality will recur in a subsequent Inquisition, when it shall be duly noticed.

(5).—SOCCAGE.

Soccage, in its general signification, denotes a *tenure* by any *certain and determinate* service, whereby it differs from Knight's service, the rendering of which was precarious or doubtful; thus, for instance, to hold by fealty and homage, or by fealty and by £5 rent, or by fealty and homage only—all these are *tenures in soccage*. It is derived from *soca*, a plough-share, according to some; but Blackstone with Somner hold that it is derived from the Saxon *soc*, signifying liberty or privilege. The services of *free soccage* were certain and honourable, and the lands and tenements under such tenure were not subject to homage, wards, marriages, or relief; and hence in the reigns of Edward I. and Charles II., tenants, holding by Knight's service, considered it of the first importance to reduce such tenures to *Francis Ferme*, or *soccage tenure*. The Statute 12, Charles II., c. 24, abolished "all fines for alienations, tenures by homage, Knight's service, tenures of the King *in capite*, etc., and ordained that all sorts of tenures held by the King, or otherwise, with some few exceptions, be turned into free and common soccage. This last mentioned therefore "absorbed and swallowed up," as Blackstone remarks, "almost every other species of tenure." Soccage, being defined a tenure by a certain determinate service or services, it will, as is plain, include under it in general all holdings of free lands for certain rents and imposts.

(6).—AS OF THE MANOR.

Manors were known before the Norman Conquest, and are as old as the Saxon Constitution. They were called *manors* from the Latin word, *manere* to dwell, because the lord or owner resided usually on one

as part of his territorial district, and kept to himself so much of the land as was necessary for the use of his household—such reserved lands were called *demesne* lands, being in the immediate occupation of the *Dominus* or lord of the manor. The other lands were divided amongst the tenants, and were called *book lands* or charter lands *when held by deed for certain rents and services* just as by *free soccage*. The freehold tenants held those lands of their particular manor to which they owed service. A second division was called *folk lands*, which were parcelled out amongst the common folk or people at the will and pleasure of the lord and could be resumed by him at his discretion. The remainder of the manor lay uncultivated for the purpose of public roads, and served as commonage of pasture for the lord and his tenants. Manors were formerly called *baronies*, and are still called *lordships*. Each lord was empowered to hold a court called the *Court Baron* for redressing misdemeanors within the manor, and for settling or arranging disputes of property among the tenants. No manor could exist without this court, and if the number of suitors should so fail as not to have two tenants at least to make a *jury* or *homage* the manor was lost.

The greater Barons who held very large territories under the Crown granted smaller manors to inferiors, and those in turn to the other inferiors, and thus *ad infinitum* by the process of *sub-infeudation* till finally the *lords paramount* or superior lords found all their feudal profits of wardships, escheats, marriages, etc., swallowed up by the *mesne* or middle lords, who became the immediate superiors of the tenants. This led to a statute of Edward 1st, which directed "that upon all sales or feoffments of land the feoffee shall hold the same, not of his immediate feoffor, but of the chief lord of the fee."


Since that statute no new manor could have been created, as there could be no tenants (necessary for a manor) created by any subject to hold of himself, and hence any present existing manor must have existed, at least since 1290, the year the above-named statute was passed.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION III.)

TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"Kilkenny, 25th May, an. 39. (1597).

ERALD BLANCHVILD¹ closed his last day at Blanchvildstown, on the 6th April, '36, year of the Queen (1594). Edmond Blanchvild is his son and heir, and was nine years of age at the time of his father's death, and unmarried. The aforesaid Gerald, 26 years having already elapsed, feoffed² Walter Butler and David Blanchvild, their heirs, and assigns in the manor, town, and lands in Blanchvildstowne, Ballinteverry, Madockstowne, the moiety of Bennettsbridge, Kilmodunog, Derricloghin, Olaregh-temple, Carren, 'Stanton's-field,' 'Blanchvild's Lands,' adjoining Fennell's Hill, Smythstowne, and Tredenstown, to the use of the aforesaid Gerald for the term of his life, remainder³ to the use of Leonard Blanchvild, son and heir of the aforesaid Gerald, and of the heirs, male, of the body of the aforesaid Leonard, and in defect of such heirs to the use of James Blanchvild, and the heirs, male, of the aforesaid James, and in defect of such heirs to the use of Edward Blanchvild, and of the heirs, male, of the body of the aforesaid Edward, and in defect of such heirs to the use of the aforesaid Gerrald, and the heirs, male, of the body of the said Gerrald, by virtue of which feoffment the aforesaid Walter Butler and David Blanchfield were seized of the premises, and being so seized the aforesaid Walter died, and the aforesaid David survived him. The aforesaid David subsequently died, after whose death the aforesaid tenements, with appurtenances, descended to one Leonard Blanchvild, as son and heir of the aforesaid David, by virtue of which this same Leonard was seized of the premises, and is still seized of the fee for the use of the aforesaid Edmund Blanchfield, and his (Edmund's) heirs, male. The aforesaid Gerrald died, as already mentioned, and the aforesaid Leonard, son of the aforesaid Gerrald, and James and Edward Blanchvild died without heirs, male. The town, lands, and tenements of Mothel are held *in capite* by service of one Knight's fee. The aforesaid Gerald Blanchvild, at the time of his death, was seized of the fee of 8 acres of land, parcell of the like town of Mothell, and died so seized; after whose death the aforesaid 8 acres descended to the aforesaid Edmund Blanchvild; which 8 acres are held from the Queen, *in capite*, by Knight's service. The aforesaid Gerrald was seized of the fee of the town, lands, and tenements of Cournebogheley, in mortgage from Robert Walsh, late of Castleowlen. So seized he died, and after his death the aforesaid tenements descended to the aforesaid Edmund. The afore-

said Gerald Blanchvild held the town and tenements of Blanchardstown, Ballenter, Madogstowne, the moiety of the town of Bennettsbridge, Tredenstown, Kilmodimog, Derryloghin, Claregh-temple, Aghnylark in Ferran O'Rian, Smythstowne, and Whitestowne, from the Earl of Ormonde as of his manor of Gowran for certain rents and other services. The same Gerald held the lands of Caren and Stantons-field from the Bishop of Ossory, as of the manor of Lough, for service. The aforesaid Gerald was seised of Blanchvild's-land, adjoining Fennell's-hill, and by his own deed, dated the 5th May, 1572, he demised⁴ same for the term of 21 years to William Shee and Margaret Walshe, which lands are held from Philip Purcell as of his manor of Kilmolog. The aforesaid Gerald, in his lifetime, was seised in fee of the town, land, and tenement of Park, which, at the time of the aforesaid Gerald's death, were, and still are, in the possession of John Butler, but by what title the jurors know not. The aforesaid Gerald was seised, as of fee, of 1 messuage and 1 garden in Kilkenny. One Edmund Dalton was seised of those same at the time of the aforesaid Gerald's death, and they are held 'in burgage' from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his castle of Kilkenny. The aforesaid Gerald was seised, as of fee, of the messuage and 1½ acres of land in Gowran, in the county Kilkenny. Edmund Blanchvild held the same by demise, and they are held from the Earl of Ormonde by burgage tenure,⁵ as of his manor of Gowran. The aforesaid Gerald was seised of Blanchvildstang, in Higginestowne, as of fee, and Richard Arohdekin, at the time of the aforesaid Gerald's death, was in possession of the same; also he was seised, as of fee, of 1 croft in Claregh-temple, in the county aforesaid, and died seised of same. The aforesaid croft is held from Nicholas Shortall, as of his manor of Upper Olarraghin for the annual rent of 8d."

(1).—THE FAMILY OF BLANCHFIELD.

"The family of Blanchville," says John D'Alton, "is of record in Ireland from the time of the Tudors, and was especially located in the County Kilkenny, where Gerald Blanchville died, seised of considerable estates in 1594." The family of Blanchville, as it is now commonly called, is of undoubted antiquity, but its origin I am unable to establish. It is, however, nearly 300 years of older mention than the reign of the first Tudor, Henry, Earl of Richmond, who, after his signal success at Bosworth, in 1485, was crowned as King Henry VII. In the Rot. Mem. of Edwards I. and II., quoted by the Rev. J. Graves in his "Antiquities of St. Canice Cathedral," we find Nicholas Blanchville, Seneschal of Kilkenny in 1303. In 1335 mention is made of John de Blanchville, who, as Knight, attended the father-in-law of James, 2nd Earl of Ormonde; Sir John Darcy, Lord Justice of Ireland, to aid Edward III. in restoring order in Scotland two years after the defeat of Douglas and his army at Halidon Hill. In 1394, John Blanchville was a "custos pacis" of the County Kilkenny, and in 1398 he was appointed Sheriff of the same County by writ of King Richard II.

A branch of the Blanchfield family appears also to have settled in the

County Dublin, for in the 15^o Edward IV. (1476) we find a "conveyance whereby Marion Craise, widow, grants unto Walter Ludlow, Walter Crenane, and Robert Blanchville, all her lands, possessions, and tenements in Cruiserath, in the County Dublin, to hold for ever, rendering to the chief lords of the fee, the services due and accustomed." *Jan. 2, 15^o Edward 4th.* In and probably prior to the time James I., a branch of this same family settled at Rathmoell, in the County Carlow. By an Inquisition, dated Carlow, 13th September, 1657, in the time of Charles I. : "Oliver Blanchfield, late of Rathmoell, gentleman, was seised of the town, hamlets, and lands of Rathmoell," &c. In 1537, the head of the Blanchville family was denounced by the Commoners of the County Kilkenny for his imposition of *livery* and *coyn* upon his tenants. The odious and oppressive nature of such imposition may be understood from the following preamble to a statute of 10, Henry 7th, c. 4:—*That of long there hath been used and enacted by the lords and gentlemen of this land many and divers damnable customs and usages which being called coyn and livery and pay—that is horse meat and man's meat for the feeding of their horsemen and footmen, and over that 4d. or 6d. daily to every of them to be had and paid of the poor earth-tillers and tenants without anything doing or paying thereof. Besides many murders, robberies, rapes, and many other manifold oppressions by the said horsemen and footmen daily and nightly committed and done, which have been the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of the said land, so as the most part of the English freeholders and tenants be departed out of the land.*" The above head of the Blanchville family, denounced by the Presentment of the Commons of the County Kilkenny, for an offensive exaction of this sort, is supposed by the Rev. J. Graves to be identical with Edmund Blanchville, of Blanchvillstown, who married in the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to *Archdall's Lodge*, Margaret, only daughter of John Fitz-James Butler, and niece to Pierce, 1st Earl of Ossory, and 8th Earl of Ormonde. Gerald Blanchville, mentioned in the above Inquisition, and who was Member of Parliament for this County Kilkenny, in 1585, appears to have been the son of the above Edmund Blanchville and Margaret Butler. He was also High Sheriff of the County Kilkenny in 1565. He appears to have married twice, his second wife being Elinor, daughter of Richard, 1st Viscount Mountgarrett, and widow of Thomas Tobin, of Comspey or Oumpshinagh, County Tipperary. Edmund, his youngest son, succeeded and was only nine years of age when his father died. On the 14th July, 1603, he had livery of seizin of his estates for a fine of £10 13s. 0d., and was soon after Knighted. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, the 11th Earl of Ormonde, and tradition has it that previous to their espousals she frequently displayed a white kerchief from one of the windows of the Ormonde Castle as her intended Edmund pranced his grey steed through the streets and round the corners of the *faire citie*. He left issue—(1) Gerald; (2) Edmund; (3) Elinor, married to Brian Kavanagh, of Borris, ancestor of the late Rt. Hon. Arthur MacMurrough Kavanagh. Gerald held the rank of Captain in the army of the

Confederates, in 1641, and took an active part in the troubles of the period. In the deposition of one Peter Pinchon, of Glannagowe, parish of Castlecomer, it is stated that deponent "took a chamber in Kilkenny, thinking it to be a safe place; but about the 18th December (1641) the gates of the said Citie (which were formerly kept shut with watch and ward) were, either by command or neglect of Mr. Archer, the Maire, that day left open for the Rebellis to enter, and the said Cittye was rifled and robbed of all Protestants' goods by Edward Butler, sonne of the Lord Mountgarrett, Garret Blanchfield, sonne and heire to Sir Edmund Blanchfield, Philip Purcell, of Ballyfoil or Rathetham, in the same County, Esq., one Captain Bryan, with divers others, which was done as deponent thinketh by the allowance and approbation of Lord Mountgarrett, he being then in towne." One Joseph Wheeler, of Staincarthy, also deposed that Captain Garrat Blanchfield was amongst the leaders of the Confederate troops who attacked and slew Lieutenant Gilbert, the Rev. Thomas Bingham, and about sixty others of the English party, near Ballinakill, in 1642, and brought their heads to Kilkenny to be exhibited at the Market Cross. For his own or his son's doings with the Confederates Sir Edmund Blanchfield was decreed by the Cromwellian Court to have forfeited his property in the County of Kilkenny, and his widow, Dame Elizabeth Blanchville, was ordered to "transplant" to Connaught, but the estates were subsequently restored to his second son, Edmund, in 1660, by King Charles II., except a portion called Church Claragh which had been given to an adventurer named Randal Ashinghurst. This act of unusual kindness was probably effected through the interference of his relative, the Duke of Ormonde. Captain Blanchfield died in 1646, without witnessing the disastrous close of the Confederate struggle to which he had vowed his sympathies. His parents erected a monument to his memory in St. Canice's Cathedral, which is still to be seen. The translation of the Inscription reads as follows:—

TO GOD OMNIPOTENT MOST HIGH.

"In memory of piety and mortality, the most renowned and most noble lord, Lord Edmund Blanchville, Knight, Lord of Blanchvillestown, Kilmodemucke, &c., and the most noble Lady Elizabeth Butler (his) most pious consort, have erected this monument for their most dear first-born son, the very illustrious Lord Gerald Blanchville, a most excellent man, snatched away by untimely death; (also) for themselves, their children, and posterity, In the month of August, 1647. Gerald died on the 21st of February, 1646, Edmund [], Elizabeth []."

MAY THEY REST IN PEACE. AMEN.

Edmund Blanchfield, 2nd son of Sir Edmund Blanchfield, to whom the estates were restored in 1660, was subjected in 1665 to a state prosecution for the use of approbrious language towards His Majesty the King. He was accused by one Andrews, an informer, of reflecting on the moral character of Charles II., and of saying "I care not for him, nor for any who took his part." The accusation seemed not well founded, as Blanchfield had served under the King in France and shared his fortunes after Cromwell's success in Ireland had forced him into

exile. However, at the General Assizes held for the County Kilkenny, on the 4th March, 1665, he was convicted of using "scandalous, approbrious, and seditious words against the King," for which he was sentenced to pay a fine of £50. This fine was subsequently reduced to £10 on the recommendation of the Duke of Ormonde. In the civil troubles of 1688-91, he espoused the cause of the Stuarts again, and was appointed an assessor for the County Kilkenny of the tax of £20,000 per month, on personal estates, and the benefit of trade and traffic imposed by King James "according to the ancient custom of the Kingdom to be used in time of danger." The result was his attainder and the loss of his property. On the 8th May, 1703, his forfeited estates were set up by auction at Chichester House, Dublin, when the "castle, town, and lands of Blanchvillestown," consisting of 363 acres, were knocked down to Edward Warth, of Rathfarnham, for £1,290, and thirteen other denominations, including the lands of Treadingstown and Bennetsbridge, comprising 2,530 acres, were purchased by the Incorporated Company for making hollow sword-blades, for the sum of £6,210, the jointure of his wife, Ursula, being allowed her for her life, as secured on the lands of Blanchfield's Park and Bennetsbridge. A junior branch of the family possessed the castle and lands of Highrath and Rathgarvan, which were declared to be forfeited by Richard Blanchfield for his part in the war of 1642, and were subsequently confirmed by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to the Cromwellian soldiery who had been granted them in satisfaction of their arrears of pay. Rathfarnham afterwards came to the possession of the Olifden family, and is now called Clifden. The present tenant, Mr. Patrick Blanchfield, claims descent from the ancient proprietors.

The following table may serve as a ground-work for some future more detailed account of the different members and branches of the family :—
1178.—Martin de Blanchville, witness to a deed of Theobald Walter, ancestor of the Butler family.

1303.—Nicholas, Seneschal of Kilkenny and Founder of the Augustian Monastery of Fertagh, near Johnstown; d. 1312.

1313.—Richard, Executor of the Will of said Nicholas Blanchville.

1335.—John de Blanchville, Knight, was summoned to attend Sir John Darcy with arms and horses in his expedition against the Scots.

1377.—William St. Leger, Escheator of Ireland, died seized of the ward and marriage of the heir of John Fitz-Richard Blanchville, who possessed 41 acres of land at Treadingstown, near Bennetsbridge.

1388.—Gilbert Blanchville was Seneschal of Kilkenny.

1394.—John Fitz-Richard de Blanchville, of Treadingstown, was Custos Pacis of the County Kilkenny, and Sheriff in 1398.

1409.—Gilbert, probably son of the foregoing John Fitz-Richard, was Magistrate or Sheriff of the same County.

1424.—He was Sheriff.

1447-49-50.—David Blanchville, Blanchvillestown, was High Sheriff

- of said County. David was, likely, father of Gilbert Blanchville, of Kilmodimogue (living 1516), and this
- 1537.—Gilbert, father of Edmund Blanchville, of Blanchvilliestown, who married Margaret, only daughter and heir of John Fitz-James Butler, younger brother of Piers, 8th Earl of Ormonde (Kilkenny Members, p. 15.—Burtchaell).
- 1594.—Gerald Blanchville, son of the preceding, died 6th April. M.P. for the County Kilkenny. Married Elinor, 3rd daughter of Richard, 1st Viscount Mountgarrett, probably his second wife, and left issue—(1) Leonard, d.s.p.; (2) James, (3) Edward, both of whom predeceased him; (4) Edmund. (1) Ellin, married Sir Richard Butler, of Polestown (Paulstown).
- 1585.—Edmund, born in 1585, was nine years of age when his father, Gerald Blanchville, died. He is styled in state records Sir Edmund Blanchville; married Elizabeth, 7th daughter of Walter, 11th Earl of Ormonde, and had issue—
- 1646.—(1) Gerald, a Captain in the Confederate army, died 21st Feb., 1646; (2) Edmund, who was restored to his estates in 1660, but lost them again in the wars of 1689-91, married, in 1676, Ursula, widow of John Bryan, of Bawnmore, and daughter of Walter Walsh, of Castlehoel, and had issue—(1) Margaret; (2) Anne, married Walter Kealy, M.P. for Gowran, 1689; (3) Grace. (1) James; (2) Edmund, married Margaret Brennan, and had a son, Richard, died 1720; married Ellen Kavanagh, daughter of Edmond Kavanagh, Clonbrook, Queen's County, an officer of King James' army, and left issue—(1) Patrick, married Coghlan, and left a son, Patrick, married Ellen Lalor; (2) Edmund; (3) William, married Loughlin; (4) Peter, married Purcell; (5) James, married White; (6) John.

There is an ancient church in ruins called Kylebea, at Blanchville's Kill, where Sir Edmund Blanchfield, husband of Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, 11th Earl of Ormonde, is said to be interred. There is also a monument with the following inscription:—

Hic jacet Elisia Blanchfield, filia Hoab q. obiit VI die Mensis December, 1587.

Trans—"Here lies Elise Blanchfield, daughter of the Honourable [], who died the 6th day of the month of December, 1587."

Blanchville House, the residence of the Kearney family, stands in a neat demesne near the site of the ancient castle of the Blanchfields.

The rectory of Blanchvilliestown formerly belonged to the Abbey of Jerpoint. In 1576, Queen Elizabeth directed through the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney, a lease in reversion for 31 years, to be made to Sir Henry Rathcliff, captain of the town of Portsmouth, amongst others of "the rectories of Burnchurch, Beper *alias* Bewper, and of the rectory of Blanchvilliestown, in the County Kilkenny, parcell of the possessions of the Abbey of Jerpoint." In 1597, Edward Fitzgerald, of Rathsillagh, in the County Kildare, obtained from Queen Elizabeth, "a grant of the

rectory or parsonage of Blanchvillestown, in the County of Kilkenny, with the tithes and alterages, parcel of the spiritual possessions of the late monastery of Jerpoint, in the County of Kilkenny, amongst others demised to Sir Henry Radcliffe, by Indenture, dated 20 September, in the 19 year of her Majesty's reign, for 31 years."

"The Knight's are dust
And their good swords rust."

Beyond the site of the castle the broken remains of the old church "and the above monument of Eliza Blanchville," there is nothing more to reflect a shadow or startle a dream of the dead past.

And yet the Blanchfield name wore a more than bright brilliancy long centuries ago, though now on the very spot that cradled their pomp, pride and prowess,

"No record lives to tell what they have been,
Their laurels faded and their fame forgot!!"

(2).—FEE

The word *fee*, as already explained in a previous note, signifies a conditional reward or stipend in consideration of services rendered, whilst its possession formed a new obligation of continuing such services.

The land was the public fund for rewarding military service, and its allotments were called *feuds*, *fiefs* or *fees*, the possessor of which became the *vassal* of the king, who was the supreme lord or *suzerain*. The great vassals who held immediately from the king parcelled out their allotments to classes of tenants or retainers by *sub-infeudation* and became in turn *feudal lords*. *Fee*, therefore, in its *original* sense, and in contradistinction to *allodium*, is that which is held of a superior, on condition of rendering him service, and in whom the ultimate property of the land resides. "And, therefore," says Blackstone, "Sir Henry Spelman defines a *feud* or *fee* to be the right which the *vassal* or *tenant* hath in lands to *use* the same and take the profits thereof to him and his heirs, rendering to the *lord* his due services." This, then, was the primary meaning of the word *fee* in contradistinction to *allodium*, but as the development of the *feudal* system after the Norman conquest merged, all *allodial lands* (or those lands held in the possessor's own *absolute right* without owing any rent or service) under obligation it became a fixed axiom "that all lands are holden." *Fee* accordingly lost its original meaning, and came to express the continuance or quantity of an estate—or in general, a state of inheritance. In this, its secondary meaning, it signifies the highest interest a man can have in a "possession" or *feud*, and is applicable both to *corporeal* hereditaments such as lands or houses, and to *incorporeal*, such as rents or rights issuing out of things corporate. The word *heirs* is necessary in the grant to create a *fee* or *inheritance*, so that if land be given to a man for ever, or to him and his assigns for ever, such grant, as wanting the word *heirs*, only vests in him an estate for life. This rule, however, is mollified by

exceptions and does not extend to devises by will for ever where the words of perpetuity sufficiently explain the intention of the devisor. So, also in grants to corporations and their successors, the word *successors* supplies the place of *heirs*, and is sufficient to create an inheritance. To *feoff*, or *enfeoff*, means to give one a *feud* or *fee*, that is the gift of any corporeal hereditaments in the sense already explained. He that *enfeoffs* is called the *feoffer*, and the person *enfeoffed* is named the *feoffee*.

Again the *fee* or estate of inheritance may be *absolute* or *limited*. If *absolute*, so that it be clear of all restrictions to particular heirs and all other limitations and conditions, and the tenant holds to him and his heirs for ever generally, he is said to be tenant in *fee-simple*, or *tenant in fee*. If *conditional*, so that the *fee* is restricted to some particular heirs exclusive of others, as, for example, to the heirs of a man's body, meaning by the common law his lineal descendants; to the exclusion of collateral heirs, or to the heirs male of his body, to the exclusion both of collaterals and lineal females, such *fee* is denominated *conditional*, and if the donee died without such heirs the land should revert it to the donor.

When lands and tenements are given to a man and the heirs of his body begotten, such donation is called an *estate-tail general*, and how often soever such donee be married his issue in general by all and every such marriage in successive order is capable of inheriting the *estate-tail*.

An *Estate-tail special* is where the gift is restrained to certain heirs of the donee begotten and does not go to all of them in general.

We have seen above that the word "heirs" was necessary to create a *fee* or a state of inheritance. In *fee-tail* the word *body* expressive of procreation is in addition, necessary, so that a grant to a man and his issue or children, would be only an estate for life, the words of inheritance his heirs being wanting. On the other hand a gift to a man and his heirs male without the words "of his body begotten" would be an estate in *fee-simple* and not a *fee-tail*.

(3).—REMAINDER.

What I have already said in the preceding note on the origin of the word *fee* as signifying in its original or primary sense that which is held from some superior on condition of rendering him service in contradistinction to *allodium* and in its secondary or general sense as signifying an estate of inheritance, brings us to the consideration of estates with regard to the time of their enjoyment or the time when the actual receipt or taking the rents and profits thereof begins. *Fee-simple* and *fee-tail* as above explained, have regard to the quantity of interest which a tenant has in his lands or tenements, which quantity is measured by its duration or the length of time his right of possession is to subsist.

With regard to the time when the actual perception of rents, etc., begins, Estates may be either estates in *possession* or *expectancy*. Estates in *possession* are those whereby a present interest passes to the tenant

independent of any subsequent circumstance, such as *fee-simple*, etc., already spoken of. Estates in *expectancy* are of two kinds—one created by the parties themselves, called a *remainder*, and the other by the law, named a *reversion*. It must be borne in mind that out of the same *fee* several estates or *interests* may be carved. If a grant of land be made to one man for 31 years, and after the end of that term of years to a second for life, and after again to a third man and his heirs for ever here, we have different estates created out of one and the same *fee* or inheritance. The *first* is tenant *for years*, *remainder* to *second* for life, with *remainder* to third in *fee*. Here we have three different portions or *interests*, which are but the parts of the *entire inheritance*. A *remainder* may therefore be said to be an estate limited to be enjoyed after another estate has been determined. If there be a *fee-simple* estate granted there can be no *remainder*, because a tenant *in fee* has the highest interest, namely, the *whole* of the estate to him, and hence no *remainder* or residuary portion can be reserved when the whole has been disposed of. A *reversion* is where the land reverts to the grantor or his heirs after the grant is determined or over.

(4).—DEMISED.

In a previous note on the word *demise* occurring in the first Inquisition, in the time of Philip and Mary, I explained how it meant a conveyance by *lease*. *Lease* is applied to an estate for *life* or *years*, as *gift* or *donation* is properly applied to the creation of an *estate-tail*, and *feoffment* to that of an estate in *fee*. A *lease* for life or for years must be always made for a *less* time than the *lessor* hath in the premises, for if it conveyed the *whole* interest it would be more properly an *assignment*. The lands *leased* were anciently called *farm* from a Saxon word *feorme*, signifying *provisions*, because the rents in consideration of which the *lessee* held them were discharged in provisions before the more general use of money. The *farmer* or *firmaryn* was, accordingly, he who held his lands on payment of a *feorme* or rent. The word *farm* has lost its original signification, and now means the estate or lands themselves held upon the payment of rent. A tenant in *fee-simple* might grant leases for any length of time, as having the *whole* interest in him, but a tenant *in tail* could make no lease which should bind the *issue in tail*. A statute of 32, Henry VIII., c. 28, however enabled a tenant *in tail* to make a lease binding his *issue in tail*, but not those in *remainder* or *reversion*. Several other statutes were passed in subsequent reigns having reference to leases made by Bishops, civil and ecclesiastical corporations called restraining statutes which do not concern us at least presently.

(5).—BURGAGE TENURE.

We have seen in a previous note on “tenures” and “knight’s service,” that since the statute 12, Charles II., socage tenure has absorbed almost every other species of tenure. In its general signification

socage being a tenure by any certain and determinate service or rent, it will necessarily include under it "burgage" tenure. When the tenements of an ancient borough are held from the king or some lord by a *certain rent* it is tenure in *burgage*. A borough was distinguished from other towns by the right of electing members of Parliament, and the antiquity of the borough was *proven* from the right of voting by *burgage* tenure. When houses, tenements, or lands that were formerly the sites of houses in an ancient borough are held of some lord for a *certain fixed* rent such holdings are by *burgage* tenure.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION IV.)

TIME OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[]

"**T**HOMAS COMERFORD,¹ late of Ballyburr, in the County Kilkenny, was seized of the fee of the manor, Castle, and town of Ballyburr, and of two parts of the lands of Ballyburr, containing 5 acres great country measure. The aforesaid manor is in three separate parcells, the two parcells of which the aforesaid Thomas was seized are held as follows:—One is held as of the manor of Tulloughanbrogg² for the annual rent of 24s. and *suite of Courte*,³ and the other is held as of the manor of [], by Knight's service. Fulco Freny was seized as of the fee of the town and fields of Ballymacclaghny, Ballytarany and Caplestowne; and held the premises from Edward III., King of England, but by what service the jurors know not. So seized, on the 20th November, in the 17th year of the reign of the said King Edward, he made a gift-tail of the premises amongst others to his son Patrick Freny, and Johanna, his wife, and the heirs of their bodies as appeareth by a charter thereupon perfected, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid Thomas Comerford, as son and heir of Richard Oge Comerford, son and heir of Richard Roe Comerford, son and heir of Richard Comerford, senior, and Ellenora Freny, co-heiress of the gift-tail aforesaid of Patrick Freny, and Johanna, his wife, was seized of the moiety of the premises in fee-tail; and he held the premises at the time of his death from the heir of the aforesaid Fulco Freny. The aforesaid Thomas Comerford died 2nd February, 1588. The present Richard Comerford, of Ballyburr, is son and heir of the said Thomas, and was then 24 years of age, and married to Johanna Sweetman."

(1).—THE COMERFORD FAMILY.

In Blake Forster's "Irish Chieftains" (p. 476, n. 68) the following abridged account from Sir William Bentham, Ulster King-at-Arms, of the Comerford family, may not appear uninteresting:—"Sir Fulco de Comerford, with 200 men-at-arms and four knights of kindred to himself, accompanied William the Conqueror in his invasion of England in 1066. His descendant, Sir Henry de Comerford, came over to Ireland with Prince John in 1189, and married a niece of Sir Hugh de Lacy, Governor of Ireland in 1172, and thereby became possessed of considerable property, and was ancestor of the Comerford family; according to an ancient vellum MS. "*Hee wase ane gudely knyghte, and ancesture of ye Comerford's, Barons of Danganmore.*" The descendants of Sir Henry Comerford, who appears to have been a younger son of the Comerford House of Staffordshire, settled in Kilkenny, and were long in the confidence and under the patronage of the Earls of Ormonde. The several branches, such as those of Ballybur, Inchy-Holohan, and Callan, were of high respectability amongst the gentry of Kilkenny previous to 1650, and filled from time to time more than one office of public trust. The House of Danganmore, i.e., "Great Fortress," near Castle Morres, was considered head of the family, and its titular lords were styled Barons of Danganmore. Other branches settled in Waterford, Wexford, at Holy Cross, in the County Tipperary, and at Welles, County Carlow,

From a volume of Irish Pedigrees in Mr. Forster's possession he gives the following extract:—"In 1300 Gerald Comerford was Guardian of the Peace for Kilkenny, and in 1302 married Arabella, daughter of Sir Anthony Plunket, Knight Banneret. In 1358 John Comerford was appointed by King Edward III. to collect a subsidy over Kilkenny in aid of the war carried on against Art. O'Kavanagh. The Comerfords became possessed of several valuable estates by the marriage of Richard Comerford, sen., with Ellen, daughter and co-heir of Patrick de La Freyne, or French, descended from Sir William de La Frayne *alias* Ffrench, who was knighted by his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and younger son of Sir Fulco de La Frayne, surnamed *Le Chevalier*, A.D. 1318. This Richard was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard Oge Comerford, or the younger, whose son and heir Thomas died in 1588, possessed of the manor, Castle, lands, and town of Ballybur, and was succeeded by his son and heir, Richard, who was then 24 years of age, and married." This last-mentioned Richard who, according to the "Inquisition" and the Pedigree just cited, was aged 24 years at the time of his father's death in 1588, died on the 15th June, 1637. After the death of his first wife, Johanna Sweetman, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe. This appears from a Pedigree of the Ballybur Family, preserved in MS. volume in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and quoted by O'Hart in his "Irish Landed Gentry" (p. 45). The pedigree is as follows:—

Richard Comerford, of Ballyburley, Esq., had :

2. Richard, who had :

3. Thomas, who had :

4. Richard, of Ballyburley, Esq., who died 15th June, 1637. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, and had :

I. John, of whom presently

II. Richard, who married Eliza, daughter of William Dean, of Moycullen, County Kilkenny, gent.

5. John, son of Richard, married Grany, daughter of Morgan Cavenagh, of Bureas, in the County Carlow, and had a daughter :

6. Margaret, who married, first, Viscount St. Lawrence, Lord of Howth ; and secondly, Jenico Viscount Preston. She died in Dublin, 16th November, 1637, and was buried in Stamullen, County Meath.

Ballybur Castle is minutely described by Hogan in the "Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society," vol. 2, p. 33-48.

The Castle of Ballybur is distant about three and a-half miles from the City of Kilkenny, and about a quarter of a mile left of the high road leading to Callan, a little beyond the village of Cuffe's Grange. From personal recollection, I can accept as accurate, Mr. Hogan's description of it, as consisting of three floors, connected by a spiral stair-case. The ground and second floors are both arched overhead with stone, and the latter contains wall-recesses in the thickness of the masonry. The top apartment is furnished with a chimney-flue and mantle-tree, which lead Mr. Hogan to believe that as such contrivances were not introduced into Ireland till late in, or subsequent to, the time of Henry VII., that the Castle itself must have been accordingly erected by Thomas Comerford, who, according to the above *Inquisition*, died in 1588. However, as Richard Comerford, the grandfather of this Thomas, undoubtedly lived in Ballybur, it is not improbable, nor impossible, that the contrivances mentioned were an addition long subsequent to the foundation of the Castle, and made at a time when the use of the roof-louvre for the passage of smoke began to disappear. But there is another contention regarding this Castle, by Mr. Hogan, which invests it with exceptional interest. Here it was, he says, that John Baptist Rinuccini, the Papal Nunzio, had been entertained in the November of 1645 on his way from Limerick to the "City of the Confederates." It is true Mr. Hogan has against him in this conjecture the opinion of the Rev. J. Graves, who holds foremost place as an authority amongst Irish Antiquarians, he (the Rev. Mr. Graves) believing that the Castle of Inchiholohan was the "Villa" meant in the Prince of Fermo's *Nunziature*, where it is stated "*The evening before I arrived in Kilkenny I stopped at a country seat about three miles distant, to give time for the preparations that were being made for my reception. Here four Knights accompanied by Mr. Belling (the Secretary of the Confederate Council) came from the Council to welcome me.*" It would be presumptuous in me to venture an opinion as to whether Ballybur or Inchiholohan claimed the honour of the Nunzio's reception, but this much seems to favour Mr. Hogan in

his contention on behalf of Ballybur, that it was the first "villa" on the Nunzio's direct road to Kilkenny, and in possession of the same family of the Comerfords as Inchiholohan; both branches being involved in and favourable to the object of Rinuccini's mission, namely, the "Confederate movement" of that period. If then we may accept it that Ballybur Castle had been the resting place of the Nunzio, on the night of the 12th November, 1645, we can imagine what a theatre of enthusiasm, splendour, and excitement it was to witness on the following morning of the 13th.

At an early hour a vast assemblage of the gentry and peasantry from the neighbouring counties and surrounding districts had collected together, and as the Nunzio ascended his litter he received "compliments" and "congratulations" recited in latin verse by the leader of a troop of fifty students, decked with laurel wreaths, mounted on horseback, each furnished with pistol at pommel. At the Church of St. Patrick's, which then stood within the precincts of the present old burial ground, close by the city gate, the secular and regular clergy awaited the processional arrival. On his approach the Nunzio descended from his litter and having invested himself with cape and pontifical hat, he mounted a richly caparisoned horse and moved on in the insignia of his office, preceded by the standard-bearers of the respective orders of the clergy. The processional array advanced under the old arch of St. Patrick's, halting a short time before the Market Cross, and thence to the grand eminence crowned by the "sentinel" round tower and the glorious Cathedral fabric sacred to St. Kenny. Here they were met by the Bishop of Ossory, David Rothe, venerable and enfeebled, whose spirited heart, accustomed to the pains and torture of rancorous intolerance and inhuman enactments, hailed with enthusiasm this marvellous transition from a state of thralldom to armed resistance and bold independence. The hurricane of despotism, fraud, and rapine which reeked upon the heads of the people the most shocking barbarities and swept them as chaff from their homes and sanctuaries, goaded the nation at long run into an open struggle for *very* entity. How imposing then must have been the spectacle; how momentous and chagred with results as Rinuccini ascended the steps fronting the gorgeous High Altar of the old Cathedral of St. Canice, and there amidst joyous bell-peals and voice of choirs proclaimed his mission for the sustainment of the King's throne and the restoration of the civil and religious rights of the people. Such, briefly, is the narrative of the Papal Nuncio's processional entry into the city of Kilkenny, on the 13th November, 1645, and of the manner and place whereby he assured the people of the Pope's sympathy in their present struggle, and of his own determination to hold fast by them and link his name with that eventful period.

Richard Comerford, the last of the Ballybur family, was not witness of this memorable procession of Rinuccini, originating at his Castle. He had been dead over eight years. An Altar-tomb in the burial-ground of Grange, which I myself got re-erected in 1869 by the con-

tributions of Mr. Hogan, Ormonde House, Kilkenny, and of the late very regretted Dr. Comerford, etc., gives the date of his death, agreeing exactly with the date given in the Pedigree of the MS. of Trinity College, already mentioned. The inscription of the tomb is as follows :—

D. O. M.

Sacrum

Amoris mortisque monumentum Richardus Comerford, Armiger, Dominus de Ballibyr, vir vere pius, probus, prudens, fortis variis, in Repvblica muneribus pace belloque summa integritate perfunctus, obiit 15 Junii, 1637. Posuit Richardo Marito suo charissimo sibi ac liberis Maria Purcell, obiit Marie Purcell. Defunctis Viator bene precare.

Trans.—"To God Omnipotent Most High Sacred—

A monument of love and death—

Richard Comerford, Esquire, Lord of Ballybur, a man truly pious, upright, prudent, valiant, having fulfilled various offices of the State in peace and war with strictest rectitude, died on the 15th June, 1637. Mary Purcell erected (this monument) to Richard, her most beloved husband, herself and children. Mary Purcell died Traveller, pray piously for the departed."

There is a square block inserted in the masonry of the north-west angle of the chapel of Grange with the following broken inscription :—

. . . Rich
. . . Comerford de

Ballibyr eqvitis et Domine Mariæ Purcell vxoris eius qui hanc cruce[m] in honorem Alme cruceis Dni. nri. fieri fecerunt, 20 jvii.

Trans.—" [Pray for the souls of] Richard Comerford of Ballybur, Knight, and of Mrs. Mary Purcell, his wife, both of whom had this cross erected in honour of the Holy Cross of our Lord, 20 July."

How Richard Comerford came to be styled "Knight" in this latter inscription, I know not, yet it certainly so appears from the word *Eqvitis*. He had never received the honour of Knighthood, so far as I can gather, and if he had, it is likely his wife, Mary Purcell, would have used the word "Miles," or "Eques Auratus," instead of "Armiger," which means but *Esquire* in the first monumental inscription above noticed.

Theobald, eldest son of William Butler, of Ronskagh, County Tipperary, by Elizabeth, daughter of Maurice Prendergast, married Ellen, daughter of Richard Comerford, Esq., County Kilkenny, and Ellenora, daughter also of Richard Comerford, Esq., of Ballybur, was married, first to John Kennedy, Esq., of Ballingarry, County Tipperary, and secondly to Dermoid Fitzpatrick, son of Teighe Fitzpatrick, fourth Lord of Upper Ossory, by Joan, daughter of Sir Edmond Butler, of Tullow, County Carlow, grand-daughter to Pierce, Earl of Ormonde. Teighe Fitzpatrick died in 1627, and was buried in Aghamacarte, and Joan, his wife, died in 1631, and was interred in St. Canice's Church, Kilkenny. There is, I believe, no extant monument commemorative of her amongst the many that still exist within the old Cathedral. By the Pat. and Clos. Rolls we find, "Pardon of Richard Comerford, of Ballybur, in the County Kilkenny." *Dub., Nov. 18, 45°, Eliz. (1602-3)*. What his offence had been does not appear. In the first year of Queen Elizabeth's

reign, one James Comerford was appointed, in January, to the office of Sheriff of the County Kilkenny, and in the month of March following had the disagreeable commission given him, along with Sir Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarrett, Edmund Butler, brother of the late Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, and Walter Howth, of Kells, to execute martial law.

The following members of the Comerford family, in the County Kilkenny, were declared "forfeited" under the Cromwellian settlement, and suffered Confiscation of their properties in 1657 :—

BARONY OF SHILLELOGHER.

James Comerford.
William Comerford, Inishone, Ghalane.
John Comerford.
Elinor Comerford.

KELLS BARONY.

Thomas Comerford.

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY.

Thomas Comerford.

GOWRAN BARONY.

John Comerford.

The above John Comerford, Barony of Shillelogher, though no address is given, was, beyond doubt, the eldest son of Richd. Comerford and Mary Purcell, of Ballybur Castle.* The adhesion of the Comerfords to the Catholic cause, and to the House of Stuart, cost them the loss of their Properties. In the Council of the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny (1646, etc.) the R.O. Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Patrick Comerford, sat as one of the Spiritual Peers, and amongst the Commons we find the name of Edward Comerford, of Callan. In after years we find members of the family holding distinguished positions in the Irish Brigades, in Spain and France. In 1709, John Comerford was a Colonel in the Spanish Brigade, and in 1747, Lieutenant Comerford, of Bulkeley's Regiment, was wounded at the battle of Lauffield. In the "Irish Brigade in the Service of France," we meet with Comerford N., Captain, 1745; Comerford—Taken prisoner at the battle of Malplaquet, where Marlborough defeated Villars, subsequent to his capture of Mons, in 1709.

Comerford, Alex., Capt. of Grenadiers, 1789.

Comerford, Thomas, Capt., 1777, Knight of St. Louis.

Comerford, Joseph, Capt., 1782.

* It may be here remarked that the scenes of Mr. P. M. Egan's novel, "Scullydom," are principally laid around Ballybur Castle, the name of the heroine being Kate Comerford.

Thus we find them holding distinguished positions in the armies abroad, destined to die—

“Far from *that* land it were life to behold,”

and, like so many other exiled Irishmen, to rest in foreign graves, yet sleeping their long sleep “with the sunshine of fame on *their* slumbers.”

(2).—TALLOUGHANBROGG.

New Grove, on the right of the road leading from Grange Chapel to Desert. The “*tulach*,” or tumulus, which gave name to the old Church and Parish, has been almost levelled away within the last half century. Mr. Hogan, in his “*Life of St. Ciaran of Ossory*,” p. 126, maintains that *Tullagh-na-brogue*, i.e., the “tumulus,” or grave of the Badger, is the proper name of the locality, “Badger” being the assumed name of one of St. Ciaran’s domestic servants.

(3).—SUITE OF COURTE.


In a previous note on the origin of the *feudal system*, I explained how the tenant by the *oath of fealty* and *homage* professed himself the vassal of his superior, or lord. The next consideration was concerning the *service* to be rendered for the land held. This service originally was twofold—first, to follow or do *suit* to the lord in his courts in time of tranquillity; and secondly, in times of war, to follow him when called to action in the field. The lord held his *Court Baron*, which was a necessary appendage of every manor or barony for effectual justice to the tenants, and in which he was legislator and judge over all his vassals. The vassals or tenants were bound to attend such court as well as to answer any complaint made against themselves, or also to form a “homage” or jury for the trial of their fellow-tenants. The military, or second kind of service, consisted in attending the lord in the wars, if called upon, with such number of men and for such number of days as had been stipulated on the donation of the *fee* in proportions to its quantity.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION I.)

TIME OF KING JAMES I.

"Thomastown, 16th July, 1607.

"ICHOLAS FITZGERALD¹, of Gurtenes, in the County Kilkenny, is seized of the fee of the manor, towns, hamlets, lands and tenements following, viz :—Gurtenes, and 1 hamlet, parcel of the same, called Rathnegerragh, which contains 7 acres ; Kilmurry *alias* Cowlfeye, with hamlets of the same, called Ballyvally, Ballyboy, Ballyllone, Ballyntagart, and Ballyandryne, 10 acres ; Kyllecorkyshlane, with hamlet called Ballingowen, 3 acres ; Ballynyccoll, with hamlet called Garrymore, 2 acres ; Curraghmore, with hamlets of same, viz. :—Corefore and Gragnegihy, 4 acres ; Lywghvonny, *alias* Luffonny, with 1 hamlet, called Ballywooly, 3 acres ; Rathpadricke, 3-quarter lands in 4 divided parts, 3 acres. The aforesaid Nicholas Fitzgerald is seized of the fee of the head rent of 4s. per annum on the town and lands of Creyagh, at present in the possession of Thomas Strange. The aforesaid manor of Gurtenes, and so forth, lie in Idæ, in the County Kilkenny. The aforesaid Nicholas and his ancestors were seized of the premises by hereditary descent. The premises are limited after the following manner, viz. :—On the south part by the river Suir, beginning at the pill or water called the "Pill of Drowdomny," and thence as far as the lands of Rathkyllihyne, adjoining the aforesaid river Suir, and from thence they are meared by the lands of Rathkyllihine aforesaid, and the lands of Killkyllihine, Kyllasough, and Kyllmeskylllog on the west part, from the lands of Kilmeskilllog aforesaid, by the lands of Ballynchore and the town of Carrigenery and Ballyrowragh on the north part, and from the lands of Ballyrowragh aforesaid, they are meared by lands of Knockanehinshie, Ballyvoryerty and Dromdownye aforesaid on the east part. The premises are in the seisin and possession of the aforesaid Nicholas Fitzgerald, but by what service is unknown."

(1).—THE FITZGERALD FAMILY.

In 1851, the Very Rev. Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown, then Curate of Rosbercon, presented to the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, a grant made under the Commission for the remedy of defective titles, in the year 1638, to Edmund Fitzgerald, of Brownsford and Oluam *alias* Clonamery, with the great seal of Ireland attached by a curiously plaited silk cord. He likewise appended the following :—

"Of the two powerful Anglo-Norman families of Kildare and Desmond, which originally sprung from the same parent stock, many

great and important off-shoots were settled in various parts of the Kingdom ; in the County of Kilkenny, there were three deriving their descent from the House of Desmond, viz., those of Burntchurch and of Brownsford, the heads of which houses were styled *Barons* ; and another family of the Fitzgerald's who lived at Gurteen, on the Kilkenny side of the Suir, near Waterford," etc. The family of the Fitzgeralds will be treated of under a subsequent Inquisition, having reference to the Barons of Brownsford and Cluan. Of the junior branch, settled at Gurteen, little appears. The following Bill, addressed by Richard Strange, of Waterford, to the Right Worshipful Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, in October, 1573, may be of interest. It states that "he was seized in his demesne as of fee of the Manor of Dromdowney, in the County of Kilkenny, and being so seized continually received several and sundry chief rents and other commodities of divers persons as parcel of the said manor, but, nevertheless, was threatened by his tenants to have the goods of himself and other of his tenants taken for the rents and commodities so levied." Petitioner adds that the proofs of his title rest only on the testimony of "aged" and "impotent persons" unable to travel to court, and prays a *dedimus potestatem* to examine witnesses to the interrogatories. The depositions were accordingly taken before the Chancellor of Waterford, John Wyse, and the Treasurer, Sir Edmond Fleming. Redmond Roche deposed "that there is due of the Gurtynes belonging to Thomas Fitzgerald, of chief rent by the year to Dromdowney, 14d. ; of the mill of the Gurtynes, grist toll free unto the lord of the manor, for letting the water run through the land of Dromdowney, and out of its own due course unto the said mill (with other rents) . . . that Dromdowney is out of all the division of the country as to be free time out of mind of all cesses, ordinary and extraordinary, whatsoever, *saving that the Lord of Ormonde charged them with a garran, and a man for carrying of his carriage when his lordship went to any hosting or journeys.*" Robert Fleming deposed "that upon any question or variance happening betwixt the tenants of Dromdowney and the lord of the Gurtynes, the tenants, when aggrieved, would go and break the 'mill pound' in respect that the water was their own, and saying that they would not suffer the water to run through their land, but should take its course as it did of old, and so kept the water from the mill until they were agreed." William Nolan deposed "that he heard the tenants and Redmond Roche say and brag that they would break the 'mill pound,' that the water was theirs, and that they would not suffer it to run to the mill." In 1657, John Fitzgerald, of Gurtins, was transplanted under the "Cromwellian Settlement."

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION II.)

TIME OF KING JAMES I.

"Th (Thomastown) 5 Sept., an. 5 (1607-8).

EDMUND SENTLEGER,¹ of Tullaghanbroge, is seized in fee of the manor and town of Tullaghanbroge, and hamlets of Gragnekylly, Cowleloppoge, and Graigetorney, containing 1 castle, 20 messuages, and 13½ acres great measure, Lyslonyn and Kilfeahan, 1 castle, 8 messuages, and 7½ acres great measure, Durrinetoycke al, Durrinbege, 4 messuages and 6 acres, the hamlets of Ballinemony, called "the two Ballinemonys," 3 acres, a head rent of 24s. issuing out of a certain parcel of land called "Farinfreny," now in the holding of Richard Comerford, of Ballybur, appertaining to the aforesaid manor of Tullaghanbroge. The aforesaid Edmund and his tenants living at the aforesaid Tullaghanbroge, have common pasturage in the aforesaid parcel of land by virtue of a certain "Ordination," dated 12 April, 1599. The aforesaid Edmund is seised of other head rent—2s. 8d., issuing out of the town of Ballikife, now in the tenure of the Most Noble the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, and of the head rent of 3s. 4d., issuing out of a certain parcel of land called "the Pont-raght," parcel of the town of Ballimaka, now in the hands of the King by reason of the minority of Thomas Comerford, of Ballymaka. The aforesaid Edmund and his tenants living at Leslonyn, have common pasturage in the aforesaid parcel of land for their aviaries and their cattle presently there:—The premises are limited by the following meres and boundaries, viz., from the ford called the Maddeduffe," in the east part they are bounded with the lands of Grange-Tulleghan, from thence towards the west and north by a small water course towards the wood called Kylvan, and the fosse in the same wood intrenched on both sides, and from thence they are mered with the side of the field of Clonduffe, Nemanagh, and parcel of the lands of Grangtullahaghny in the east part, and from thence towards the north, near Tobernedoihy, where the lands of the aforesaid Edmund Sentleger, and the lands of the Earl of Ormonde in Ballicalan, and the lands of the aforesaid Grange-Tullaghan are co-limited, and conjoin; and from thence towards the west by a morass or bog, called Akeeh, towards the ford Aghenor, and from thence along towards the west by "the Dromyne," to the ford "Agheline," where the lands of the said Edmund Sentleger, of Ballycallan and Kilballikife meet together; from thence by "the Dromen" to Knockane-philipreagh, and from thence southerly to the end of Olaranbege in the west part, where the lands of Ballikife and the lands of Sentleger conjoin; from thence towards the south by the side part of a certain wood called Muckballikifa, to the place called Monynene-

manleman, where the lands of Lislone, Dirrinetoyke, and Ballikiffe meet together, and from thence along towards the west by the river Deryn, middle way between the said wood and the wood called "Dariclonie," likewise called Leaghkell, as far as the bog stretching by the great morass in the north part of Formolloa towards 'the Clurinmore,' as far as the place where a hedge opens on both sides, and where the lands of Ballykiffe, Diryntoyke, and Cowlisshell are co-limited and conjoin; from thence by the aforesaid hedge and small water course on the north part of a certain place called Logsenana, as far as the hedge of Gorteviskey, and from thence to the place called Aghsowlfyn, where the lands of Derryn, Cowlisshell, and Killaloe conjoin, and are co-limited; from thence southerly as far as the hedge in the extreme west-end of Kilbehe, where the town of Callan, Dyrryn, and Ballinemony conjoin; so from thence along by the hedge called Gorteskeboll on the west-side as far as the high road near Clashnesulty, where the aforesaid Ballinemony and the lands of Grayggowlin conjoin, and from thence to a certain place called Boherkeagh as far as the hedge of Gurtynstealoinie; from thence to the extreme part of a certain place called 'The Pallagh,' where the lands of Dyrrn, Gragowlin, and Tullaghmain conjoin; from thence towards the west by the hedge that stretches along on either side as far as the place called Aghbealacatt, in the south part, and from thence by the road along towards the south as far as the hedge of Keymyn's Crofte; from thence to the extremity of a certain place called Boherfaddery, where the lands of Boly and Lislony, al., Attymaghe conjoin, and from thence along towards the south by the hedge called Ponteragh, as far as Garreneboly; and from thence southerly by the hedge called Klineboly; and from thence by the said hedge to a place called Barneboy, and from thence, by the said hedge, to a place called Skiaghnetraiedierna, where the lands of Tullaghanbroge, Ballymacka, and Burnechurch conjoin and are co-limited; and from thence by the said hedge, southerly, as far as the aforesaid ford of Maddedutch. Tullaghanbroge, Lisloine, al., Attymagh, Derynetoyke, and Ballinemoney lie in the Barony of Shililligher, within the County Kilkenny. The aforesaid Edmund Sentleger is seized, as of fee, of 1 store house and 1 croft, within the town of Callan, in the south street of the aforesaid town, and it extends in length from the public fountain of the same town, on the south part, to the small street beside the lands of Galfrid Rooth, in the north part; and in width, from King-street, in the west part, as far as the lands of the Earl of Ormonde [] Swetman, in the east part. The aforesaid croft, called Lectonhoy, lies in the south street, extending from the lands of the aforesaid Earl of Ormonde, and from the lands of Margaret [] on the west side, as far as the town wall of Callan on the east side; and in width, from the same town wall as far as the lands of Thomas Merry, in []. Patrick Sentleger, of Kilkenny, is seised as of fee of 1 croft, commonly called Oliver's Croft, and of 1 other called 'James his Croft,' and 1 acre of of land in [], those he holds from the aforesaid Edmund Sentleger as of his manor in free Socage by suite of court."

(1).—THE ST. LEGER FAMILY.

The family of St. Leger is of French extraction or origin. When William the Conqueror quitted the ship at Sussex, in 1066, determined with his armed followers to cut down the Saxons and secure the Crown by right of the sword and conquest, it is traditionally said that he was supported on his landing by the arm of one *Sir Robert Sent Legere, Knight*. This Sir Robert fixed his abode at Kent, where his descendants flourished for many generations. At what precise time the members of the family came over here to Ireland, is not exactly known, but in the reign of King Edward the 3rd, 1359, His Royal Highness styles John de St. Leger, "Our beloved Valet," to be paid for his own services and another man-at-arms 12d., etc., in the suite of Almeric de St. Almand, against the O'Moores. In the following reign of Richard 2nd, he was made "Custos Pacis" of Kilkenny. Still earlier, at the close of Edward 1st reign, 1307, we find that Johanna Purcell, female representative and heiress of the Barons of Bargo (identical with territory of the O'Brennans, from which the latter were sought to be driven, and lying between the two rivers, the Barrow and Nore), was given in marriage by the Crown to Sir William St. Leger. In 1385, ten marks were paid by order of the Irish Privy Council, to Thomas St. Leger, Baron of Bargo, for the taking of Henry O'Logan and others. This Thomas was summoned to Parliament as Peer. In 1541, Sir Anthony St. Leger was Lord Deputy of Ireland. In 1543, he was created a Knight-companion of the Garter, in consideration of his satisfactory management of affairs. He continued Lord Deputy under King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, till, having been recalled by the latter in 1556, he retired to his estate in Kent, where he died on the 12th March, 1559. Sir Anthony, or Arthur, as some have named him, has been represented "as a wise and wary gentleman, a valiant servitor in war, and a good justice in peace, properly learned, and having gravity interlaced with pleasantness." He married Agnes, daughter of Hugh Warham, and his eldest surviving son and successor, Sir Warham St. Leger, became Chief-Governor of Munster, in 1565, under Lord-Deputy Sydney. During the insurrection of John of Desmond, in 1580, the inhuman "burnings" of houses and corn by the Earl of Ormonde, from Cork to Cashel, in his invasion of Desmond's territory, "left the country one levelled plain without corn or edifices." Desmond, on his part, harassed the English garrisons and small towns, and his youngest brother, James, having made an incursion into the district of Sir Cormack McCarthy, "the rarest man that ever was born of the Irishrie," for his loyalty, according to Sir Henry Sydney; he was captured by Sir Cormack's brother, and brought to Cork. Sir Warham St. Leger had him hanged and quartered, his head cut off and spiked over one of the city gates as a "notorious rebel." Sir Warham subsequently fell in single combat. In the early part of the year 1600, Hugh O'Neill was found resting with a force of 3,000 men beyond Templemore, on the

slopes of the Devil's Bit mountain. He marched through Holy Cross, where he, with his army, venerated the sacred relic, whence the Monastery took its name, and proceeded through Cashel and Limerick to Inischarra, some eight miles from the city of Cork, between the banks of the Lee and Bandon. Hugh Maguire, one of O'Neil's most able and valiant warriors, whilst exploring the country, accompanied by a priest and two laymen, met Sir Warham St. Leger with a party of sixty horse. Maguire, with poised spear, spurred forward his horse, when St. Leger fired his pistol, and wounded him mortally. Maguire, however, maintained sufficient strength to bury his spear in the body of St. Leger, and with drawn sword reached the camp of O'Neill, where he received the last sacraments from the spirited priest who had accompanied him. Sir William St. Leger, son of the above Sir Warham, was Privy Councillor and Lord President of Munster, under Charles 1st, in 1627. He took an active part in the civil war of 1641-2 against the Confederates. After the storm and capture of Limerick by the latter, headed by Pierce Butler, Viscount Ilkerrin, Lord Muskerry, and General Barry, he survived but 10 days. He retired to his house at Doneraile, and died on the 2nd July, broken-hearted—justly execrated for his cruel and wanton murders, as well as his rapacious and unscrupulous exactions. At what precise date the St. Legers made a permanent residence in Kilkenny, I cannot say, probably, as the Rev. J. Graves, in his "Antiquities of St. Canice Cathedral," p. 279, suspects, in or about the time of Geoffrey St. Leger, who was Treasurer of the Cathedral previous to his election as Bishop of Ossory, in 1250. This Geoffrey is styled "the second founder of the Cathedral of St. Canice," because whilst Bishop Hugh de Mapilton had been the first founder, yet it was Bishop St. Leger who, at great cost, worked it to completion. He also adorned the Episcopal seats at Freshford and Durrow, and founded, in connection with the Cathedral, the College of Vicars Choral, who were obliged to celebrate his anniversary. A lengthened account of Bishop St. Leger may be seen in the 2nd volume "Trans. Ossor. Soc.," page 219-21, by his Eminence Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney. According to the Rot. Mem. 6 Edward II., quoted by the Rev. J. Graves ("Antiq. S. Can. Cath.," p. 279), William St. Leger was seneschal of the Liberties of Kilkenny, in 1312, and lived at Tullaghanbrogue. A minor branch, or offshoot, settled at Ballyfennor, and both forfeited their properties by their adherence to the House of Stuart. In Burnchurch there is a tomb with an escutcheon charged with the arms of Fitzgerald and St. Leger, and bearing the following inscription:—

"Hic jacent [] quondam, Dns. de Burinchurch et Anastatia Saintleger, uxor ejus qui obiit primo die Febii. Anno Di MCCCCXLV."

Trans.—"Here lie [] late owner of Burnchurch, and Anastatia Saintleger, his wife, who (...late owner) died the 1st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1545."

In 1653-4, we find Captain John St. Leger and William St. Leger transplanted to Connaught. In 1657 the following members of the

family were listed amongst the forfeiting proprietors whose properties were confiscated :—

BARONY OF SHILLELOGHER.

George St. Leger.

Patrick St. Leger.

BARONY OF GOWRAN.

William St Leger, Ologhela.

LIBERTIES OF KILKENNY.

James St. Leger.

George St. Leger.

The following were transplanted :—

William St. Leger, Gorane.

Patrick St. Leger, Derrin.


George St. Leger, Tulloughane.

The Inquisition above given, sufficiently indicates the considerable property possessed by the St. Leger family, of Tullaghanbrogue, barony of Shillelogher. A short notice of the "tumulus" or mound of Tullaghanbrogue and the probable derivation of the place as meaning, according to Mr. Hogan, in his "Life of St. Ciaran," the grave or burial mound of the Badger, has already appeared under the Inquisition (4), Tem. Eliz. Many of the localities mentioned in the Inquisition above must be familiar to readers of that useful and elegant little book, "The Antiquities of the United Parishes of Ballycallan, Kilmanagh, and Killaloe," by the Rev. J. Holohan, P.P., Tullaherin. The ruins of the old Castle, or castellated mansion, of Tullaghanbrogue are still standing, but as far as I recollect them there are no pretensions of ancient splendour lingering round them in their decay.

I N Q U I S I T I O N S .

(INQUISITION III.)

" Ib (Thomastown), 9 Sept., 1607.

"  HEOBALD VISCOUNT BUTLER¹, of Tulleophelim², is seized, as of fee, of the site, circuit ambit, and precincts of the late monastery or priory of Enistioke³, in the County Kilkenny, and of all edifices or structures, orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, and hereditaments within the precincts of same, and of certain messuages and other lands and tenements in Inisteok,

parcels of the aforesaid monastery, viz, the parcel of land called 'the Inche,' containing 111 acres, lying on the north side of the town of Inisteoke, and extending to the lands of Kilmacshane; the park, called 'Fenaghes,' on the part called 'the north-west' of Inesteok, containing 20 acres; also, of the wood called Kilclondowne, containing 120 acres, lying on the south part of Inesteok, and mered or limited with the lands of Brownsforde on the south side, over which wood the burgesses of Inesteok have common pasturage, subboscage, the cutting of copse and boughs of trees. The aforesaid Viscount Butler is seized of the fee of certain mountain lands, containing 60 acres, called Knockerowry, within the aforesaid 'burgagery,' mered with the lands of Ourraghmore, on the south part, with Boheleg and Ballyraghsowste in the west part, on which lands the 'community' of the town of Inisteoke have common pasturage, wherever there are not enclosed or new meadows. The aforesaid Viscount is also seized of a certain parcel of lands at Inesteoke, called Killinliegh, containing 40 acres mered with the lands of Brownsforde, in the east part, and with Curraghmore on the south side, over which lands the burgesses of Inesteoke have commonage wherever there are not enclosed or new meadows; 21 acres of arable land, parcel of the demesne lands of the said late Monastery, stretching on the east side of the river Nore as far as Ballaghdryn, in the east part, and from the high road leading from the ford of Inesteoke to Belagheryn on the west, as far as Dremereboy on the north, and so on to the highway from Dremereboy as far as the Nore, and from another parcel stretching on the south part of the aforesaid way as far as the Nore; 2 water-mills in Inesteoke, one of which is called 'the upper mill,' and at this the burgesses and townsmen of Inisteoke must grind their corn, and must also supply workmen to repair 'the weares' and ponds called the 'myll-ponds' of their own mill, and workmen and vehicles to draw mill stores and materials for the repairing of the said mill, the said Viscount supplying food to the aforesaid workmen. The said Viscount Butler is seized in right of the Priory of Inesteoke of the river Nore, with the several fisheries thereon, viz., from the land called Dobyn's land in the north part, as far as the lands of the Bishop of Ossory on the south side (but the townspeople of Inesteoke usually fish there); and of the divers messuages and tenements, with following appurtenances in the town of Inesteoke, viz., 1 slate house, situate in the part called the south-east, the principal house of the Manor or Priory of Inesteoke, now in the occupation of Johanna Lonan, widow; 1 messuage called the 'Kill-howse,' opposite the south side of the aforesaid house in possession of the said Johanna; 1 messuage in the south and east part, adjacent to the said slate house in the occupation of Donagh Dullany; 1 messuage in the west part of the 'Bak-howse,' in the occupation of John Cotrell; 1 messuage and common bakery in the 'occupation' of Ellen Sweetman; 1 messuage near the rivulet on the south side of the principal house of the aforesaid manor, now in the occupation of Donagh Holloghan; 1 messuage of the said principal house adjoining, next the aforesaid rivulet, in the occupation of Ellen

Broder, widow ; 1 message in the west part of the aforesaid message, near the aforesaid rivulet, in the occupation of Patrick Dobbin ; 1 message adjoining the wall which divides the 'burgage' from the demesne lands of the manor of Inesteeke, on the south part of the said rivulet, in the occupation of Thomas Bolger ; 1 message next adjoining the said house at the west side, in the occupation of Edmond Lunday ; 1 message with appurtenances beside the said house on the south part, and the said wall to the gate called the 'Burgess-gate,' in the occupation of William Joyce ; 1 message with appurtenances next adjoining the said house in the east part, near the little water-course coming from the aforesaid rivulet, in the occupation of Thomas Dowd ; 1 message with appurtenances in the west part of the aforesaid house towards the 'Courte-gate,' in occupation of Robert Busher ; 1 message next the said gate towards the south and west of the said principal house, in the occupation of Margaret Carrow, widow ; 1 message towards the east of the aforesaid house, extending to the principal house in the 'occupation' of James Archdecon ; 1 message with appurtenances adjoining, round towards the 'upper myll,' in the 'occupation' of Donagh O'Hurly ; 1 message on the south side of the said mill, and near the 'myll streame,' in the occupation of Donald MacRichard ; 1 message, now converted into hardware shops, opposite the aforesaid message on the north side of the aforesaid rivulet, in the 'occupation' of John de Neagh ; 1 message on the south part of the said rivulet, in the occupation of Patrick Joice ; 1 message next beyond the gate, near the wall, in the occupation of William Joice ; 1 message on the side of the hill, opposite the 'courte gate,' towards the west, in the occupation of John McDavy ; 1 message of the said house next adjoining towards the west, in the occupation of William Ruddy ; 1 message outside the 'court gate' in the south part, in the occupation of Patrick More ; 1 message next adjoining the said house in the west part, in the occupation of Nicholas Isell ; 1 message in the south side of the 'Mote,' in the occupation of Dermot O'Carroll ; 1 toft in the south part, near the King's highway ; 1 message in the south side of the 'courte gate,' in the occupation of Teighe O'Urrin ; 1 message south and east of the aforesaid principal 'mansion,' in the occupation of John Bolger ; 1 next message of the said house adjoining, in the occupation of John Joice, and divers other messages in the town of Inesteeke, mixed up with the lands of the burgesses thereof, viz., 1 message on the south side of the gate called the 'burgagerey gate,' which was lately built up and closed, now in the occupation of Redmond Cantwell ; 1 message on the north part, adjoining the wall which separates the demesne lands from the lands of the burgesses, lately in the occupation of the aforesaid Redmond Cantwell ; 1 adjoining message on the east side of the said next house and wall adjoining, in the occupation of Joseph Robuck ; 1 message lying towards the east of the small water-course which runs from the river by the demesne lands, and by the said wall adjoining, in the occupation of Robert Joice ; 1 message in the occupation of Johanna Donnell, widow ; 1 message in the

occupation of Isabella Joice; 1 messuage in the occupation of Jesper Bray; 1 messuage in the occupation of Richard O'Dowdy; 1 messuage in the occupation of John Redmond; 1 messuage in the occupation of Gerald Barron; 1 messuage in the occupation of William Murphy; 1 messuage in the occupation of the said William Murphy, and 1 small castle in the occupation of Patrick Rootha. The aforesaid Theobald Viscount Butler is also seized, as of fee, of 3 gardens in the occupation of Johanna Lonan, widow; 1 garden in the occupation of Donat O'Dullany; 1 garden in the occupation of John Cotrell; 2 gardens in the occupation of Ellen Sweetman; 2 gardens in the occupation of Donagh O'Hollegan; 1 garden in the occupation of Patrick Dobbin; 1 garden in the occupation of Thomas Bolger, called by the name of 'Garrencrompane'; 1 garden in the 'Bourne,' in the occupation of Edmund Lownder; 1 garden in the occupation of John McDavyd; 1 garden in the occupation of Edmund Dowdy; 1 garden in the occupation of Donogh O'Hurly; 1 garden in the occupation of Donald McRichard; 2 gardens in the occupation of William Joyce; 1 garden in the occupation of John McDavy; 2 gardens in the occupation of Nicholas McDavie; 1 garden in the occupation of Shane Burke; 2 gardens in the occupation of Redmond Cantwell; 1 garden in the occupation of Jesper Robuck; 1 garden in the occupation of Robert Joice; 1 garden in the occupation of Isabella Joyce; 1 garden in the occupation of Johanna Dowell; 1 garden in the occupation of Richard O'Dowd; 2 gardens in the occupation of John Redmond; 1 garden in the occupation of William Murphy, and 1 garden in the occupation of Peter Walsh. The burgesses and townsmen of Inestock should render the aforesaid Viscount Butler, for every full plough ploughing within the 'burgage' aforesaid, 2 days ploughing, annually, to plough the lands of the said Viscount, viz.—1 day at sowing of the wheat, and another day at the sowing of the oats. Every burgess of the same town having 1 draught horse should carry to the house of the said Viscount, at Inestock, 3 loads of wood, *only* on the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord, each year, the aforesaid Viscount supplying them with the necessary diet whilst engaged in carrying the aforesaid wood. The aforesaid burgesses and 'community' were accustomed to supply workmen annually to Sir Edmund Butler, deceased, father of the said Viscount, to assist in making up the hay. All burgesses of the said town, to the number of 18, should pay annually the rent of 12d. to the aforesaid Viscount for every tenement of the aforesaid burgage, held of the aforesaid Viscount into his manor of Inestock, a *court baron*, once in every three weeks, and a *court leet*, with *view of frank pledge* (every burgess aforesaid should pay suite to the courts aforesaid), and he receives the 'fines' and 'penalties' of the said courts in the aforesaid manor of Inestock, as also all 'accidents' happening within the manor aforesaid belong to, and are usually discharged to, the said Viscount. He claims also, as his right and heritage, 3 messuages in the town of Inistoeke, lately in the occupation of Richard Murphy, and now converted into thatched messuages, and also claims the messuage called the 'Prior's House,' and

the moieties of 19 stanges of land in Balicaghsowst, now in the possession of Paul Stronge, likewise all lands and tenements in Garrikell, 2 stanges adjoining the lands of Quolrany, now in possession of Peter Fitz-Edmond; the land of Kilkeran, now in possession of Sir Walter Butler; 1 stange of land within the lands of Ooolrehney; 1 barn within the limits of Thomastown, and 2 small gardens within the wall of the said town of Thomastown, in the occupation of John Grace; he claims also, annually, of the aforesaid, 18 burgesses of the town of Inesteok; 18 hens at the Feast of Shrove Tuesday, or in default of any hen, 2 cocks. The premises are held of the King in capite by Knight's service, besides the annual rent of £18 6s. 8d., thereon reserved to the King by letters patent, etc. Certain parcels of the aforesaid lands and tenements were alienated by Edmund Butler, father of the aforesaid Viscount Butler, to the following persons, viz., all lands and tenements in Kilcrosse and Bwoholeagh, to John Sweetman and his heirs, by paying therefrom to the King the sum of 40s. per annum, in part exoneration of the said rent of £18 6s. 8d.; the town of Rossyn, with appurtenances, to Thomas Den, of Grena, in the County Kilkenny, and his heirs, by rendering thereof, 6s. 8d. per annum, in part exoneration of the aforesaid rent; the town of Lisnemannaghte al. Leislymonagh, to Thomas Cantwell and Mary FitzGerald, his wife and their heirs, by rendering thereof, 13s. 4d. in part exoneration of the aforesaid rent. The aforesaid Viscount claims also the manor, town, and lands of Inshioleghan and Brownestown, with appurtenances in the County aforesaid."

(1)—BUTLERS OF CLOUGHGRENAN, Co. CARLOW.

Theobald Viscount Butler was the fourth son of Sir Edmund Butler, of Roscrea and Cloughgrenan, County Carlow. Sir Edmund had the Commission for the Preservation of the Peace for the County Carlow, in and previous to 1562, the Deputy being absent in the North, where Sussex, with a powerful army, and the forces of Ormonde, Desmonde, &c., were still unable to cope with the military tactics of Shane O'Neill. He received the honour of knighthood in 1567, but soon after Sir Peter Carew's false claim to some of his lands, along with large possessions belonging to the Fitzgeralds, M'Carthy's, &c., having been admitted by the corrupt administration of the day, he went into rebellion with the southern insurgents and was declared a traitor. He, with his two younger brothers and Sir James Fitzmaurice, of Desmond, laid siege to Kilkenny in 1569, but Carew defended the city successfully against them. Subsequently, after sacking Enniscorthy, and having done some damage in Ossory and the Queen's County, he received a full pardon in 1570, through the influence of his brother, the Earl of Ormonde, and upon making his submission. He died at Inisteoge, and was buried in St. Canice Church, but there is no monument or tablet that records him. Theobald, his youngest son (his elders, Pierce, John, and James, died without children), had by patent dated at Westminster, 13th July, 1603, the titles of Ormonde and Ossory, entailed on him after the

death of Thomas, then Earl, who had no male issue surviving Remainder to the heirs, male of his great-grandfather, Pierce 8th Earl of Ormonde. He was also created on the 4th of August following Viscount Butler, of Tulleophelim, in the County Carlow, of which county he was made Governor and L.L. on the 18th June, 1605. He married his cousin-German, the Lady Elizabeth Butler, only surviving child and heir of Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, by his second Countess Elizabeth, daughter of John, second Lord Sheffield. He died soon after in 1613, and was buried in St. Canice Church. Joan, his first daughter, was married to Teighe Fitzpatrick, fourth Lord of Upper Ossory, and having died in 1631, was buried in St. Canice also.

Catherine, his second daughter, became the fourth wife of William Fitzjohn Eustace, of Oastlemartin, County Kildare, father of Sir Maurice Eustace, Chancellor of Ireland. His widow, Lady Elizabeth, through the influence of King James, was married to Sir Richard Preston, Baron Dingwall, in Scotland, and Earl of Desmonde, in Ireland. The property of Tullyophelim, had been granted, a portion to Sir Charles Wilmot, and other portions were claimed by the Earl of Ormonde—but King James wrote to his Lord Deputy, reminding him of the patent that had been granted to one of the ancestors of Theobald, and which reverted to the Crown on his death, without male issue. He moreover promises to restore all the property to Lady Elizabeth, provided she married according to his wishes, and she having done so the King wrote, "for as much as the Lady Elizabeth is matched to our beloved subject Lord Dingwall, by our good approbation, we are resolved to accomplish our royal promise made to the lady, &c."

Ormonde and Lord Wilmot, however, refused to surrender. Ormonde was finally imprisoned for eight years in the fleet, and in 1624, Lord Wilmot and Captain Butler, to whom the former assigned his portion, were threatened with censure before the Castle Chamber, in the event of their refusing to surrender the premises. Differences continued between Ormonde and Captain Thomas Butler, concerning the manors of Ologrenan, &c., the several letters regarding which, written by King Charles to Lord Viscount Falkland, and the Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal, are set down in the Pat and Clos. Rolls, but are of a length unsuited to the present work. Sufficient to say that in 1632, Ormonde and the King became reconciled, and the former became entitled to all the possessions held by the late Theobald Viscount Tulleophelim.

(2)—TULLEOPHELM.

This was the ancient name of Tullow, a village on the river Slaney in the barony of Rathvilly, County Carlow. In the sixth year of the reign of King Edward II. (1313), Simon Lombard and Hugh Tallon granted to the eremites of St. Augustine, a house and three acres of land in the village of St. John, near Tullow. *Tullyophelin*, or *Tullow-phelim*, means the hill or mound of the Hy-Feidhlimidhe. Hy-Felimy

was an ancient territory, extending along the sea coast, commonly called the "Murrowes," in the barony of Ballaghkeen, Co. Wexford. O'Murchadha, or O'Murphy, Chief of Hy-Felimy, is thus mentioned by O'Heerin :—

"An extensive and profitable lordship,
Was obtained by O'Murphy of smooth and fair plains,
The country of Hy-Felimy the Chief received,
An inheritance handed down from his ancestors."

In connection also with another Chief O'Gairbhídh, or O'Garvey, the territory of Hy-Felimy is thus alluded to by the same poet—O'Heerin :—

"In Hy-Felimy, a delightful district,
Fair are the lands possessed by the O'Garveys,
Fenian heroes of the hill unite in the tribe,
Each man of whom is free from grief and sorrow."

Probably a branch of either of those septs of Hy-Felimy, the O'Murphys, or the O'Garveys, by encroachment into County Carlow, established itself at Tullow, and hence *Tullow-Phelim*, or *Tullow-Felimy*. In addition to Gough's Camden, quoted in the "Monasticon Hibernicum," edited by Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, and other distinguished antiquarians, vol. 1, p. 65, it is said, regarding Tullow, that at the foot of the bridge of six arches are the ruins of a house of Austin Eremites, founded temp. Edw. II." There is a holy well called Our Lady's Well at Tullow, and the patron was held on the 8th September.

(3)—ENESTOGE.

The meaning of Inisteoge is unknown, unless it be the island house. As you near the village the bridge that spans the Nore with its ten arches and Ionic pillars arrest your attention. "The view down the river from this bridge," says Prim, in his "Nooks and Corners of Kilkenny," "shows the Nore wandering through the islands beautifully wooded until it is lost amidst the glades of Woodstock. Up the stream we see it brawling between the little town and the bold rocks which spring from the water's edge at the other side."

The same writer remarks :—"There are few villages in Ireland, and certainly not one in our county, so beautiful as Inisteoge. It has all the elements of the picturesque about and within it ; situate in a lonely valley surrounded by lofty hills, watered by a noble river, having within its boundary an ivy-clad abbey tower, and the remains of its mural fortalices, besides being neat and full of pretty houses, decorated by many choice flowering plants which show by the luxuriance of their growth that the snug little settlement is sheltered from all the 'airths the wind does blow.'" Towards the close of the eighth, and in the beginning of the ninth centuries, the foreigners and pirates known by the name of 'the Danes' fierce and merciless swarms from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and the islands of the Baltic, made several descents on the Irish coasts, plundering, burning, pillaging

churches, and desecrating shrines and sanctuaries with the blood-thirstiness and wanton savagery of predatory adventurers. In the reign of Hugh, surnamed *Oirdnigh* (817-31) or the *legislator* of the Northern Hy-Niall race, a fleet of those invaders arrived off the south-east coast, and having landed "struck fresh terror into the inhabitants, who fled for the security of their lives, and left the country to the mercy of the invaders." On this occasion the *foreigners* plundered *Teach-Moling* (St. Mullins) and *Inistog* (Inistioge), as also *Teach-Munna* (Taghmon) in the County Wexford. In their hostility they advanced into Ossory, devastating and pillaging, "but the people of that country," says Keating (O'Connor's Ed., p. 414), "rose upon them, and with great bravery attacked the foreigners, who were unprepared for an assault, and intent upon carrying off their booty, and after a desperate and bloody conflict, gave them an entire defeat, and slew 707 of them on the spot." In 1324, before the Christmas feast, according to Olyn (p. 16), Arnold Le Poer, then *Seneschal* of Kilkenny, gathered together a large force at Ynistoyke (Inistioge) against the Rupe, whom he besieged and compelled the proprietor, Henry de Rupe, to surrender and swear allegiance to the King. After the surrender of Ross, on the 18th October, 1649, Cromwell lay ill for some time, and dysentery was thinning his army. Ormonde, who had been reinforced by the troops of Lieutenant-General Hugh, nephew of Owen Roe O'Neil, fell back on Thomastown. A bridge of boats conveyed a detachment of Cromwell's men, under Colonel Abbot, across the river, who took Inistioge and Carrick. Turning back to the ecclesiastical and civil history of Inistioge, we find mention made of an abbey founded here about the year 800. Archdale so states on the authority of Conry, but gives us no information as to the name of the founder. About A.D. 1210, Thomas Fitz Anthony founded the Abbey of Inistioge for Canons of St. Augustine, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Columba, whose feast occurs on the 9th June. Alured of the priory of Bodmin in Cornwall, lately inducted into the newly-founded priory of Kells was transferred to Inistioge and made first prior there.

The Rupe above mentioned were benefactors of the monastery, as appears by Pat. Roll. 11th., Edward II. (1318). "The King granted to the prior and brethren of the Blessed Mary of Inistioge that Henry, son of Henry de Rupe, be allowed to bestow on them the ecclesiastical advowsons of the Rowyer (Roar) and Lysterglyn (Listerling), and two acres of land in those same villis named *Glebe* to be held by them, their church aforesaid, and their successors as alms for ever."

In 1355, John Modberry was prior, and was feloniously robbed by Stephen, prior of Kells. Stephen, also this same year, robbed one Richard Lancy of a scythe value 20d., whereupon he was committed to gaol, but by the favour of the court, he was admitted to a fine of 20s., by the payment whereof his Majesty granted a full and free pardon to the prior."

Milo Baron, *alias* Fitzgerald, was the last prior. He was of the Fitzgerald family of Burnchurch, and was in 1528 consecrated Bishop of

Ossory. He continued to hold the priory and retain its revenues by special licence of Rome until the suppression or dissolution of monasteries in 1540. On the 20th March, 1540, with the consent of the community, he surrendered the priory; 16 acres of arable land; 14 acres of pasture, with appurtenances, in Arde—Kenrishe; an annuity of 13s. 4d. Irish money, arising from the rectories of Tiber-Kerney and Ballylusky; an annuity of 6s. 8d. payable by the Hospital of St. John Baptist, near Wexford, the rectory of Ardkenrishe and rectory of Ballyerna, with their appurtenances appropriated to the prior and his successors, and situate in the county Wexford. In Pat and Clos. Rolls the entry is made as follows:—"Surrender of the priory, monastery or house of St. Columbe of Enestioke, in the county of Kilkenny, by Milo, Bishop of Ossory, commander of the house, with the consent of the convent" (*March 20, Henry VIII., 31*). Bishop Milo died, some say of grief, in 1550, and was interred among his ancestors at Inistioge. He built the steeple and added a cloister to the priory. A grant of the lands and revenues of the abbey was made to Sir Richard Butler, but on the 20th December, 1551, came "Letter from the Lords of the Council in England directing a lease in reversion for 21 years to be made to Edward Seyntloo in consideration of his painful and diligent services in the late wars in Ireland, of the monastery or priory of Innestyoke, in the county of Kilkenny, in as large and ample manner as Sir Richard Butler, Viscount of Mountgarete, now holds it." Before the expiration of the term, Queen Elizabeth, on the 12th November, 1566, issued an order to Sir Henry Sydney and the Lord Chancellor "directing a grant to be made in fee farm to Sir Edmond Butler, of the monastery of Innistiocke, in the county of Kilkenny, the monastery of Cahir, in the county Tipperary, the priory of Connall, in the county of Kildare, the monk's land parcel of the Abbey of Baltinglass; the late Abbey of Kilkilihine (Kilkilleen, or Kilculliheen, on the Suir, opposite the city of Waterford), in the county of Kilkenny; or so much thereof as should amount in value to 200 marks a year; thereof one moiety is to be granted in fee-farm to him and to his heirs, male, and the other to him and his assigns for 60 years."

"Thus," says Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, "were the offerings of the piety of our fathers sacrilegiously plundered, in order to gratify the vanity and the pleasures of the agents or the flatterers of the Government" (*Oss. Arch. Soc., vol. 2, p. 249*). Towards the close of 1553, Dr. John O'Thonory was consecrated Bishop of Ossory, in the Priory of Inistioge, Queen Mary having deposed and sent into exile the Protestant Bishop Bale. This was the last great ceremonial witnessed in the old priory. Taking a cursory view of the civil history of Inistioge, I find that after the establishing of the monastery a town soon grew up and was incorporated by charter of the first Prior Alured. It may appear singular that a charter for the formation of a borough should issue from a prior or abbot of a convent, but we must bear in mind the relation of those convents in respect of the people at large in those days of ancient faith. Ecclesiastical communities were

endowed by liberal patrons with extensive possession designed for the universal benefit of the public.

About one-fourth of the parishes of Ireland were annexed to those establishments, and an adequate proportion of their tithes was set apart to meet all purposes. The people were not called upon to pay for the founding or building of churches, at least ordinarily—nor for the building of schools or hospitals.

There were no poor-houses nor poor-law system. The monks studded the country with churches, abbeys, monasteries, schools, hospitals, &c. They fed the poor, they cared the sick, they clothed the wretched, they educated the children of the rich, the poor, and became the guardians of orphans, they encouraged agriculture and manufactures, and extended hospitality to the pilgrim and the stranger; they gave their tenants the highest price for their corn, and, above all, they did not squander their rents beyond the seas, nor indeed at home, for their vows prohibited them from doing anything of the kind; in a word, they expended every shilling they received amongst the people, and for the benefit and comfort of the people, and the ivy-clad abbeys and ecclesiastical ruins so profusely scattered through our island are the best evidences to-day of the monastic bounty, education, and zeal of the wonderful monks of old. And so it was that in those ages of faith, princes and magnates vied with each other in the bestowal of possessions and donations on those good old monks, and a prior or abbot was invested with a power for the temporal good of his tenants, that was in much safer keeping than that entrusted to the feudal lord to be exercised at his absolute will and caprice in his *Court baron* and *Court leet*. The charter of incorporation given by prior Alured to Inistioge, sometime about 1215 or 1220 runs thus:—"Know all men, present and future, that I, Alured, Prior of Inistioc and Canon of the same, have granted, and by these presents do grant to our Burgesses of Inistioc all the liberties which it befits Burgesses to have and me to grant. *Imprimis*, viz., that no Burgess shall be impleaded in any cause which arises within the boundary of the borough in the Prior's Court or elsewhere, except in the Hundred Court of the town. That it may be lawful for the burgesses to hold said Hundred Court in their own town one day in each week, where they may plead without vexatious delay, and none of them shall be fined except by the consideration of the Hundred Court; and that if any burgess shall be fined he shall give security to us for 12d., of which 6d. is to be paid to us, and the other 6d. to be forgiven without the infliction of corporal punishment, except in the cases of old offenders. That no foreign merchant shall be permitted to cut cloth or hold a wine-tavern in the town of Inistioc, except for 40 days, and if he wishes for a long space he can only obtain it when it appears to be for the profit of the town. That no burgess shall be compelled to give bail for anyone, though he hold under him, except with his free will. That said Burgesses be permitted to have a Merchant's Guild, and other Guilds and to take customs and tolls, with all liberties to them belonging, as is the privilege of other good towns. That they

may dispose of their burgageries as seems fit to them, provided they do not injure their neighbours, and that they whose holdings are situate near the river may extend them over the water, so, nevertheless, that the ancient may not be impeded. We also grant that they may sell or mortgage all their conquests saving the services and customs due to me and my successors. The said Burgesses to have commonage of our woods, and to have common pasture over the entire thereof, outside the bounds of cultivated lands, meadows, and enclosures. That no Burgess be compelled to supply cattle (to the Priory) unless he first have security for payment at a certain time, and if any Burgess shall by his own free will, give cattle to the bailiffs of our court, if there be no certain time appointed, he shall be paid within forty days. That the said Burgesses may set part of their tenements to free tenants to the extent of twenty feet; and that they (the tenants) shall have common liberty with the Burgesses. That they may prove their debts by credible witnesses. That they and their heirs hold their burgageries from us and our successors freely and peaceably, together with thirty acres of land assigned to each burgagery, paying to us, or our successors, annually for each burgagery, in lieu of all services, 12d., to be paid in two terms, to wit, 6d. at Easter and 6d. at Michaelmas. And the constitution of the Burgesses in such that after seizen of his land granted, each Burgess reside thereon in *propria persona* within three weeks or lose his tenement for ever. We also will that no assize of victuals shall be made in said borough without the common consent of the Burgesses and our bailiffs, and that this grant may remain firm to all future time we have corroborated it with our seal. Witness—Thomas Fitz Anthony, Adam Fitz Milo, M. Fitzgriffin, Stephen Fitz A. Roger Russell, Reginald Kervitt, William Poer, and William, the Chaplain."

Subsequently, in 1609, James I. granted a charter to the inhabitants, whereby "the town and borough of Inistioge" was to be governed by a Portrieve, twelve chief Burgesses, and as many Freemen as they might think fit to elect. To hold a court from three weeks to three weeks for the recovery of debts to the amount of £20 Irish. To build a Tholsel for a Town Hall, and to have the privilege of electing two members of Parliament to represent their borough." This right they enjoyed till the Union, when Mr. Tighe, the Patron of the Borough, and the Portrieve and Burgesses got £15,000 compensation. The moat of Inistioge is worthy of the inspection of the tourist or antiquarian, and the well of St. Columba on the hill side opposite the moat, where pilgrimage of a very penitential kind along the course of the rugged stream was formerly performed on the Sunday within the Octave of the Saint's Feast, June 9th. It is said that in '98 a wooden image of the Saint, which was erected near the well, was destroyed by one of the yeomen, who being an iconoclast, flung it into the Nore. Before taking leave of Inistioge, I may mention that the late Mr. Morrin, Dangan House, Thomastown, endeavoured to show that the crozier of St. Patrick, commonly called the Staff of Jesus, was for some time previous to its destruction in Dublin, in 1538, preserved at Inistioge. Mr.

Morrin grounded his opinion on the interpretation of a charter of King Henry III. which contains the following :—"Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse Joanne Dubliniensi Archiepiscopo et successoribus suis omnes possessiones, &c. . . . et terram de Fidoyne que est ex dono meo et *feodum militis quod assensu meo datum fuit buculo Jesu apud Inistyoeh et feodum militis in Media ex dono Hugonis de Lacy.*" The late Rev. Patrick Neary, P.P., Mullinavat, took exception to Mr. Morrin's translation, which made it appear that it was "A Knight's fee, which by the King's consent was given to the *Staff of Jesus at Inistioge.*" Father Neary maintained that the proper translation was "*The Knight's fee at Inistioch, which with my consent (the King's) was given to the Staff of Jesus.*" Mr. Morrin wrote on the subject to Mr. H. O. Hamilton, of the British Museum, and Mr. M'Sweeny, of the Royal Irish Academy, both of whom favoured Mr. Morrin in his interpretation. The correspondence on both sides was published in the Nos. of the *Kilkenny Journal* of 1877. Father Neary seems to have hit the correct translation. Archbishop Alan, who was brutally dragged out of bed and murdered in the presence of Silken Thomas, 28th July, 1534, left after him the "*Liber Niger*," a work of great antiquarian research, and the "*Repertorium Viride*," containing an account of the state of the churches of the diocese in his time. In the "*Repertorium*" he states that Prince John, Lord of Ireland, confirmed to John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, amongst other possessions in Ossory, *the Knight's fee in Inistioche, which, by his consent, had been previously given to the Staff of Jesus.* The essay of Father Neary, entitled, "*Inistioge and the Crozier of St. Patrick*," may be read with interest in the *Transactions of the Ossor. Archæol. Sol.*, vol. 2, p. 264-74.

(4)—COURT-LEET.

The Court-leet was a court of record held once a year within a particular lordship, manor, or hundred. The original intent of this court was to view the *frank pledges*—that is, the free men, who, as I explained in a previous note on the origin of towns, townlands, baronies, &c., were mutually pledges for the good behaviour of each other, under the constitution of King Alfred. Hence the court-leet was also called, *View of Frank Pledge*. The preservation of the peace, and punishment of divers small offences against the public good were also objects of the court-leet. All freeholders within the precinct, and all persons *commorant* therein, were obliged to attend the court, with certain exceptions regarding persons over sixty years of age, clergymen, peers, &c., and appear upon the jury if required. The oath of allegiance to the king was also administered in those courts-leet.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION IV.)

TIME OF KING JAMES I.

"Kilkenny, 19 September, 1607.

PETER O'RIANE¹ FITZ-EDMOND, of Stacally, in the County Kilkenny, is seized, *as of fee*, of two-third part of the town of Stacally, and of five-sixth part of 'Pollagh,' containing one-fourth of one great mart² of land, five-sixth part of the town and land of Clashgany, in the aforesaid county, containing one-eighth part of a mart of land, and of two-third parts of the towns and lands of Ballyshanboy and Barneviddane, in the aforesaid county. David McJames O'Ryane, of Balliskanebry, is seized of the other one-third of the said towns of Ballyshanboy and Barneviddane. Shane McDavid O'Ryane, of Knockevarrone, in the aforesaid county, is seized of the fee of the moities of the town of Knockevarrone, and one-fourth part of the town of Ullard, with appurtenances, which contain one-fourth of a great mart of land. Edmond Blanchfild, of Mylton, is seized of the fee of the towns of Ballinvallin and Clashmoling, containing one-half mart of land. David McWalter O'Riane is seized of the fee of the town of Gurtin, with appurtenances, containing one-fourth great mart of land. Patrick Archdekin al. Ooddy, of Ullard, is seized of the fee of the town of Garriheberd, containing one-sixth small mart of land. David McJames, of Boherquoile, is seized of the fee of the moiety of the town of Tentowrie, containing one-sixth part of one-third part of a mart of land. The aforesaid Patrick Archdekin is seized of the fee of one-fourth mart of land in the town and fields of Ullarde; Nicholas Archdekin Fitzgerald, of Ologhlay; David Fitzjames, of Tentwor, and James Fitzjohn, of Ballychanboy, are seized of the fee of the vill of Boherquoile, with appurtenances, in the aforesaid county, containing one-third mart of land; Donald O'Ryane, of Curraghlahan, is seized as of fee of 2 acres great measure, in Curraghlean; Teighe McTeighe O'Ryane, of Ballycrehin, and Turlagh McTeige O'Ryane, of Ballycrean, are seized of the fee of one-eight small mart of land in Aghilton, in the aforesaid county; Henry, son of Galfrid O'Ryane, of Tomnehahie, is seized of the fee of the town and lands of the aforesaid Tomnehahie, Ballykrehen, and Ballemorah, containing one-sixth mart of land great measure; Donell McTeige O'Ryane is seized of the fee of the town and lands of Knockballyrobugbeg, in the aforesaid county, containing one-eight mart of land; Donell McOwney O'Ryane, of Gurtyn, is seized of the fee of one-eight part of the aforesaid Gurtyn, containing 2 acres country measure; David Fitz-Edmond, Archdekin of Ullard, is seized of the fee of one-fourth the town and land of Ullard,

containing one-eight great mart of land, of which part Patrick Fitz-Nicholas Archdekin has a certain parcel mortgaged for 10 marks; David Rian, formerly of Pollogh, Walter Ryan, of Gurtyn, Donell O'Ryane, of Aghnelacke, David McDonnell, of same, and Richard Shortall, late of same, made suit of court to the manor of Gowran, about 30 years hence. The aforesaid members of 'the O'Ryan's' usually paid to the Earl of Ormonde 6 measures of oats; Redmond McMertagh O'Ryan claims the aforesaid lands of Stockally, Pollagh, and Glasganny, as his rightful inheritance; Peter McMelaghin O'Ryan claims one-sixth of Pollagh, and one-ninth part of the lands of Stockally; Turleigh McTeige O'Ryan claims one fourth of Pollagh and Stockally; Edward Butler, of Oldabay, maketh claim to the vill and land of Garneviddan as parcel of the Abbey of Dusk. The premises, lands, tenements, and hereditaments aforementioned are limited and meared on the east by the river Barrowe, on the west by the lands of Farrentibot; on the south by Ballyduff and 'Monk's land,' and on the north by the aforesaid 'Monk's land.' The premises are held from the King, but by what service the jurors know not."

(1)—THE O'RYAN FAMILY.

The O'Ryan's are descended from *Drona*, who was the fourth in descent from Cathaer Mor, Monarch of Ireland from A.D. 122 to 125. Cathaer was said to have had three wives and thirty sons, ten only of whom survived and had issue:—

"Descended from the loins of Cathaer More
Were thirty princes most renowned in arms,
Most comely personages, and heroes all."

The descendants of *Drona* or the tribe *Ui-Drona* gave their name to the barony of Idrone, Co. Carlow. They also possessed that part of the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, on the west bank of the river Barrow, and comprising within it the Church of Ullard—the Parish of Ullard being partly in the barony of Gowran and partly in the barony of St. Mullins, Co. Carlow.

"Hereditary to O'Ryan is a fair district,
A territory extensive is the land,
Hy Drona of peaceful pleasures,
It is more fitting for him than a strange country."

According to the calendar of State Papers, Idrone consisted, in 1571, of 67 marts of land, or at 5 ploughs to a mart, 335 ploughlands at about 120 acres to each plough. After the establishment of Surnames by Brian Borumha (Boru) about 1001, or at all events very early in the 11th century, the chief of the *Ui-Drona* took the surname of *O'Rian Anglice* O'Ryan, and the family continued to possess considerable property in the barony of Idrone and that part of Kilkenny bordering on the right bank of the Barrow, in the vicinity of Graiguenamana, till the Revolution of 1688. In 1170, when Raymond Le Gros, one

of the greatest Anglo-Norman invaders, landed on the first of May, in that year, with a force of 130 Knights and archers at Dundonnell rock or Dundrone, in the County Wexford, he immediately proceeded to attack Waterford, some four miles distant. He was joined by Hervey de Mont Marisco, and having collected together a number of cows, they goaded them with their pointed weapons into a wild and furious rush against the opposing army of Irish and Danes who sallied forth from the city, and by this stratagem overthrew them with great slaughter. Amongst the slain was *O'Ryan*, Prince of Idrone. The F.M. have at A.D. 1437, "Henry O'Ryan, lord of Hy-Drona, died."

When Strongbow, in 1171, set out from Dublin to relieve FitzStephen, who was already in the hands of the Dano-Irish, besiegers at Wexford, he met a stout and spirited resistance from O'Rian, Chief of Idrone. It was in this engagement that Strongbow's son, a youth of 17 years of age, affrighted at the war-shouts and prowess of the Irish troops, fled from the scene of carnage making his way towards Dublin.

The boy having heard of his father's success (O'Ryan having been slain by an arrow-shot) he returned to congratulate him on his victory, but Strongbow first upbraided him for his cowardice. "*Nate ingrati mihi pugnanti terga dedisti; non mihi sed genti Regno quoque terga dedisti.*" "Ungrateful son, thou hast turned thy back upon me engaged in battle; not on me but on the Royal Nation also hast thou turned thy back," and having said he divided him in the middle with his sword."

Idrone was granted by Strongbow to Raymonde Le Gros (Raymond FitzWilliam Carew), from whom it descended to the Barons Carew, and in a printed map of the date 1570, a broad forest at the foot of *Sliab Laighen* (Mount Leinster) is designated *Carew's Wood*. For centuries this sylvan district was the abode of the clan Kavanagh, and 233 years after Dermot McMurragh had burned his Castle of Ferns and proceeded to Henry II. to disclose his unhappy project of an invasion of his own country, we find a more worthy member of the family, the brave Art. MacMurrrough, defiantly awaiting in this forest-stronghold the approach of King Richard II. and his powerful army. After fourteen days stay in Kilkenny, awaiting the arrival of the Duke of Albermarle, Richard, on the eve of St. John the Baptist, put his army of about 30,000 mail-clad warriors and splendid archers in motion and departed from the city. Before the wood, at the foot of Mount Leinster, he drew up in battle array, and having fired the villages, he compelled over 2,000 of the peasantry to clear a passage through the trees for his men. Art MacMurrrough and his 3,000 fearless veterans, "little astonished at the sight of the English," assailed them in front and rear, casting their javelins with such resistless might as "no habergeon or coat of mail was sufficient proof against." Richard soon found himself and his proud army covered with humiliation, and as the heroic Art "for all the gold in the world would not submit himself, but would continue to war and endamage the King in all that he could." The King, on his part, "flew into a violent rage and swore by St. Edward he would not depart out of Ireland until he

had MacMurrough in his hands, living or dead." Richard little dreamt at that moment how adverse fortune was hovering round him, and how near he himself was to the prison of a deposed monarch. The "fair and puny youth," who had knelt beside him in solemn reverence in the old Cathedral of St. Canice, and was knighted by him in the woods of Idrone, was, in 16 years to come, destined to share in the glories of a far greater and more successful military exploit, the splendid victory over the French at Agincourt (1415), on the banks of the Somme. As for King Richard, he only returned to England to find his cousin, Henry, son of "Old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster," filling his throne, himself deposed and soon confined in Pontrefact Castle, where, subsequently, in March, 1400, he died, probably by violence. The O'Rians, of Idrone, were the ancestors of the numerous families of the name scattered through the Counties of Kilkenny and Waterford, and were of the same stock as the O'Mulriains, of the County of Tipperary, all of pure Royal Irish extraction and the inveterate foes of the Anglo-Norman Invaders. Some say the O'Rians of Munster derive their origin from a different stock from the O'Rians of Idrone.

(2)—GREAT MART.

A mart of land consisted of five plough-lands. A plough-land meant as much land as a plough, with the beasts belonging thereto, could till in one year. According to Hore's "Ancient Measures of Land," p. 56, a plough-land varied, and may be placed at 120 acres. It is sometimes set down at 80 acres, and even less.

The various measurements of land occurring in the Inquisitions are sometimes very puzzling in regard to the exact number of acres, according to our present notion, that each contained. You will find the "hide," the "mart," the "caracute," the "plough-land," the "great acre," the "small acre," etc., in connection with ancient Irish measurements of land; and in England we find the "solin," "dimidium" or "half," the "ingum" or "yoke," the "virgate," the "bovata" or "ongang," and "ferding" or "ferling," mentioned as different measurements of land. With regard to the quantity of land contained under each of those denominations, it may safely be said that it was *different in different places*. Acre, itself, from the Anglo-Saxon *Accar*, and the Roman *Agē*, a field would seem to have been originally a *non-determined* quantity of land. It became, however, a measure of land at a very early period, and the Normans are said to have an acre differing from that of the Saxons.

In the time of Edward I., when the acre was ten perches in length, it was to be sixteen perches in breadth; and when eighty perches in length, it was to be two perches wide. The elementary acre was forty perches long by four perches wide. The "Hide" was derived from the Saxon *hyd*, a house or habitation—just as we use sometimes the word "hut," for a cottage. A "house" or "family" had a certain circuit of land sufficient to maintain it, and called the "hide." The quantity of

it was such as to be sufficient for one plough to cultivate, and hence the term "ploughland." Nevertheless, the quantity of the "hide" was never determined. With some it was 100 acres. In the Malmsbury MS. it was 90 acres. In the history of the foundation of Battle Abbey it is eight virgates with four acres to each virgate. Hence a "hide" contained no certain number of acres, but varied in different places, probably according to the nature of the soil or the manner of the husbandry. The same may be said of every other denomination of land occurring in the inquisitions, such as "knight's fee," "great acre," &c., &c., all which varied from about 60 acres to 120 acres, and sometimes went so high as 160 or 180 acres.

I N Q U I S I T I O N S .

(INQUISITION V.)

"Ib (Kilkenny), 22 February, 1607.

"**S**IR NICHOLAS WALSH,¹ Knight,² is seized in fee by
 "way of mortgage from one Edmond Daton, of the towne
 "and lands of Corlohan, in the County of Kilkenny, contain-
 "ing three greate acres, holden of the Right Hon. Thomas,
 "Earle of Ormonde,³ as of his mannor of Grenagh⁴ by fealtie and sewte
 "of courte to the said mannor. He is also seized as of fee of one small
 "acre and one burgagiery in Pollroan, which is holden of the Earl of
 "Ormonde as aforesaid; of one small burgagery in Fydowne, which is
 "holden of Lorde Viscount Mountgarrett as of his mannor of Fydowne
 "in the said county; the towne and lands of Foulkestowne al. Foulkes-
 "townefreny al. Frieneislande; 3 acres of the greate country measure in
 "mortgage from John Sweetman, and holden from the Earle of Ormonde
 "as of his mannor and Castell of Kilkenny by fealtie and seute of courte;
 "the moytie of 3 acres of the country greate measure in Gillcaghmore
 "holden of Richard Strange as of his mannor of Downkitt by fealty and
 "sewte of courte; one burgagery in the Irish town neere Kilkenny,
 "holden of the Lorde Bishop of Ossory in burgadg tenour. The
 "premises are lying and being within the county of Kilkenny, and are
 "holden by English tenour, and have from tyme to tyme descended
 "according to the course of the common lawes. The said Sir Nicholas is
 "seised as of fee of Mongan, containing 2 greate acres of the country
 "measure, and the Killins, containing 1 greate acre of the like measure
 "holden from the King in common soccage by lres. patent granted from
 "her late Majesty, Queen Eliz. to Tyrelagh O'Byrne, bearing date the
 "3rd of September, in the 35th year of her reign, and from the said
 "Tyrrrelagh assigned unto the said Sir Nicholas. He is also seized as of

"fee of the villages, townes, and landes of Tyhantoyne al. Tintoyn, "Tyhancorran, Tyhneskolly and Cowlrahym, containeing 9 greate acres "of the the said country, which are holden of the King, by what tenour "and services the jurors know not, but, as they think, in soccadge tenour, "because they were ptable lands after the Irish manner or coustome."

(1)—SIR NICHOLAS WALSH.

He was Justice of the Province of Munster, and was promoted on the 18th April, 1597, by Queen Elizabeth, to the office of Chief Justice of the Court of Common Bench, vacant by the death of Sir Robert Dillon. By an Inquisition taken at Navan, on the 27th March, 1634, it appears that Richard Comerford, late of Danganmore, in the county Kilkenny, having being *enfeoffed* for the use of Walter, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, by *Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland*, Sir John Everard, of Fethard, County Tipperary; Robert Rothe, and Henry Shea, both of the City of Kilkenny, was seized of the manor, town and lands of Black Castle, &c., &c., in the County Meath. In the wars of Hugh O'Neill, towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Northern Chiefs were in expectation of succour from Spain, and in fact, in 1596, three pinnaces, or small vessels, did arrive, on the coast of Donegal, bringing letters of encouragement from the King of Spain. Philip II., however, did more harm than service by such promises of aid; nor was he likely to be over-hasty in fulfilling them as might be easily conjectured after the disastrous fate of his *Invincible Armada* under the fire-ships of Admiral Howard and the winds of Heaven, some eight years previous. The fear of King Philip, nevertheless, was still in the hearts of the English, and a Spanish descent on the Irish coasts was closely watched.

The following letter from Sir Thomas Colclough to Sir Nicholas Walsh, dated, *Tintern, County Wexford, 3rd May, 1594*, shows that such fear was well grounded:—

"MY GOOD BROTHER,—I heartlie commend me unto you. There is a Spaniard in the Bay of Greenore, which is a spie (as it is here thought). And upon Thursday night last, in the evening sent xxtie of his men ashore, and did take Mr. Whittye, of Ballyteige, as prisoner and carried him aboard with themselves and there doe keep him; and doe saie that they will carrie him with them to Spain. And besides that they have done many mischiefes hereabouts. And, therefore, I thought it my duty to signify this much unto you, and doe think very necessary that you would procure the Mayor of Waterford, to mann out a ship to take him, which would, no doubt, be very greate service unto her Majestie, and well thought of. I did write to Wexford of it and have sent their answer hereinlosed to you. And thus with my hartie comendations unto you and my sister, I commit you to God. Tinterne, 3 of May, 1594.

"Your loving brother,

"THOMAS COLCLOUGH."

It appears from this that Oolclough's sister was the wife of Sir Nicholas Walsh, but whether Sir Nicholas was one of the Castle Hoel family, I have been unable to discover. The family of Walsh will be noticed at some length under a subsequent Inquisition.

(2)—KNIGHT.

Knighthood is the next rank or dignity after the nobility, and has prevailed amongst almost all nations of Europe since the days of the Northern invasions.

Amongst the ancient Germans *Knighthood* was conferred in the great Council by the delivery of a shield and lance to the subject or young man to be knighted, and before this he was only accounted as member or part of his father's household, and was not permitted to bear arms. In the Latin tongue Knights were called *Equites aurati* from the gilt spurs they usually wore in serving on horseback. In English law they are called *militēs*—soldiers—because they formed almost the entire of the Royal army after the period of the Norman conquest.

William the Conqueror, after the battle of Hastings, 1066, assumed the *direct dominion* of all the lands of the Kingdom, and divided them into 60,000 *Knight's fees*, the owner of each *fee* being obliged to keep the field for 40 days in one year at his own expense, and fight under the banner of his King or Lord. William also not only compelled the *Tenants-in-chief*, or those who held *immediately* from the Crown to take the oath of *fealty*, but likewise the *arrere Vassals*, or sub-tenants created by *sub infeudation*, were brought by him under the obligation of swearing *fealty* to the King in person, as well as to their immediate lord. By this means he nurtured a military aristocracy, without having attended to the dangers which imperilled the throne consequent on its development. Sufficient for him was "the evil" of his own day to crush and degrade the Saxons, and terrify them into the tamest and most slavish submission by the right and power, at a moments notice, of calling together 60,000 Knights in arms by reason of their oaths and services. As a military branch of the feudal system, Knight's service was abolished at the period of the Restoration by statute 12, car. 11, c. 24. In lieu thereof we had established the *Militia*, i.e., a certain number of disciplined inhabitants for each county, chosen for three years, and officered by the Lord Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenants, and principal landholders, as a *constitutional security* for public peace and harmony, and a *strong bulwark* (bless the mark) against home aggression and foreign invasion. When the *heir* became of age, if he held a *Knight's fee*, he was obliged to receive the order of Knighthood, or else pay a fine to the Crown. In fact, in those medieval days of military renown and chivalry, no person was qualified to bear arms under the regal banner, unless he had first been knighted with the usual preparations and solemnities. This prerogative of compelling the *vassals* to be knighted was resorted to very frequently as an expedient to raise money, and Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth were as unscrupulous in

that way as in *wards* and *liveries of seisin*, were Empson and Dudley, the rapacious, extorting, and wicked engines of Henry VII., who, under colour of false *Inquisitions*, and by the utmost strain of penal statutes, helped him to amass a sum equal to £16,000,000 of our present money in the vaults of his favourite palace at Shene,* afterwards known as the beautiful Richmond-on-Thames.

That knighthood, as a *feudal* remnant of ancient chivalry, but capable of being converted into mercenary purposes, should be accordingly abolished as an intolerable grievance, no one will deny; yet the *order* remains and is still in vogue as one of honourable and public distinction. Knighthood in England is conferred by the verbal declaration of the Crown, without any patent or written instrument, and is occasionally bestowed on high persons abroad, such as governors of colonies, without their coming into the Royal presence. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland conveys knighthood by delegated authority. Besides simple knights, there are knights of particular orders. The three British orders are:—the *Garter*, *Thistle*, and *St. Patrick*. The *Garter*, or *Order of St. George*, is the most illustrious, and one of the most ancient, having been founded by King Edward III. in 1350, or according to some in 1344. Legend has it that the Countess of Salisbury having dropped her garter at a ball, the King picked it up, and uttered the reproof to the smiling Countess, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, which became the motto of the Order. Whatever truth may be in the legend, it seems certain that the Order was founded in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. George, the patron saint of England, and originally consisted of the King and twenty-five Knights named by him. George III. directed that princes of the Royal family and noble foreigners should be considered as additional to the twenty-five. The installation of new members takes place in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The costume consists of a dark blue velvet mantle, a hood of crimson velvet, a cap with ostrich and heron plume, stockings of white silk, and on the left knee the garter of dark blue velvet, with motto, "*Honi soit*," etc., in gold letters. For a badge, is worn a gold medallion of St. George and the Dragon suspended by a blue ribbon, with a star on left breast. The phrase, "Received the blue ribbon," means that one was made Knight of the Garter. Ladies were admitted members of the Order up to the time of Edward IV. (1461-83). The *Order of the Thistle* was instituted by James V. of Scotland, in 1540, but fell into decay till

* *Shene* or *Sheen* was the original name of the present town of *Richmond*, in Surrey, situate on an eminence on the south bank of the River Thames, about ten miles S.W. from London. The beauty of its scenery is very attractive, and its chief celebrity is due to the fact of its having been the seat of a Royal palace during several centuries. The old palace of Shene was accidentally burnt down in 1499, when Henry VII. built a new palace to replace it, which, combined with the numerous family seats there established, made Richmond (the changed name of Shene) a place of wonderful attraction, and the theme of general admiration. The town extends to about the height of a mile on the slope of the hill that rises gently above the Thames.

revived by Queen Anne, 1703. The Knights are exclusively the nobility of Scotland, and were originally 13 in number, but were increased to 16 in 1827.

The *Order of St. Patrick* was instituted in 1783. The Knights, 15 in number, and who are Peers of Ireland, were increased to 22 in 1833. There are other orders, such as *Knights of the Bath*, first instituted by King Henry IV. (1399-1413), and revived by King George I. They were so called from the ceremony of bathing the night before their creation. *Knight's Bachelors*, the lowest but most ancient Order of Knighthood, was instituted by King Alfred (871-901), who conferred it on his son, Athelstan. King James I. instituted the Order of *Knights Baronets* in 1611 to raise an army for the reduction of Ulster. Hence, the arms of Ulster are quartered or superadded to the family coats of all baronets. *Knights bannerets* ranked next after barons, and were created by the King in person on the open field under the Royal banners in time of war.

(3)—BLACK THOMAS, 10TH EARL OF ORMONDE.

He was 10th Earl of Ormonde, and 3rd Earl of Ossory. From his swarthy complexion, and plentiful bushy hair and whiskers he was called *Thomas Dubh*, or Thomas the Black, and was said to have been one of the handsomest men of his day. His father, James, 9th Earl of Ormonde, died, together with the steward and eighteen others, from the effects of poison administered at a supper at *Ely House*, Holborn, 17th October, 1546.

Black Thomas was the first of his family who openly renounced or abjured the Catholic religion of his ancestors and conformed to the Church of England. It is true that his grandfather, Pierce, in 1535, did make a solemn engagement to Henry VIII. "to resist the usurpations of the Bishops of Rome;" but this was more an act of schism, and was never followed up by an abandonment of Catholic belief and practices. And even after the "Act of Supremacy" had been passed by the *Irish Cabal Parliament* of 1537, and all officers were required henceforth to renounce solemnly the Pope's authority, Lord Deputy Grey gave the gravest offence to Archbishop Brown, the strenuous propagator of the new errors, by hearing several masses on the same day before an Altar of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of Trim.* Lord Grey's action in this wise seems to imply that those who were siding with Henry VIII. against the Pope's authority were under the impression that their action meant—*no renunciation of their old religion*. Moreover, Pierce Butler may have been totally deceived as to the real

* Trim Church contained a statue of the Blessed Virgin, held in great veneration by the faithful. Archbishop Brown, in his sectarian zeal, had, in 1538, this statue, which he insultingly called "The idol of Trim," committed to the flames, together with the Crozier of St. Patrick, called the Staff of Jesus, and a Crucifix of the Abbey of Ballybogan, with several other relics.

import or meaning of "*usurpation of the Bishop of Rome*," since, as Harvery remarks, "The document signed by them (Earl Pierce and his son James, Viscount Thurles) on the occasion contains a falsehood as absurd as it is flagitious, attributing all the evils under which Ireland suffered to the manner in which the Pope had exercised his authority in filling up the Irish benefices."

On the death of his father in 1546, Earl Thomas (whose mother was Joan, daughter of James, 11th *Earl of Desmond*), was only fourteen years of age, having been born in 1532. From his earliest youth he had been reared and educated at the court of Henry VIII., in companionship with Edward VI., and had for his tutors Dr. Oox (afterwards Edward's Almoner), and John Cheke, one of the first cultivators of the Greek language then living. Thomas was greatly beloved by King Edward, and was made a Knight of the Bath at his coronation in 1547. On the 10th September following, being only a youth of fifteen, he served as a *volunteer* in the army of the King's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, and behaved with great bravery at the battle of Pinkie, not far from Edinburgh, near Musselburgh, on the Esk. In 1554, when the proposed marriage of Queen Mary with Don Philip of Castile excited popular discontent, he commanded as lieutenant a troop of horse, and performed some extraordinary feats of prowess in the suppression of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion. During the subsequent years of 1556-7 he appeared in Ireland maintaining a body of 200 horse and 500 foot at his own expense, which he employed against the Scots who had penetrated into Ulster, and had already proved an overmatch for the combined forces of the Earl of Sussex and Oon O'Neill. On the 18th July in the former year, he cut to pieces a host of these intruders before Carrickfergus; and in the following year (1557), having disposed of a body of them who invaded Tyroconnell, he took the Castle of Olare, and mixed himself up in the violent family strifes then raging between the O'Briens of Thomond.

The most harrowing scenes in military life were now about to open before him; and on the fields of steel and carnage he was destined most of all to strengthen the Queen's good opinion of his fidelity and zeal, and to promote her interest by the keen edge of the sword. Inhuman though it be, he must needs preserve her unbroken friendship by the same "red game" of war and massacre that characterized the reigns of her predecessors and gauged the martial instinct and *anti Irish* spirit of the Anglo-Norman adventurers. Had he been *generous* enough to cast aside the Virgin Queen at this most critical period and unite with the Geraldines, his kinsmen, and with the O'Neills, probably there would have been an end of persecutions and religious hate and English power, and despotism would in all likelihood have been *effectively* and *permanently* crushed. Educated at the Court of England, and high in the esteem of Queen Elizabeth, who considered him her cousin, Black Thomas soon rose to the foremost positions of the State. He was made Lord Treasurer of Ireland in 1559, and was named in all Commissions of public importance. In 1575, he was

made Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and in 1578, was made Governor of the Province of Munster. In 1581, the Queen constituted him *Lord High Marshal* of England. In 1596, he was made a *Knight Companion of the Order of the Garter*, and Captain and Lieutenant-General of all her Majesty's forces in Ireland by Sea and Land.

An Irish poem entitled *Tomas (Dub) Butle-ar*—Thomas Butler, The Black, with Translation and notes by John O'Donovan, Esq., LL.D., may be found in the *Trans. Kil. Archæolog. Soc.* vol. 1, P 474-85, from which I extract the following :—

I.

My choice is Thomas *

I select as my patron the Viscount Thurles,
The Chieftian who annihilates rebels ;
I choose the Earl of Ormonde—the potent Earl—
An Earl of military troops and incursions—
The Earl of Ossory—a tender-hearted Earl,
An Earl that bore the sway in a hundred expeditions.

II.

The vigorous baron of Invermore* in the east,
The warlike lord of the sharp-pointed weapons—
The blood-shedding Earl of Kilkenny,
Who took hostages of all Irishmen ;
The affection of a prince he received from King Henry,
The slender-framed, the smooth-handed nobleman,
The mighty man was King Edward's favourite,
The companion of his mirth and his bed-fellow.

III.

He obtained from the prince—great the boon—
The forests of the soft-verdured Banba,
With the palatine of *Tiobraid-Aran* (Tipperary),
This pious, clement lord of Callan ;
Despite opposition he was chosen treasurer
Of the gently undelating Island of Feilimidh (Ireland),
And obtained the high dignity of Knight of the Garter,
A title not usual among Irishmen.

The statesmen of Queen Elizabeth's reign seems to have set but little value on religious and political principles. Those who would restore the Catholic religion under Queen Mary and fly back the bolt of restriction put upon the consciences of others by King Henry VIII., were now the very tools employed by Elizabeth to persecute and plunder, to eradicate, efface, and destroy *root and branch* that same religion ; to break down, if possible, the last monument of its ancient grandeur, and leave it as a waif, snatched from the relentless waste of fire and sword. Hitherto, the kings of England were content with exterminating the Irish inhabitants, and handing over their ancestral lands to

* *Invermore*—now Arklow, in the county Wicklow, where Theobald Walter, first of the Butlers, is said to have landed.

hordes of adventurers, mostly deriving their origin from the scum of society in the Welsh marshes; but now a new element of strife was added—that of religious hate, which was meant to “grind” and to “brand” for ruin—not only the native Irish, but also those English settlers who refused conformity to the new doctrines. The perfidy is both sickening and diabolical with which Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, the Lord Lieutenant, and Sir Henry Sydney, the Treasurer, could reverse, under the altered rule of Protestant Elizabeth, those very acts which they discharged as conscientious duties under the Catholic Queen Mary. The like plasticity characterized the conduct of Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, who found it his convenience to abandon the RELIGION of his forefathers, and pocket the spoils of her plundered temples, for the smiles and favours of a Sovereign he was but too ready and too willing to acknowledge, and conform to the new service, and bring upon the Church he had forsaken—on her patrimonies and ancient edifices—the ruinous condition depicted by Sir Henry Sydney himself—“So deformed and overthrown a Church there is not, I am sure, in any region where Christ is professed.”

The statute of uniformity passed by the *packed* Parliament, held in Dublin, on the 12th January, 1560 (1559 old style), sounded the tocsin for the plunder of church property. The *sectarian* vultures soon reduced her to the above miserable condition, so deftly described by Sydney. The people fled to worship God in hidden places. The sacred edifices tottered to decay, roofless and broken. Indeed, in an inconceivably short space of time, the outward and monumental expression of Catholic belief was made to resemble a damaged painting, the stronger lights and colourings whereof being removed; we miss—the definite idea of the artist from the living canvas—Catholic Queen Mary had already rewarded the activity and zeal of Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde. Amongst other gifts he got on the 13th December, 1557, a grant of the religious houses of *Athassil, Jerpoint, Callan, Thurles, Carrick, Kilcowle (Kilcooley), and Tulleophelim*, with all their hereditaments existing in the counties of Tipperary, Kilkenny and Waterford; the manor of Kilrush, County Kildare, &c., the Monastery of Athassil to him, his heirs and assigns, and the rest of the premises to his heirs male to hold by the service of the 20th part of a Knight's fee, and the yearly rent of £49 3s. 9d. Irish. Black Thomas had no mind of parting with those prizes for the sake of one form of worship above another, and so he hastily divested himself of the Pope's Supremacy, adopted the new tenets of her Majesty Elizabeth, and made his *servent and solemn* “act of uniformity.” An acknowledgment of her supremacy as head of the Irish Church from so distinguished a subject and statesman as the Earl of Ormonde was too flattering and too important to let pass unrewarded. Accordingly, on the 8th of March, 1562, Elizabeth not only confirmed the above grant of Mary, but also remitted him the reserved rent of £49 3s. 9d. Irish. In 1561 we find the Earl acting as an auxiliary to the devastating army of Sussex, who advanced northward from his encampment at Armagh to force an open encounter with

Shane O'Neil, who had already cut up a large body of troops sent against him into Tyrone. Unable to subdue O'Neil or defeat his military tactics, here is what they did:—"In fine I break with him," says Sussex, writing to Elizabeth, "to kill Shane, and bound myself by my oath to see him (the assassin) have a hundred marks of land to him and his heirs for reward." The atrocious transaction failed. Nele Grey, the hired murderer, "either lacked courage, or the obstacles in his way were too great;" but the moral guilt of this foulest act of treachery—not to say the most ignoble and dastardly—will remain attached to Sussex and Elizabeth as long as the historian must needs avow, in this wicked plot of theirs against a brave and open enemy, "the frightful familiarity with deeds of blood which then prevailed in the highest stations." In 1565 we find Black Thomas in deadly strife against his own kinsman, Gerald Fitzjames, Earl of Desmond. The latter had been treated as a rebel for his attachment to the old faith; whilst the former enjoyed the highest court favour for his pliability in veering with the royal head whenever Elizabeth, by virtue of her "spiritual supremacy," felt amazed at the errors of "Popery." Desmond proceeded to levy obnoxious taxes, such as *coyn* and *livery*, from the chief of the Decies, Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, his kinsman, and a relative of the Butlers. "The Lord of Decies," on his part, "sent treacherously for the Earl of Ormonde in order that he might be in ambush for the Earl of Desmond. The Earl (of Desmond) having come to the country, he never perceived until he was surrounded on all sides at a place called Ath-Meadhain; the large body of the ambushed troops attacked, wounded, and took him prisoner, and a great number of his people were either slain or taken prisoner along with him"—(F. M., under the date A.D. 1565). John O'Donovan has identified *Ath-Meadhain* the scene of this encounter with *Afune*, a little to the south of Cappoquin, county Waterford, and on the Blackwater. Leland, quoted by O'Donovan, remarks that as "the *Ormonians* conveyed Desmond from the field, stretched on a bier, his supporters exclaiming with a natural triumph, "Where is now the great lord of Desmond?" He had the spirit to reply, "Where, but in his proper place—*still upon the necks of the Butlers*." It would exceed the plan of this work to give an ample description of the horrors and desolation that overspread our island during the subsequent years of Elizabeth's reign. In 1567, Sir Henry Sydney, writing to the Queen, says of Munster:—"Like as I never was in a more pleasant country in all my life, so never saw I a more waste and desolate land. . . . Such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of such as have been good towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead subjects, who partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." It is not to be wondered at if the foregoing picture of the unhappy state of the country, not only throughout Munster but also in Connaught, and various other parts, led to open violence and struggle on the part of the Catholics. "If the yoke of the stranger," says Haverty, "had been

hitherto hard enough to bear, it was infinitely more so now, when the oppressor added to his ancient, unrelenting national animosity the fierce spirit of religious persecution, which the Reformation had everywhere enkindled in its partisans." Add to this the provocation of admitting claims like Sir Peter Carew's to large and extensive properties belonging to the ancient Irish septa, such as the McCarthys, Fitzgeralds, O'Moores, Kavanaghs, etc. Sir Peter, who was Knight of Devonshire, claimed the barony of Idrone, in the County Carlow, and one-half of the kingdom of South Munster, in right of Robert Fitzstephen, one of the early adventurers. This same claim of the Carews had been examined into in the reign of Edward III. (1332), and by an inquisition it was decided that as the said Fitzstephen had been a bastard and left no issue, the Carews could not become his heirs. Sir Peter revived the claim, producing a forged document which, he alleged, had been discovered, and the court having admitted his title this corruption drove into rebellion Sir Edmond Butler of Ologrennan, Pierce and Edward Butler, all brothers of the Earl of Ormonde himself, and who, in the absence of the Earl, formed an alliance with the brave and warlike Sir James Fitzgerald, of Desmonde, and despatched emissaries to Pope Pius V. for assistance. The Black Earl returned to Ireland, and soon induced his refractory brothers to submit, thus breaking up the confederacy; whilst Sir James Fitzgerald, or, as he was usually called, James Fitzmaurice, betook himself, with a few followers, to the mountains. The following year, 1570, with his handful of insurgents (amongst them were numbered principally the MacSweeneys and MacSheehys), he bore down upon the English stronghold of Kilmallock, forced its lofty gateway towers, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. Three days were spent in dividing amongst themselves the gold and silver, and "precious articles which the father would not have acknowledged to his heir, or the mother to her daughter the day before." Horses and beasts of burden were loaded with costly goods and goblets of rarest ornamentation, and sent on to the forests of Aherlow, where the chivalrous Geraldine, wronged and sored, resolved to make a stand against the wasting armies of Ormonde and Sir John Perrott. Aherlow, stretching by the foot of the towering Galtees, is considered an enchantingly picturesque vale, and was selected by the Geraldine not only on account of the protection and natural redoubts its woods and forests afforded his little army, but also because it held the great pass from the north-eastern parts of Cork, and the south-western parts of Limerick into Tipperary. Whilst Ormonde was marching unopposed through Thomond, on his way by Limerick, to Dunlo Castle, in the County of Kerry, which he dismantled, Perrott was day and night scouring Aherlow. Vain he found his endeavour to fulfil his boast that he would "hunt the fox out of his hole;" for the Geraldine, in the following year, 1572, is found in the camp of the Clanrickards, demolishing castles, crossing the Shannon, and burning Athlone, wasting Iar-Connaught, and over-running the greater part of the West of Ireland. What a pity such an able and experienced soldier should have

been hunted down and tamed into a submission worse than death by Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, his own kinsman. The young Olanrickards, on the liberation of their father, the Earl of Olanrickard, by the wise policy of the Lord Deputy, broke up, and Fitzmaurice, the Geraldine, returned to Aherlow, where some thirty Scots who attended him were surprised and slain by Perrot's garrison, of Kilmallock. On this Fitzmaurice, finding his power crushed, he, with hopeless and broken spirit, proffered his submission, which was very gladly accepted, but exacted at the same time in the most abject terms. In the Church of Kilmallock—which town he had left in 1570 (that is, three years previous) a charred and smoking ruin—he was made on bended knees to confess his guilt, and prostrate on his face exclaim—"And now this earth of Kilmallock, which town I have most traitorously sacked and burnt, I kiss, and on the same lie prostrate, overfraught with sorrow upon this present view of my most mischievous part." On the 17th July, 1579, James Fitzmaurice returned from the Continent and arrived at Dingle Harbour. During his long sojourn he had been very active in urging the distressed state of his Catholic countrymen at home on the attention of the French King, Henry III. and on that of Philip II. of Spain. It was from Pope Gregory XIII., however, he received anything like encouragement. The expedition, fitted out at the cost of the Pope, was entrusted to Admiral Stukely, an English adventurer, who on his way having touched at Lisbon, met with King Sebastian of Portugal, and accompanied him to Morocco, forgetting of course all about Pope Gregory, Fitzmaurice and Ireland. As soon as Fitzmaurice arrived with his handful of Spanish mariners at Dingle they disembarked. Stukely and his squadron were not there to meet them; they had gone, as has been said, to Morocco with Sebastian, and with him too, fell upon the famous field of Al Kasar. Worse still, the Earl of Desmond was weak-minded and vacillating, and wanted that active spirit so essential to a bold aspiring leader. Fitzmaurice fell by the hands of the Burkes at a place supposed to be Barrington's Bridge, six miles east from Limerick; and his body was taken soon after and suspended from a gallows at Kilmallock.

Desmond soon paid for his wavering and cowardice. Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, summoned him to give up the Papal Nuncio, Dr. Saunders, and to surrender his castles of Carrigafoyle and Askeaton. Desmond took the field, bore down on the Roches and Barrys of Cork and left Youghal a smouldering heap of ruins. Ormonde on his part invaded Desmond's territory, burning towns and villages, and sparing not a man, woman, or child of Hy-Connello as far as Newcastle. Next he marched to Cork, and thence towards Oashel, slaughtering the Irish Catholics and burning their houses and corn after the most inhuman manner. Desmond, meantime, had been spoiling the English towns and garrisons, so that "the country was left one levelled plain without corn or edifices." In the early part of 1580 Ormonde set out, joined by Sir William Pelham, to ravage afresh the territory of Desmond. They formed a junction at Tralee, Pelham having marched by Limerick

and Ormonde by way of Cork. Neither of them gave quarter to either age, condition or sex. They next laid siege to Desmond's great strong hold, Carrigafoyle Castle, on the coast of Kerry. Julio, an Italian officer, who commanded the little garrison of 50 Irish and 19 Spaniards, refused to surrender when summoned, saying he held his trust in the name of the King of Spain. The castle was taken by storm—the brave garrison put to the sword, and the gallant Julio, the commander, was hanged. Askeaton, the last castle of Desmonde, next fell into the hands of Ormonde and Pelham.

After the Castle of Askeaton, county Limerick, had fallen into their hands (1580) Ormonde and Pelham persevered unremittingly in their persecution and extirpation of the sinking Geraldines. Ormonde scoured the country, and in his march left no stronghold unexplored from Cork to the Bay of Dingle. Pelham kept prowling for months until recalled between Limerick and Askeaton. Lord Gray, who succeeded him, arrived at Howth on the 12th August, 1580. Towards the close of the September following four vessels with 700 Spaniards and some Italians on board, under the command of Sebastian de San Josef, arrived at Smerwick harbour. This expedition was called the "Pope's Army," and "their fame was so great at first that it was supposed that if they should have come to Limerick, Galway, or Cork, the gates of those cities should be thrown open to them" (F. M., under date 1580). On a small rocky island they reconstructed the fort, called by them *Fort-del-or*,* and manned, it having brought a supply of arms for 5,000 men, together with a large sum of money. It was this same rock that James Fitzmaurice, "the most earnest and consistent patriot of his time," and the story of whose sad end has been already told, also selected for his strong position on his arrival from Spain, on the 17th July, 1579.

Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, attacked the garrison, but was forced to fall back to Rathkeale, in the direction of Askeaton. Here he awaited the arrival of Gray, the new Lord Deputy, whose contempt of the "Irish insurgents," on his arrival at Howth, urged him precipitately into the famous defile of Glenmalure, where his entire army perished almost to a man under the fire, spear, and sword of the several Leinster clans—Kavanaghs, Kinsellas, O'Byrnes, Tooles, &c., with those of Leix and Offaly—who arrayed themselves under the standard of James Eustace, the intrepid Viscount Baltinglass. Smarting under the humiliation of this defeat, Gray panted to flesh his sword, and revenge the loss of his speared army. He accordingly made all haste to unite his collected forces with those of Ormonde. On the 31st October they had encamped about eight or nine miles from Fort-del-or, having under them Captains Zouch, Raleigh (afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh), Denny, &c., with many experienced officers. By the 10th

* The rock of *Fort-del-or* is about 2 chains or 44 yards in diameter. It rises to about 50 feet above the sea with perpendicular sides, and juts into the bay. The Irish called it *dun-an-eir*, the "fort of gold," because one of the ships of Forbisher, the navigator, laden with gold from Greenland, had been wrecked there in 1578.

November, 1580, the besiegers had pushed forward their trenches to within 60 paces of the fort, when a parley took place between Gray and the Spanish commander, Sebastian San Josef. It is very generally admitted that in this parley the lives and liberties of the foreign soldiers were guaranteed; and if such had not been the case, it is hard to see why they abandoned their arms and ammunition without at least some show of resistance. In violation of such guarantee, Captains Raleigh, Denny, Macworth, etc., entered the fort with their fierce bands, and butchered in cold blood about 600 of the unarmed garrison. Gray, the perfidious and inhuman Deputy, in his despatch to Elizabeth, says—"morning came, and I presented my forces in bataille before the fort. The coronel, with ten or twelve of his chief gentlemen, came, trayling their ensignes rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the forte. *I sent streighte certeyne gentlemen to see their weapons and armories laid down; then put I in certain bands, who streighte fell to execution. There were 600 sleyns*"

This horrible outrage was reprobated on the Continent as a violation of the rights of nations, and "Gray's faith," became proverbial and a password of reproach. In addition to his being a man of blood, Gray was tainted with the bitterest sectarian animosity. An Irish Priest and an Englishman named Plunket, who were taken in the fort were ordered by him to have their arms and legs broken, and then gibbeted on the ramparts. He also assures her Majesty that in his parley with the Spanish Commander, he made sure to call the Pope "*a detestible shaveling—the right Antichrist and general ambitious tyrant over all Principalities.*" With the massacre of *Fort-del-or* the Geraldine cause lingered hopelessly. John of Desmond was intercepted near Castlelyons, County Cork, by Captain Zouch, and in a fruitless attempt to escape, was speared by a soldier named Flemming. Thus perished the gallant Geraldine and soldier in 1582. His body was decapitated and hung in chains at one of the gates of Cork, whilst his head was sent to Dublin, to be spiked in front of the Castle.

It was now only a question of time for the unhappy Earl himself. His last prop had fallen, and with him vanished all hope. Nor did even the faintest ray return to light or cheer his forlorn flight, "from one cavern of a rock or hollow of a tree to another," until the morning of the 11th November, 1583, when he was captured in a cabin five miles east of Tralee in the vale of Glenageenty. One Kelly cut off his head which was sent to Elizabeth to be impaled in an iron cage on London Bridge. His trunk was secreted by the peasantry and finally interred in Kilnahanagh Chapel, near Castle Island, County Kerry. The wretch, Kelly, met a deserved death, as we learn from Dowling's Annals:—"1583, Gerald Fitzjames, Earl of Desmond, was captured in his cabin in a wood, and was beheaded by Thomas Kelly, and this Kelly was hanged at Tyburne." The death of Desmond was succeeded by a slight interval of calm. The clang of arms and din of battle no longer noised through the burned homes and waste plains of Munster.

Sir John Perrot was chosen Lord Deputy, and sent over by Elizabeth to try a "pacificatory" policy. He summoned a Parliament which met in Dublin on the 26th April, 1585. It was attended by a great number of Irish nobles, together with the heads or chiefs of septs. Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, took his seat as Lord High Treasurer. Perrot's pacific disposition and indulgence soon gave offence to the English of the Pale, and the howls of a new storm were all but audible.

Large grants for 20,000 English planters were made over in Munster on Sirs Walter Raleigh, Hatton, Norris, St. Leger, George Bouchier, etc.; whilst in Connaught Sir Richard Bingham had fallen to his work of butchery like a demon. All "rebels"—men, women, boys, children—fell alike before the scythe of his inhuman severity and traced in ghastly heaps his career in carnage. Perrot might have easily foreseen that a "mixed" policy of peace and blood would never work an effectual or lasting calm; nor did it. In 1595 the storm burst.

Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, on finding "himself already treated as an enemy by the Government on the one side, whilst on the other his countrymen could bear the galling yoke no longer," he at once seized the fort of the Blackwater and with Red Hugh O'Donnell assumed a defiant attitude in the field against the recruited armies and swarming levies of England.

In 1567, Sir Henry Sydney himself made a visitation of Munster and Connaught, and of Munster he states he never witnessed "a more waste and desolate land"—such horrible and lamentable spectacles are there to behold, as the burning of villages, the ruin of churches, the wasting of towns and castles; yea, the view of the bones and skulls of the dead subjects who, partly by murder, partly by famine, have died in the fields, as in troth hardly any Christian with dry eyes could behold." In Ormonde's territory there was a "want of justice, judgment and stoutness to execute." Tipperary and Limerick were in a like state of desolation. By 1582, Munster "was converted into such a solitude that the lowing of a cow or the voice of a ploughman could scarcely be heard from Dunqueen in the west of Kerry to Cashel in Tipperary. Spencer who advised as a remedy for the ills of Ireland large masses of troops "to tread down and lay on the ground all the stiff-necked people of the land," describes what he himself witnessed in the Munster wars. "For, notwithstanding that the same (Munster) was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, yet," says he, "ere one yeare and a-halfe they (the Irish) were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glynnes they came, creeping forth upon their hands, for their legges could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions happy where they could find them—yea, and one another soone after in so much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves." Cox says (p. 449):—"They brought the rebels to so

low a condition that they saw three children eating the entrails of their dead mother upon whose flesh they had fed many days, and roasted it by a slow fire. And as for the great companies of soldiers, gallow-glasses, Kerne and the common people who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinite whose blood the earth drank up, and whose carcasses the beasts of the field and the ravening fowls of the air did not consume and devour." Leland says, book V., c. 4 :—"The favourite object of the Irish Governors and the English Parliament was the utter extermination of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland, which they swore to do. Their estates were already marked out and allotted to their conquerors ; so that they and their posterity were consigned to inevitable ruin." Carte's "Ormonde," vol. I., p. 51, says :—"That Sir Warham St. Leger (Lord President of Munster) was so cruel and merciless, that he caused men and women to be most execrably executed, and that he ordered among others a woman great with child to be ripped up, from whose womb three babes were taken out, through every of whose little bodies his soldiers thrust their weapons." The foregoing revolting quotations are no exaggerations, as they are copied from Protestant writers. My apology, kind reader, for subjecting you to the disgusting recital of them is, that you may form some idea of the shocking barbarities of Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, and his inhuman associates in the government of our country during the reign of Elizabeth, and how in their fiendish and sectarian hate they awoke in the breast of Ireland a wail of long and painful agony over the fate of her martyred children.

Some grave misunderstandings seem to have arisen regarding O'Neill's remissness in thus declaring himself. A year previous (1594) when Maguire and O'Donnell besieged the English garrison at Enniskillen, and plundered the surrounding territory, the Lord Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, ordered the gentlemen of the Pale to send provisions and a force to relieve the place. O'Sullivan mentions that O'Donnell at this time wrote to O'Neill telling him that unless he lent his aid he would regard him as an enemy. O'Neill still held aloof, but by way of *seeming* compromise his brother, Cormack O'Neill, appeared at the head of a contingent of 300 musketeers and 100 horse, and having united with Maguire and O'Donnell they encountered the loyalists about five miles from Enniskillen, and entirely defeated them at a fort on the river Arney, where Drumane bridge now stands.*

The traditions of his race and his own subsequent valour prohibit us from construing O'Neill's tardiness into anything like cowardice. Probably being a man of deep mind and penetration, and holding in view the rashness of past movements, he was unwilling to shed blood or risk a premature war unless backed by foreign aid. Whatever had been his motives for shunning open hostilities and avenging the insults

* The place was called the "fort of biscuits" on account of the capture of the provisions intended for the beleagured. This name is now obsolete, but the site of the battle, as given above is traditional amongst the inhabitants.

and injustices of a foreign yoke, we know that history furnishes no greater show of personal prowess than his military feats at Clontibret* and the Yellow Ford.† In 1597, previous to the battle of the Yellow Ford, Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, was entrusted with the military department, with the title of Lord Lieutenant of the army. Whilst the work of plunder was being carried on in the North, in Connaught, and in parts of Meath by O'Donnell, Hugh MacGuire and Cormack O'Neill, the Leinster insurgents under Tyrell, devastated Ormonde, and overthrew the royal troops at Maryborough. Ormonde continued to prosecute the war with great vigour, and during the months of October and November of the above year (1597) he maintained an army at his own charge, and continued to cover the Castles of Carlow and Leighlin. To his contempt for what he called the "scurvy fort" of the Blackwater was due the fatal mistake of dividing the royal forces. He left Bagnal to advance to its relief with one portion of the army, whilst he himself, with the remaining one, resolved to check the devastations of the Leinster confederates.

The mistake cost the English the loss of 1500 to 1700 dead upon the field at the Yellow Ford, together with all their artillery, baggage, arms, &c., and according to their own account 13 officers slain.

This signal success and defeat of Bagnal raised high the reputation of Tyrone. The Geraldines, known by the popular titles of the *Knights of the Valley*, *Knight of the Glen*, and the *White Knights*, with the Lord of Lixnaw and others confederated for the restoration of Irish independence. Elizabeth, at this juncture, got intelligence that Philip of Spain meditated a descent on Ireland with 12,000 troops. Her councils gave the aspect of affairs their serious attention. The garrisons of Armagh and the Blackwater fort had capitulated. Ormonde had retired to Kilkenny after his discomfits in Leix, and the terrified lord justices of Dublin prepared for an invasion of the Leinster insurgents by arming 700 of the citizens. Tyrell and O'wny O'Moore, instead of marching towards Dublin, proceeded with their Leinster men to unite with the Munster insurgents, plundering Ormonde on their march. Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, joined Sir Thomas Norris, at Kilmallock, but both considered it more prudent not to risk an open

* O'Sullivan Beare tells us that in the attack made on the Royalists at Clontibret on their return from Monahan (1595), one James Segrave, of Meath, a man of great stature and strength, engaged O'Neill in single combat, both armies looking on. The lances of both combatants were shattered and brisled in the first shock, and Segrave having seized O'Neill by the neck or collar, both rolled over several times on the ground. O'Neill bethought of his dagger, which he dexterously drew and plunged it into the body of his adversary.

† The battle of the Yellow Ford, two miles from Armagh, was fought on the 14th August, 1598. Tradition has it that Sir Henry Bagnal, the implacable enemy of Tyrone, having raised his visor in the heat of the engagement, he immediately rolled lifeless from his horse, having been pierced through the forehead by a ball. I have been told that some years ago a perforated skull, answering exactly to the above tradition, was exhumed at Armagh, but at present I have not got the true particulars about it.

encounter with a confederated army of so daring and formidable a front. By the authority of O'Neill, James Fitzgerald received the title of Earl of Desmond, and the English nicknamed him in contempt the *Sugane*, or Straw-rope Earl. In a very short time, however, he proved himself to be more a man of *steel* than *straw* by the recovery of all the Desmond strongholds except Mallow, Castlemaine, and Askeaton Castles. Those reverses were an insupportable strain on the temperament of Elizabeth, and angry letters under the influence of one of her "pet" rages to her council in Dublin, were the consequence. An efficient army well officered with an experienced general like Lord Mountjoy at its head, seemed the best expedient. Essex, the Queen's favourite objected "that this Lord (Mountjoy) had not sufficient experience in the art of war. He inveighed bitterly against the late conductors of her affairs in Ireland and her deputies who had suffered themselves to be deluded by insidious overtures and treaties. He insisted that they should have planted their garrisons in the North and have crushed the head of the rebellion; that the conduct of the Irish war (for such it had now become) demanded further a general of weight and dignity; one known to possess the confidence of his Royal Mistress, who must, therefore, stand superior to the local factions in Ireland." (*Res Gestæ Anglorum in Hiber.*, vol. I.—R. 1, p. 43).

Essex had had his way. A splendidly equipped army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse was placed at his disposal. With this force he declared himself "irresistible" and arrived at Dublin, the 15th April, 1599. Instead of "striking directly at the Northern rebels" by orders given him agreeably to his own declared sentiments he was urged and induced by the Irish Privy Councillors who were many of them deeply interested in the newly-planted lands of Munster to turn his arms to the South.

On his march southwards, at the head of 7,000 picked men, he met Owny MacRory O'Moore, by whom he was forced to an open engagement at Barnagletty. O'Moore had only 500 men, but did such good execution, having killed at least 500, and having also taken so many plumes of feathers that the battle-ground has ever since been named the "Gap of Feathers."* Essex, much harassed, reached the territories of the Earl of Ormonde. Joined by the Earl (Black Thomas) they laid siege to Cahir, held by an insurgent, Butler. The Earl of Desmond (the *sugane* Earl) and Redmond Bourke came to the relief of the garrison, so that Essex and Ormonde experienced during ten days hot work and stubborn resistance. From Cahir they proceeded to Limerick, and thence to Askeaton. Desmond and Daniel MacCarthy More† began to press heavily upon Essex's soldiers, and cut them up on the rear during six days in great numbers. It is not my intention to go through the

* Gap of Feathers is not identified by tradition, and Essex forgot all mention of it in his despatches, which perplexed the Privy Councillors very much.

† MacCarthy More was designated by the English Cabinet "the base son of the Earl of Clancarr." He was the especial torment of the Lord Presidents of Munster, and the terror of the English undertakers in that province.

campaign of Essex, nor does it fall within the purpose of my paper. For the general historian it will be enough to mention that the signal slaughter of Cliford and his men by Red Hugh O'Donnell beyond the Curlew mountains, at the famous pass of Ballaghboy—the “plashed” passes of the Blackwater and Barnagletty already mentioned; the subsequent “parleys” of Essex with Tyrone “threw a new blaze of glory over these mere Irish which neither Essex could conceal, nor the lord exaggerate, nor Camden ignore, nor Cox discredit.” The Royal armies everywhere had suffered disaster and disgrace; the reputation of Essex had faded, and at the Court the temper of Elizabeth, heretofore only teased by troubles, had now verily fermented into fury. Essex, too, had his own bit of passion over the proceedings. He first scarifies her Majesty with menaces against “her’s and his enemies,” and forebodes “new disorders” in England “which would require his presence in that country.” Anon he becomes intrusively obsequious, having left Ireland in hot haste for England, where, on his arrival, he forced his way into the Queen’s bedchamber, and implored of her on his knees a renewal of their former friendship. Elizabeth was inexorable. His infatuation and incapacity had brought upon the Royal arms too deep a disgrace; and so this unfortunate Essex, once her greatest favourite, was cast into prison, and was subsequently executed in the Tower (1601) for attempting a popular outbreak. After the disgrace of Essex, Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, was appointed Deputy; Ormonde being still continued Lord Lieutenant of the army. Mountjoy was said to have been a man of refined manners, so effeminately so indeed that the Earl of Tyrone remarked, “he will loose the season of action in waiting until his breakfast is prepared to his mind.” Having landed at Howth, accompanied by Sir George Carew (or Carey) on the 24th February, 1600, his first endeavour was to cut off the return of O'Neill to Ulster, who was encamped at Inishcarra, between the rivers Lee and Bandon. For this purpose he gave instructions to the Earls of Ormonde and Thomond to guard the passes of Limerick and all passages across the Shannon. O'Neill, however, by his timely and rapid marches, completely baffled him, and quite unopposed on his way, returned safe to Tyrone. Ormonde’s military career in blood was now nearing its close. Owny MacRory O'Moore, the hereditary chieftain of Leix, galled and decimated the Royal troops everywhere he met them, and defended his ancestral territory with the unparalleled bravery of a matchless leader. The Earls of Ormonde and Thomond, with Sir George Carew, president of Munster, came to a conference with him at Orronduffe, two miles east of Ballyragget, on the direct road to Castlecomer. Father James Archer, an Irish Jesuit, and mortally hated by Ormonde, accompanied O'Moore. An animated discussion ensued, whereon Ormonde having used offensive language towards the Pope impugning his sanctity, Father Archer’s language became louder, and having raised his cane in an emphatic manner, his attendants, dreading violence to his person, rushed forward and instantly dragged Ormonde from his horse. Some few weeks ago I had the good fortune of meeting by chance the Rev,

M. Molony, P.P., Barndarrig, County Wicklow. His knowledge of history and hagiology more than impressed me, and amongst other subjects having discoursed about the capture of Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, I was induced later on to drop him a line in order to clear up some doubts regarding the accuracy of the story as generally given by historians. The following is an extract from Father Molony's very courteous reply:—"The Earl of Thomond and Sir George Oarew accompanied the Earl of Ormonde to the place of meeting, Cornduffe, about 8 miles from Kilkenny. The three went unarmed except that they carried swords. The *Kerns* seeing Father Archer opposed by a swordsman, and having nothing to defend himself but a *sapling*, fit only to support his aged limbs, they unhorsed the Earl. Oarew does not mention (in the *Pacata Hibernia*) that the capture of the Earl of Ormonde was a mere accident, and not intended by Owny, but on the contrary attributes it to *deep-seated* design, and went out of his way to dissuade the Earl (Ormonde) from keeping his appointment with O'Moore." I believe few at present will venture to hold that there was any premeditated design on the part of Owny O'Moore, but Ormonde himself having rashly and persistently neglected the warnings of Mountjoy fell under the suspicion of having purposely surrendered himself from some mysterious object or other. In consequence Mountjoy refused to ransom Ormonde, and in silent disdain continued his military operations. Black Thomas remained accordingly in the hands of O'Moore from the 10th April, the day of the meeting, till the 12th of June, when he was set at liberty, having given hostages for the payment of £3,000 should he seek any retaliation.

Ormonde now disappears from those bloody scenes of strifes and battles and hard-fought conflicts in which he had played so inhuman a part during almost the entire of Elizabeth's reign as to earn for himself an execrable memory. He was, moreover, struck blind for fourteen years before his death, which took place at his house in Carrick, on the 22nd November, 1614, in punishment, it was popularly believed, of his immoral excesses. He was buried in the choir of St. Canice's Cathedral, under a richly carved marble monument, which was entirely destroyed by Cromwell's soldiery. The noble remains of Carrick-on-Suir Castle still attest the truthfulness of the description given of it by his same panegyrist and poet above quoted in the commencement of this work:—

"The Court of Carrick is a court well fortified;
A court to which numbers of nobility resort;
A court noted for politeness—a court replete with pleasures;
A court thronged with heroes;
A court without torch-light, yet a court illumined;
Court of the lights of wax tapers:
A plentiful mansion so artistically stuccoed,
With sun-lit gables and embroidery-covered wall."

The architecture is perfectly Elizabethan, and the stucco work "is well worth the study of the architect as well as of the antiquary. The

the Castle of Gowran, founded in 1382 or 1385 by James, 3rd Earl of Ormonde, and used as his chief residence prior to his purchase of the Castle of Kilkenny, in 1391, from the heirs of Hugh de Spencer, Earl of Gloucester.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION VI.)

"Callan, 4th April, 1608.

WALTER LAWLESS¹ is seized in fee of the manours, castles, towns, lands, and tenements following, viz.—the manour "of Oallan,"² in the county of Kilkenye, consisting of an "old ruynous howse, 28 messuages, 1 water myll, 20½ acres "countrie measure of arrable and pasture, a parcel of wodd, commonlie "called the Parke, contayning 1 acre, Graiggowlye, containing of arrable, "wood, and pasture, 4 acres, £3 8s. 4d. cheefe rentt, issuing out of the "burgagerie of Oallan, payable at Michaellmas and Easter, a certaine "yearlie custome of plowes, viz.—1 plowe for 1 day every season "within the towne of Oallan, the custome of ryping hookes every harvest "yearlie upon the burgesses and inhabitants of the said towne (except- "ing the cheefe brethern or counsell of Oallan) and a custome of a "gallon of ale to be paid by the inhabitants aforesaid (excepting the "said cheefe brethern or counsell) out of everie ale brued to be solde in "the towne aforesaid. The said Walter is likewise seised as of fee of "the towne and landes of Dammagh, in the countie of Kilkenye, con- "tayning of arrable lande, wodd, and pasture, 23 acres; Ballycallan, "contayning of arrable wodd and pasture, 8 acres; Kyllmanagh, 16 acres; "Bütlersgrove *al.* Garranavoltzara, containing of arrable land, wodd, "and pasture, 10 acres; Kylllyn, 1 acre; Meallaghmore, Tullebaght, "Lommog and Ballenasagart, in Slieve Dylve, in the county aforesaid, "contayning of barraine mountaine ground, 30 acres; Kellmacolyver, "7 acres arrable land, wodd and pasture, barraine soyle and mountain; "1 castle, 6 messuages, and 9 acres of arrable land and pasture of like "country measure in the towne and landes of Pollroan; the towne and "lands of Ardcloyne, 2 acres; the 'Earle's Grange,' 18 acres arrable "wodd, and pasture, and Palmerstowne, 6 acres arrable, meadowe, and "pasture of like measure; all which are holden from the king in cheefe. "The said Walter is also seised in fee of the manour, castle, and landes "of Tullaghamy, in the county of Wick, containing of arrable land, wodd, "and pasture, 22 acres; and the manour, castle, and landes of Ballydonnell, "neere Tullaghamy, containing of arrable land, wodd, and pasture 2½ acres " (both which parcels are holden of Thomas, Earle of Ormonde, by fealtie "and suite of courte) and the castle, towne, and landes of Ballydonnell,

"10 acres, holden from Oliver Shortall as of his manour of Castledowagh, by fealtie and suite of courte. The said Walter Lawless doth hold the premises by course of common lawe and not by gavellkynde or Tanystrye.^s Richard Viscount Mountgarrett made clayme to the moytie of Ballydonnell. Richard Butler, of Kearrhill, made claime to Kellmacoliver and Tullehagher, *al.* Carrickmacklaggy. Sir Richard Shea maketh clmayme to a way or easement for horsemen and carrage, and for other his affayrs to the markett of Kilkenny in right of himself and others whose estate he hath in Bonnetstowne, in the county from the said towne unto Kilkenny, and the Parishe Church of St. Kenyes, which way or easement the said Sir Richarde saieth that he styll enjoyea."

(1)—THE FAMILY OF LAWLESS.

The family of Lawless is said to bedescended from Sir Hugh de Lawless, one of those numerous Knights who attended King Henry II. to Ireland in 1171. The Rev. J. Graves so mentions in his "Antiquities of St. Canice's Cathedral," p. 255, on the authority of Mr. Fitzpatrick, author of "The Life and Times of Lord Oloncurry." "Burke's Peerage," however, carries Lord Oloncurry's lineage no farther back than Nicholas Lawless, Esq., of Abington, County Limerick, who, having returned from Normandy after the death of Robert Lawless, his father, and conformed to the established church, obtained a seat in Parliament, and was created a *Bart.*, of Ireland, 20th June, 1776. On the 22nd September, 1789, he was raised to the Peerage as Lord Oloncurry. Whatever may have been the lineage, we find members of the family holding distinguished positions in this country in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. "In 1285, Thomas *Laghles* was Constable of Connaught. In 1312, one Richard Lawless was Mayor of Dublin; and in Rot. Pat. 13, Edward II. (1320) it is mentioned that Hugh Lawless and others, his adherents, were commissioned to parley with the *Irishry*—the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, and MacMurrroughs." The first of the name who settled in Kilkenny was Walter Lawless, who, according to the *Liber Primus* quoted by the Rev. Mr. Graves, was admitted as burgess in 1396, for a fine of fifteen silver shillings. In the Cathedral of St. Canice there is an altar tomb slab with Latin inscriptions thereon, of which the following are translations:—

"Here lie Adam Cottrell, James Cottrell, Richard Lawles, and Walter Lawles, with his wife Letitia Courcy, formerly burgesses of the town of Kilkenny and lords of Talbott's Inche, which Walter died on the 2nd day of the month of December, A.D. 1550, on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen." "Here lieth Richard Lawles, the son and heir of the aforesaid Walter, who died on the 6th day of the month of October, A.D. 1553." "Here lieth James Lawles, brother and heir of Richard Lawles, son and heir of Walter Lawles, who died on the last day of July, A.D. 1562, on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen. And Adam Lawles, who died the 20th day of October, 1600; and Letitia Shee, his wife, who died the 5th day of October, 1576." "I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I will rise out of the earth, and in my flesh I shall see God my Saviour, whom I myself shall see and not another, and my eyes shall behold."

From an entry on the minutes of the Corporation of Kilkenny, quoted in the "Antiquities of St. Canice's Cathedral," p. 255, it appears that Isabella, daughter of James Cottrell in the above first inscription, was the wife of Richard Lawless therein mentioned; and that the said James Cottrell bestowed on them, their heirs and assigns, certain tenements and messuages adjoining the garden of the Vicars of the Common Hall, on condition of their celebrating his anniversary every year in a solemn manner in the Church of St. Canice. Their son, Walter Lawless, who was married to Letitia Courcy, was portreeve of Kilkenny in 1526, and in 1537 was accused of "forestalling," contrary to a statute of Henry VIII., which provided that "no person or persons, to the intent to sell the same again, should buy or cause to be bought within this land, any hydes, felles, checkers, fleges, yarn, linen cloth, woll or flockes in any other place or places but only in the open market or fayre; and if any person or persons did otherwise and were of the same duly convict, that then every person or persons so convicted to be adjudged a *forestaller* of the market."

Walter Lawless, mentioned in the above Inquisition, was great grandson of this Walter, *grey merchant* and *forestaller*, who died in 1550, and was the son of Adam, son of James Lawless, according to the old corporation books of Irishtown, wherein he is mentioned as the "son and heir of Adam Lawles." John D'Alton, in his "King James's Irish Army List," p. 204, makes him the grandson of Walter, "grey merchant," and son of Richard; but the entry on the corporation books, cited by Reverend J. Graves, proves that Mr. D'Alton is incorrect.

Walter was much esteemed by the Earl of Ormonde, who bestowed on him in trust several manors, such as Olonmel, Lisronagh, Ballycallan, Damagh, etc., and dying in 1627 left a son and heir, Richard Lawless, by Miss Rothe, daughter of Robert Rothe, of the city of Kilkenny, who died about the year 1619. Richard married, soon after his father's death (1) Maud, daughter of Luke Shee, Kilkenny, and (2) Margaret, daughter of Patrick Den, Esq., of Grenan, and took an active part in the Confederate Movement of 1641-2. Mr. Fitzpatrick, in his "Life, Times, etc., of Lord Ononcurry," pp. 7-8, says that in his capacity as member of the SUPREME COUNCIL he "greatly distinguished himself, as some old historians tell us, by warmly opposing the massacre of the Kilkenny Protestants when proposed to the council by Turlogh Oge O'Neil." I am surprised Mr. Fitzpatrick should have accepted as true that such proposal had been made to or at all entertained by the Confederate Council, since no better authority can be adduced in confirmation thereof than the depositions of one William Parkinson, of Castlecomer, he deposed as follows:—"Also the titular Bishop of Cashel, Turlogh Oge O'Neil, brother to the arch-rebel, Sir Phelim, and the Popish citizens of Kilkenny petition'd the rest of the Council of Kilkenny that all the English Protestants there should be put to death; whereunto Alderman Richard Lawless in excuse answer'd that they were all robb'd before, and he saw no cause that they should loose their lives." In 1644 a commission was issued by the Lords Justices

to enquire "what lands had been seized; what murders committed by the rebels," etc. Crowds of men, women, and children, servants, and persons unable to sign their names appeared as deponents. "They allowed free scope to their imagination—everyone wished to exceed his neighbour's story. Sometimes the examinations related to the ghosts of the murdered Protestants, who appeared walking on the water, brandishing spectre swords and raising their hands to heaven." Those depositions bound up in thirty-two folio volumes are still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and no historian considers them better than *precious* documents of falsehoods, absurdities, and exaggerations. In fact, at the time of the above deposition of Parkinson, Turlogh Oge O'Neill was not titular Bishop or Archbishop of Cashel. Thomas Walsh was Archbishop of Cashel from 1626 to the 5th May, 1654, the date of his death at Compostella. He was a strenuous adherent of Rinuccini, the Papal Nunzio, and a member of the Confederate Assembly. That Turlogh Oge O'Neil had ever been Archbishop of Cashel rests *only* on tradition, as is mentioned by Dr. Bray in the "brief notices of his predecessors," added to the statutes of Cashel and Emly (1810). He adds:—"That there were, according to a constant and well-founded tradition, two Catholic Archbishops, besides Drs. Kearney, Walsh, and Brennan, between Darby O'Hurley (martyred, 1583 or 1584), and Edward Comerford (consecrated, 1697), whose names were Thurlough O'Neill and William Burgatt, but I have not yet found any satisfactory records of them." Richard Lawless and Margaret Den, had issue, Walter and Thomas, and according to a funeral entry in the Ulster office, Dublin Castle, also James and Adam, married to Dorothea, daughter of Robert Shee, Kilkenny, gent.; Lettice, married to Peter Rothe, Kilkenny, gent.; Ellen Anstance, died unmarried, buried in the Cathedral, Kilkenny. Walter married Anne, sister of James Bryan, Esq., Jenkinstown, and in the rebellion of 1689, served as Captain in Luttrell's regiment. His sons, Richard and Patrick, also took part in the service. After King James had "won the race" at the Boyne, the plate of the Royal fugitive was deposited with Walter Lawless, and subsequently found its way to Lyons, the seat of Lord Cloncurry. Richard fell at the siege of Limerick, in 1691. Patrick, Walter's second son, was taken prisoner at the battle of Aughrim (1691). Leaving the country, he subsequently served with distinction in the armies of Spain, and obtained high honours from Philip V. During the terrible struggle between Philip and the Archduke Charles, second son of the German Emperor, Leopold I., for the Spanish Crown, an incident occurred which, no doubt, heightened Philip's esteem for the bold and ohivalrous Kilkennyman, and placed him under an obligation of gratitude, which certainly was not forgotten.

The dreadful defeats which the French armies and their allies had sustained at Blenheim (1704), Ramilies (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709), so reduced them that Louis XIV. had well nigh thrown up the cause of his grandson, Philip, in despair. In addition, the Spanish nobility were reserved and even suspected of being in a

great measure partial to the pretensions of the Archduke Charles. The Duke of Medina Celi, very powerful and influential, was supposed to have been of this latter class, and Patrick Lawless, then Colonel in the French service, undertook to secure at least his neutrality. He accordingly repaired singly to the Duke's palace, and invited the Duke to a private conversation on the subject of a special commission from Philip. The Duke having entered into conversation with him, they rambled away from the terrace before the court, and when the Duke recovered his senses he found a carriage in readiness in which he was ordered to take a seat for Madrid. The Duke acquiesced judging it to be the safer course, and saved his life and property thereby. The French armies under the bold and skilful Villars, bore down every obstacle—Vendome, the idol of the Spanish soldiers, retook Madrid, made prisoners of Stanhope and 5,000 English, and after the decisive and hard-fought battle of Villa-Viciosa, he invited the fatigued Prince to a glorious rest on a bed of banners taken from the enemy.

The treaty of Utrecht in 1713, followed. The Spanish Crown was placed firmly on the head of Philip. The Duke of Medina Celi thanked the Kilkennyman, his visitor, and the Visitor himself, Patrick Lawless, was Knighted and made Lieutenant-general and Governor of Majorca.

(2)—CALLAN.

The town of Callan is situate about 8 or 9 miles south-west from Kilkenny, on the Avonree, or King's river, and is in the barony of Kells. It was formerly a Parliamentary borough, and sent two representatives to Parliament. By a concordat of the Lord Deputy and Council, dated 12th February, 1568, after stating "that Callan of long and antient time had 2 market days weekly, viz.—on Wednesday and Saturday," it was granted that the Sovereign, Portrieve, Burgesses, Corporation, and Commons might keep 2 market days weekly within the town as they had anciently done, and exonerating them from Irish cess and customs otherwise than was contained in the charter granted to them by the Queen's (Elizabeth's) progenitors. In a note on the above Mr. Morrin adds (Pat. and Olos. Rolls, Eliz., p. 523):—"On the Patent Roll of the 13^o. Edward III., London (1340), is a grant of murage for the town for Elizabeth de Burgo. A writ of the 4^o Richard II. (1380), directed to the Mayor of Waterford, recites that the sovereigns and commonalties of the towns of Callan and Kilkenny had shown that those towns were part of the lordship of the Earl of Gloucester, and that all merchants and others within that lordship ought to be free of customs and murage for their merchandise, which liberties the said sovereigns had used from the foundation of these towns, and it was commanded that they should not be molested against the tenor of those liberties. A murage grant to the Sovereign, Provost, and Commonalty of the town of Callan, dated 20th January, 19^o. Richard II. (1396) for 20 years, was confirmed by a charter of Henry IV., dated 20th January, 1403.

The Corporation was styled "the Sovereign Burgesses and Freemen of Callan," the sovereign having been elected each year by the two latter bodies. George Lord Callan got £15,000 when the borough was disfranchised at the Union in compensation for the abolition of its electoral rights. In the topographical poem of O'Heerin, who died in 1420, published by John O'Donovan in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol I., p. 248-53, we have mention made of the neighbourhood of Callan, with its charming plains and verdant hillsides—

"In Magh-lacha of the warm hill slopes
Is O'Faelain of manly tribe—
Extensive is the district due to them
Which the O'Faelain's have peopled."

The plain of *Magh-lacha* covered the western or flat country of the barony of Kells, and according to Colgan's "*Trias Thaum*," p. 625, quoted by O'Donovan, had within it the Church of *Cill-Bhrighde Major* and the Chapel of *Cill-Bhrighde*. The late Mr. Hogan, Kilkenny, who has left behind him no better authority on the topography of our county, endeavoured to show that *Cill-Bhrighde Major* is the present parish church of Kiiree (near Kells), where a "round tower, a holy well, and a ruined church still perpetuate the name and memory of Saint Bridget." Dr. O'Donovan disposes of the story of Niall Oaille in connection with the River Callann as a contemptible pseudo-tradition. The learned Keatings, however, thus alludes to it (O'Connor's Ed., p. 419):—"He was particularly known by the name of *Niall Caille* (Monarch of Ireland, A.D. 851) for this reason:—Upon a time he came, attended with a great retinue of horse, to the bank of the river *Callain*, with a design to ford the stream, but it happened that the river was swollen to a great height by the violence of the rains, which occasioned him to halt and sound the depth before he attempted to enter the water. For this purpose he commanded a gentleman who rode in his train to try the ford, who before he had gone far was carried down by the current and washed off his horse." The author then goes on to state that *Niall's* attendants having refused, through fear of the current, to attempt the rescue of the drowning man, he himself advanced to plunge in, whereupon the undermined ground under his horses feet broke, and horse and King were rolled headlong and lost in the violence of the torrent. Tradition has it that he was brought to Kilree, a couple of miles distant and there buried under an uninscribed cruciform block, still pointed out as his royal resting place. Others would have it that he was buried in the *tumulus*, or artificial mound of West Court, near Callan. Be this as it may, the Callan river is called the *King's River*, and Kilree, i.e., *Cill-Righ*, "the Church of the King," from the above circumstance of the fate of *Niall Caille*, that is with those who incline to the belief of Keating's version of it, and do not entirely reject it with O'Donovan as a ridiculous and fabulous tradition. The Chapel of *Cill-Bhrighde*, situate within the plain of *Magh-lacha* according to the *Trias Thaum* above quoted, is the present Kilbride, a couple of



KILLREE ROUND TOWER, CO. KILKENNY.

miles south of the town of Callan. The site of this old church is still used as a burial-ground. Dromberg, Kilmoganny, Reasenara, Windgap, etc., picture and outline the "warm hill-slopes" of the poet, and encircled in ancient days the southern sides of the beautiful and verdant plain of Magh-lacha which stretched hence to Kilbride on the north, and from Killree in the east waved away in sweetness and fertility to the limits of Tipperary on the west. Enchanted with the loveliness of the prospect the poet's soul struggles to describe its rural fascination—

"O Gloiairn the fruitful branch has got
A cantred of sweet country,
The smooth land along the beauteous Callann,
A land without a particle of blemish."

"Who can fail here," says the late Mr. Hogan, "to recognise the verdant vale of the 'Avonree,' particularly the sweet country of Chapelizod, where the Ognomen of the original tribe is preserved in the name of the obscure stream which retains still the title of the "Glory River," evidently derived from the branch of the O'Glorians who peopled its banks. I have traversed the rural vale through which silently meanders this peaceful rivulet. In its onward course it rolls in foam over an eel-weir, or again it has its power increased by an artificial conduit to propel the overshot wheel of a corn mill. With these two exceptions it sluggishly glides through a "cantred of a sweet country" till in the townland of "Goodwin's Gardens" it joins the stream of the "beauteous Callann."

About the middle of the 13th century the English played dexterously at their old game of keeping the Irish weakened by contending factions. For this purpose we find them aiding some of the Irish Princes whilst against others they carried on a most deadly war of plunder and devastation with the main object of crushing irretrievably Irish independence. In the North and Connaught their policy lamentably succeeded. In the South they were not entirely so successful. Oonor O'Brien, of Thomond, and MacCarthy Reagh, of Desmond, so defeated and overthrew the Geraldines and demolished the English Castles, in 1260-1, that the "Geraldines," says Hanmer, "durst not put a plough into the ground in Desmond." In 1407, Callan was the scene of another stiff and sanguinary conflict. The Royal troops under the Lord Deputy, Sir Stephen Scroop, with the Earls of Ormonde and Desmonde, and the Prior of Kilmainham, Thomas Le Botiller* or Butler, had just been engaged in a terrible battle with the gallant Art

* Thomas Le Botiler. He was Prior of Kilmainham, near Dublin, in 1401. He was an illegitimate son of James, 2nd Earl of Ormonde, called the *Noble Earl*, as being great-grandson of King Edward I., his mother being Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Essex, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. The Prior collected about 1500 followers and started to aid Henry V. in France. He and his troop just arrived in time to display their splendid dash and impetuous prowess on the plains of Agincourt (1415) and subsequently throughout France, the little band was much appraised for deeds of military eclat.

MacMurragh, in which victory ultimately favoured them. After this they made a rapid march towards Callan, in order to surprise Teighe O'Carroll, Lord of Ely, and his adherents, the Burkeens, who had been wasting the County Kilkenny. Joined at Kilkenny by the Burgesses under their Sovereign, John Croker, "they rode with all speed," says Stanihurst, "into the towne of Callan, and there incountring with the adversaries manfullie put them to flight, slue O'Kerroll and eight hundred others. There went a tale and beleevied of manie that the sun stood still for a space that daie till the Englishmen had ridden six miles. So much was it thought that God favoured the English part in this enterprise if we shall believe it." It is said that "Croker's Cross,"* one of the ancient ornaments of the City of Kilkenny, was erected in commemoration of this victory over the insurgents which was gained on the feast of the EXALTATION OF THE HOLY CROSS.

The site of the battle may have been in the immediate vicinity of Carabine Bridge, two miles west of the town of Callan, where, according to the account of the late Dr. Keating, "sword blades and other warlike instruments" had been turned up in an adjoining field about 1820.

He (Dr. Keating) also stated that a learned man named Humphry O'Sullivan, informed him that it should be called the Bridge of Chariots (Dryhed-na-girdba, as near as he could guess it from want of knowledge of the Irish) (Trans. Kilk. Archæolog. Soc., vol. 3, p. 13). It must also be remembered that in this favourite pass between South and West Munster and South Leinster, many had been the stiff encounters between the *Ossorians* and *Eugenians*, especially in the fifth century, when the men of Munster defeated the former with terrible slaughter, and expelled them from their territory (see "Kilkenny," by the late J. Hogan, p. 39). One of the severest scourges that befell Callan were the battering guns of Cromwell—which he planted in 1650, on the South side of the Fair Green, according to tradition, to beat down one of the strongest gates. Cromwell describes the taking of the town in his despatch to the Parliamentarians, dated 15th February, 1650, thus:—"The enemy had possessed three castles in the town, one of them belonging to one *Butler*, very considerable, the other two had about 100 or 120 men in them which he (Colonel Reynolds who had joined him) attempted, and they refusing conditions seasonably offered were put all to the sword. . . . *Butler's Castle* was delivered upon conditions for all to march away leaving their arms behind them."

Tradition has it that Skerry's Castle, in West-street, braved the besiegers until its defenders were scalded to death. A large quantity

* *Croker's Cross*—In a manuscript in the British Museum (No. 4796), supposed to be by David Roth, Bishop of Ossory, from 1618 to 1650—the writer says Croker's Cross "was erected where four ways meet, one side facing Patrick-street, another Castle-street (Parade), a third looking towards St. John's, and a fourth to the High Town (High-street). Hence it was inferred that a portion at least of the present Patrick-street was the "Croker's street" mentioned in some ancient city documents.

of human bones, in a garden to the rear of this Castle, were dug up within the present century, and a moat called "Cromwell's Moat," on the Fair Green, was levelled down by a "tasteless potentate Yclept, the sovereign of Callan." Archdall's "*Monasticon Hibernicum*" notes that "a Friary for Augustinian Eremites was founded here, as some writers affirm, by Hugh de Mapilton, who was Bishop of Ossory from 1251 to the year 1256, but the real founder was James, father to Peter, Earl of Ormonde; James died 16th April, 1487, and was interred here."

Archdall also states that the Friary was repaired in 1461, William O'Fogarty was the last prior, and at the time of the suppression of Monasteries on his surrender he was found seized of a church and belfry, a dormitory hall, three chambers, kitchen, etc.; also some gardens, closes, about 3 acres, messuages, bake-house, 1 acre of meadow, value 20s. 8d., and a water mill then in ruins and called the "New Mill." A grant of the Friary with appurtenances was made to Black Thomas, Earl of Ormonde (as has been mentioned in my previous notes) by Queen Mary, in 1557.

Regarding the original foundation of the Augustinian Friary, some writers say that two monasteries had been founded, one by Hugh Mapilton, in 1251, and the other by Sir Edmond Butler, grand-father of Pierce, 8th Earl of Ormonde. Ware holds that this latter was founded by Earl Pierce's father, Sir James Butler, and that he was buried here in 1487. Torelli, O.S.A., quoted by the editors of the *Monasticon* (his Grace Most Rev. P. F. Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, and other distinguished antiquarians), denies there were two distinct foundations. He adds, "I take the liberty to say there was but one Monastery, and that the foundation of the year 1461 (ordered by Pius II.) was rather only a reparation, which he (Allemande) calls a foundation, because perhaps it had been for some time forsaken by the friars, and was fallen or else had been destroyed by soldiers; and so afterwards, in the said year 1461, it was newly founded by our order." Hugh Mapilton, as the learned editors of the *Monasticon* above quoted remark, may have founded a convent of the Canons Regular, and *not* the Hermits of St. Augustine, as he had been himself a Canon Regular of the Order of St. Augustine, at Glendalough, before his elevation to the Episcopacy of Ossory; and the present Protestant Church at Callan may have been the foundation of the same in 1251. That the Hermits of St. Augustine were established at Callan by some one of the Butlers, admits of no doubt. Their monastery became a great centre of culture and learning. It possessed a large library of rare and valuable manuscripts for at least nigh a century before the desecrating hands of Henry VIII. plundered it, and preserved likewise its graceful elegance and Gothic proportions till the curse and cannon of Cromwell powdered and defaced them. Every Irish Catholic, from the dawn of understanding to the deep shadows of old age and death, preserves Cromwell's memory with a wail of woe; and if multiplied scenes of terror, blood, and blasphemy against man and God ever

warranted a "final judgment" this side creation against any being, human or inhuman, Oliver Cromwell terribly secured it. After the abbey and town of Callan had been battered down and destroyed by him, the Community of Friars ceased to exist there, or if in subsequent years a member of the same were at all to be found, it was as the disguised consoler of his afflicted countrymen. We are told that a community reappeared about 1766, and that one Cornelius O'Mara was prior till 1774, Philip Tierney till 1786, John Foley to 1791, and James Tierney to 1803. At a chapter held in this last year the Very Rev. John Rice was elected prior, and continued to discharge the duties of his office till 1819, and during his priorship the present Augustinian Church was erected. An old thatched house and chapel in Olothier's-lane, previous to his time, were made use of by the community; and the last time Mass was celebrated here, 'tis said that the roof gave way, and was supported by the shoulders or hands of the people till one Father Grace, a venerable old priest, had completed the Holy Sacrifice. For an account of the many monumental inscriptions in the Church of Blessed Mary at Callan, I must refer the reader to an elaborate and able essay published in the 1st vol. of our "Ossory Archaeological Society," p. 274 *et seq.* by a distinguished member, Mr. T. Shelly, Callan.

(3)—SLIEAVE DYLYE OR SLIABH DILE.

Slieve Dylve or Sliabh Dile is the local name of a considerable district bordering on Sliabh-na-m-ban (Slievenaman) mountain. The name is pronounced *Slie Dheela*, and extends southwards from Kilamery Hill, embracing the Windgap hills and valleys, and those left of the public road leading from Kilkenny to Clonmel. Dr. O'Donovan thinks that *Sliabh Dile* was the ancient name of Slievenaman, though now applied to the district at the base of the mountain. In one of the prophecies attributed to St. Columbkille by the peasantry, and wherein it is predicted that Ireland will be freed from British rule by a "red-haired man of Leinster," Slieabh-Dile is made mention of:—"There will be a wood on Oock-na-carraige, and this will be the rendezvous of the men of six counties. *The fine youth of Sliabh-Dile* will fall at *Ath-at-searra*. A raven perched on Dromseann-bho will slake her thirst in human blood. Kilkenny will be laid in ruins. The stream of battle in this quarter will finally run in the direction of Windgap; there will be a camp at *Ath-inse-coitionn* on the river Lingawn, and a cold pavement of (dead bodies of) men from the Suir to the mountain." *Cnock-na-carraige*, or the hill of the rock, mentioned in this prophecy, is identical with Ballykeeffe hill, in the parish of Ballycallan, now covered with tall pines in fulfillment of the first part, and the people of the locality believe that the second part of the promise will be so accomplished that the blood of the slain will sweep in a torrent through the level district and turn the wheel of a neighbouring mill. *Ath-at-searra* means "the ford of the filly," and is near Garryricken. The

legend goes that a mare having broken her fetters, she brought the cord or chain round a wolf's neck that attempted to make away with her young, and kept the animal pressed down till strangled. *Drom-Seann-bho*, also mentioned in the above prophesy, is situate some distance beyond the village of Ouffe's Grange, on the high road from Kilkenny to Oallan. It means in English the "back of the old cow." During my time in the parish I frequently had heard repeated "the good joke" of one of the Desart family having come to the spot and blasted the rock on which the raven was to perch, in order to falsify the prophesy, saying, "Now can the raven drink of human blood from the rock of Drom-Seann-bho?" Mr. John Dunne in his Essay on the "Fenian Traditions of Sliab-na-m-ban," quotes a stanza from an old Irish *cavine* or dirge to show how long current has been the supposed prediction of St. Columbkille. *Trans.*—

"Ah! my long weary woe from war and its train,
Yet it's not that of Cromwell which gives me most pain,
Nor the war of King William, in which thousands were slain;
But oh! the red torrents that reeking will flow
'Twixt Callan and Windgap that fills me with woe,
Oh! Gleann-a-Smoil last stage of the scene
No spring can restore the carpet of green!"


(4)—GAVELL KYNDE OR TANYSTREYE.

Tanistry comprehended that system of Brehon Laws which regulated the tenure and transfer of lands, the election of chiefs, etc. It is supposed to be derived from "tan," a territory, and the *successor-elect* or *heir apparent* of a chief or lord of a clan was called "Tanist." The Tanist was elected during the lifetime of the lord, and succeeded as a matter of course immediately after the lord's death. Under the custom of Gavel kind, as it existed in Kent before the Norman Invasion, all the sons alike of a father succeeded to his inheritance, and though the ancestor should be attainted or hanged the heir succeeded to his estate without any escheat or fine to the lord.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION VII.)

"Gowran, 11th November, 1608.

ERALD OOMERFORD¹ died, seised in fee of the manor, lands and tenements of Inshioleghan², in the County Kilkenny, with the advowsons belonging thereto, which manor contains 38 acres great measure, and is held from the King in Capite, by Knight's service. The aforesaid Gerald is also seised of

the town, lands and tenements of Brownestown, containing 8 acres, which are held from the King by Knight's service; of 1 annual rent of 6s. 8d., issuing out of the lands and tenements of Maur [], in the town of [], by reason of common pasturage which he has in the lands of Inishioleghan; of 3 tofts and 60 acres arable and pasture small measure, in the town of Sholdamrath, and 42½ acres pasturage in great 'Mora,' *al.* the 'motch Moere,' which are held from the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, as of his Castle of Kilkenny, in free socage.

"All the premises contain 5 acres great measure and two acres small measure."

"The aforesaid Gerald is also seised of 10 acres small measure in the town of Goslan, which are held from the aforesaid Earl in free socage, by fealty only; 2 messuages and 40 acres arable and pasture small measure, in the town and burgagery of Rosbercon, which are held from the aforesaid Earl, as of his manor of Rosberson, in free burgage; 1 messuage and garden within the town of Kilkenny, which are held from the Earl aforesaid, in free burgage, and the aforesaid Earl has 6d. rent issuing annually out of the aforesaid messuage and garden. The aforesaid Gerald is also seised of 10 messuages, 9 gardens, and 21 acres of land, little measure, within the town and burgagery of Callan, which are held from the aforesaid Earl as of his manor of Callan. The aforesaid Gerald died at Cowlenemucky, in the County Waterford, the 29th October, 1604. Fulco Comerford is his lawful son and heir, and was then of full age and unmarried. Johanna Comerford *al.* Walsh, wife of the aforesaid Gerald, is seised of the moieties of the aforesaid manor of Inshioleghan and the town of Brownestown, for the term of her life; and the said moiety was assigned to the aforesaid Johanna in jointure."

(1)—THE COMERFORD FAMILY.

(See *Inquisition 4, Elizabeth, p. 60, and seq.*)

Gerald Comerford was son of Foulke Comerford, of Callan, and Rosina Rothe, his wife. He was educated at Kilkenny School, and subsequently became a barrister of the King's Inns. He was made Attorney-General for Connaught in 1584, and became M.P. for Callan in 1585. In 1599 he became Chief-Justice of the province of Munster, and in 1603 was promoted to the Court of Exchequer, Dublin, as 2nd Baron.

In Pat. and Clos. Rolls, 9th January, 1583, we find "order" of Queen Elizabeth to the Archbishop of Dublin and Sir Henry Wallopp, "directing" a pension of £20 a year to be granted to Gerald Comerford, who had "gone to study the laws for his help, he being a younger brother and destitute of maintenance," and "in consequence of the infirmities grown upon him in his limbs," her Majesty gives him licence to return to his native country for the better recovery of his health—*Westminster, Jan. 9, Eliz. 26^o*. On the 12th September, 1591, the

Lords of the Council directed the Lord Deputy:—"Whereas, the bearer, Geret (Gerald) Comerford, her Majesty's Attorney of the Province of Connaught and Thomond, holdeth by grant under the broad seal of that realm during pleasure the office of Attorney, with the fee of twenty pounds sterling per annum, and all other perquisites thereunto belonging, and upon better consideration of his interest and estate in the office which, as it is now, is but uncertain and subject to alteration upon every slender accusation the said Comerford hath made suit here to have a more assured and settled estate therein, whereby he may, with more encouragement, follow her Majesty's service in that calling. We have thought good to advertise your lordship that her Majesty, having conceived a good opinion of the gentleman and his sufficiency, is pleased that your lordship do presently pass the office to him again for the term of his life (*si tamdiu se bene gesserit*)—if he so long well conducts himself, together with the fee of twenty pounds sterling per annum, and all the profits and commodities appertaining thereunto, in such sort as he may not be removed before any misdemeanour conceived be examined here, himself called to answer, and order given from thence by her Majesty for his removal agreeable to her Highness' letters heretofore at the suit of Mr. Nathaniel Dillon." *From the Court at Basinge, Sept. 12, 1591.*

From an order of the Queen (Elizabeth), dated *Manor of Richmond, March 11, 1582*, it appears that Gerald Comerford had good reason to seek "a more assured and settled estate" in his office. The order is as follows:—"The Queen, to Lord Archbishop and Sir Henry Wallopp, forbidding the removal of any public officer on the occasion of the change or alteration of the Chief Governor, for it had been found that they abused their offices by making private gain for the time without respect to the due discharge of those places expecting every day to be removed." Amongst the tombston and around the ruins of the "Church of Blessed Mary at Callan," noticed so admirably by Mr. Thomas Shelly ("Ossor. Archaeolog. Soc." vol. I., p. 274, &c.), an altar monument bears the following inscription:—

"Hic jacet Geraldus Comerford, armiger, quondam regius Athurnaius Conaught et Thomondie secundarius Barro, Scaccarii et demum Capitalis Justiciarius predicto Momonio. Excessit e vivis apud Cowlnamuckie incommittatu Waterfordia, 4 Novemb., 1604, felice gubernio Illustrissimi Domini Regis Jacobi Secunde et Scotiae tricesimo Septimo."

Trans.—"Here lies Gerald Comerford, Esquire, late Queen's Attorney of Connaught and Thomond, second Baron of the Exchequer, and subsequently Chief Justice of Munster aforesaid. He departed this life at Cowlnamuckie (Coolnamuck), in the County Waterford, the 4th November, 1604, in the second year of the happy reign of his most gracious Majesty King James, and thirty-seventh of his reign in Scotland."

It is clear that the above inscription commemorates Gerald Comerford of the "Inquisition" under notice, the only discrepancy being that the "Inquisition" mentions his death as having occurred on the 29th October, 1604, whilst the "Inscription" mentions the 4th of November,

1604, as the date of his demise. This discrepancy accounts as nothing since the Inquisition was not taken till 1608, that is four years subsequently, when the jurors may be supposed to have forgotten the exact date. He left issue, by Johanna Walsh, his wife, five sons and one daughter, viz.—(1) Foulke, his heir of Inchiolaghan, died 1623, leaving a son, Gerrott; (2) James, (3) Nicholas, (4) Edward, (5) Patrick, died 1630, leaving by Elizabeth Brett, his wife, a son, Garrett, and a daughter, Elizabeth. (1) Margaret.

(2)—INSHIOLEGAN.

Inchihologhan, or as it is at present known, Castle Inch, is about two miles south-west of the City of Kilkenny, and in St. Patrick's Parish, adjoining Ballycallan. The foundations of the old castellated mansion still traceable, and the old church dedicated of old to St. David, with the "well" of St. David hard by, are lingering evidences of the proud feudal position of this branch of the Omerford family and the stately advance of religious worship before the godless intolerance and rancour of a subsequent age consigned her temples to broken arches and lone desolation. The "Patron" day was held in olden times on the first Sunday of March, being the Sunday within the Octave of the Saint's feast, which was on the 1st of the month. St. David was Patron of Wales and Bishop of Minevia, called by the Irish *Kill-muine* or Kilmuni. He was held in great esteem by the Irish, because of his mother, who was daughter of Breacan, an Irish prince who settled in Wales. He had many Irish saints for his disciples and friends, viz.—St. Aidan, Senan, Declan, Finian, with three specially revered in Ossory, namely Scuthin, of *Tascoffin*, in the district of John's Well mountains; St. Modomnoc, of *Fiddown*, and St. Brendan, of *Dysert* at the confluence of the Rivers Deen and Dinan, within one mile of Castlecomer. Dysert belonged to Muckalee Parish, but is now added to Castlecomer. The Castle and possessions of Inchihologhan were made over to Joseph Cuff, Esq., by Cromwell, in 1650, and though there was a tradition to the effect that the Omerford's regained at least partial possession at the Restoration, I have not been able to discover any document which would place its accuracy beyond doubt.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION VIII.)

" Rathkavane, 28th March, 1609.

RICHARD AROHDEACON,¹ *al.* Mc Odo, of Bawnmore, in the County of Kilkenny, is seised of the manor and town of Bawnmore, and of the town of Cowlegad, Mowtoge, Ballyboie, Toernemvinane, Boher, Taylore, and Freaghneeraghayne, containing altogether $4\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land, great measure. Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, has certain lands in Cowlegadd, within the aforesaid manor, independently of the said $4\frac{1}{2}$ carucates (but the quantity the jurors know not), for which the said Richard pays annually 40s. to the aforesaid Earl, and he holds those lands at the will of the said Earl. The aforesaid Richard is also seised in fee of the town, village and lands of Bawneballynloghie and Garryrobbin, in the aforesaid county, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land free from all impositions; Ballinwehilly, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate of land; the moiety of the town of Munynemuck, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land; Rathpatrick, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate; Breckanagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; and Ballyhanokard and Eyvick, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate of land—all which lie in the barony of Galmoy, in the aforesaid county; the manor and town of Kilmurry, and the town and hamlet of Kilbeg, Kiltheamus, *al.* Killaheamus, and Moungmacode, containing altogether $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land, viz.—Kilmurry, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; Kilbeg, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate; Kiltheamus *al.* Killaheamus $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate; and Moun mac Odo, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate; the manor of Dangin, within the burgagery of Thomastown, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate; of land on which the burgesses of Thomastown have not commonage of pasture or wood; 1 carucate within the burgagery of Thomastown, of which Oloughbrodey and 17 gardens are parcels; 1 other carucate of fertile mountain, wood and pasture, near Thomastown, within the burgagery of Thomastown, commonly called Carrigmorney, in which the burgesses have commonage of pasture and wood; 1 water-mill, with water-course, situate on the torrent called the 'Hamans,' within the aforesaid burgagery; 3 weirs, within the aforesaid burgage, on the River Nore, and the moieties of all the fishes taken on the aforesaid river before the lands of the aforesaid Richard; 8 messuages in Thomastown, and 40s. issueing out of certain messuages in the aforesaid Thomastown; 2s. issueing out of the lands of Newhouse from the portion of Thomas Dene; 8d. issueing out of the town and lands of Ballyroe, near Thomastown; 8d. issueing out of Knockshelte parcel of land of John Cantwell; 6s. 8d. issueing out of the town and lands of Brownesbarne, in the county aforesaid. The burgesses aforesaid owed and rendered suite of courte twice a year to the said manor of Dengin. There is a head rent annually issueing out of the manor of Kilmurry debited and discharged by John Cantwell, of Cantwell's Courte. The

said Richard maketh claim as his hereditament to the castle, town, and lands of Castletown, in the county aforesaid, now in the possession of Luke Shee; to the castle, town, and lands of White's Wall, *al.* Ballen, Itih, Rathbane and Rathreagh, in the county aforesaid, at present in seisin of James Fitzjohn Bryane."

(1)—THE ARCHDEACON FAMILY.

The Archdeacons belong to the MacGillicuddy branch of the O'Sullivan family, the common ancestor was *Gille Mochodh*. The Mac-Gillicuddy's were chiefs of a territory in the barony of Dunkerron, and the mountain called Mac-Gillicuddy's Reeks, in the County Kerry, takes its name from them—some of the respectable branches anglicised the name Mac-Gillicuddy to *Archdeacon*, and again this latter became *Mac Odo* from *Mochodh* or *Mac Odh*, one of the ancestors, and lastly *Mac Cody* or *Cody*—The Mac Odos of Galmoy Barony ranked with the Gaul-Bourkes, O'Deas, Dens, and Freneys, amongst the most respectable families who lived under the Earls of Ormonde, and the last head of the house was always locally styled *Sir*—The Archdeacons of Bawnmore had a castle on the site of the present ruins of the ancient family residence of the Bryan family who succeeded them at Bawnmore some time about the middle of the 17th century, probably 1642, but not later than 1674, as far as I can discover. They were also owners of Erck, in the barony of Galmoy, and after the Revolution, having forfeited their estates in the northern part of the County Kilkenny, they removed to Tinnahoe, in Iverk.

On a monument in the old Church of Thomastown, is the following inscription:—

"Hic jacet Ricardus Archdeacon, alias MacOtho de Bawnmore, armiger sui nominis capitaneus qui obiit . . . et Catherina Shortall, filia Nicholai Shortall, de Upper Claragh, armigeri ejus uxor quæ obiit, 7 die Aprilis, 1609."

Trans.—"Here lies Richard Archdeacon, alias Mac Otho, of Bawnmore, Esq., chief of his sept, who died . . . and Catherine Shortall, daughter of Nicholas Shortall of Upper Claragh, Esq., his wife, who died the 7th day of April, 1609."

This is evidently the tomb of the Richard Archdeacon mentioned in the above Inquisition. The date of his demise is lost on the monument. At what precise date the Archdeacons came to settle in Bawnmore and other places in the Barony of Galmoy—Whiteswall, Erck, and Castletown—I have not been able to discover. They must have been in the locality early in the 14th century, for the 9th year of Edward III. (1336), Olynn mentions that a quarrel ensued between Fulco de la Frene (Freney) and Leysaght O'Morthe (O'Moore) originating on the death of Redmund Archdekene. The site of this fight was beside a small rivulet which runs by Glashare Castle, and on the left of the road as you go on from Johnstown to Cullohill. It is a lonely valley, and the meeting was only meant for a parley between the O'Moores and De la Frenes, but like many other parleys in Irish history, it

ended in carnage, and the dead bodies are traditionally said to have been arranged on the field like sheaves of corn on the swath.

In 1541-2 a suit was instituted in Chancery against Richard Archdeacon, to set aside his title of Bawnmore and other lands in Thomastown, on the ground of his alleged illegitimacy. His uncle, Edmond Archdeacon, failed to establish the suit, and it being proved that he (Richard) was 'born in lawful matrimony, the Court decreed in his favour. In 1548 this same Richard was *plaintiff* in a suit against Sir John Grace, *defendant*, concerning the manor or town of Oastletown, in Galmoy, and certain lands in Erck. The decree of the Justices, Sir Gerald Aylmer and Thomas Howth, was as follows:—"It appearing to the Commissioners that the said Sir John had no interest or title but by 'swertie' thereof unto him and his heirs made by Richard Archdeken, uncle to the said Richard, in mortgage 'for 13 melskyn with their calfwys, 126 marks of monye, 7 incalfe kine, 161 sheep, 8 garrans, 11 kyne, 68 pecks of oats, 3 horses and a harp,' it is decreed that Sir John Grace shall be repaid the money and goods by the plaintiff; and on lawful tender thereof by the said Archdeken he shall have possession of the land."

Richard Archdeacon, of the above Inquisition, was his son or grandson, and according to an Inquisition taken at Gowran on the 16th January, 1619, he died the 3rd October, 1617, leaving three daughters, viz.—(1) Oatherine, (2) Elinor, (3) Mary, by his first wife, Oatherine Shortall. He married, secondly, Johanna Fitzpatrick, who survived him, and having left no male issue his estates went to his next heir, Peter Archdeacon *al.* McCodo, of Bawnmore, son and heir of Thomas, son and heir of Redmond, brother of the said Richard.

The following letter of John O'Donovan amongst the "Survey Letters" (1839—County Kilkenny) refers thus to this Pierce McCodo or McCody:—

Johnstown, 28th August, 1839.

Erke is not of ecclesiastical origin. They say that Pierce McCody got from Cromwell, in lieu of some services rendered, as much land as he could see from a certain place and position, that the spot from which he took his view is the little eminence on which the present new Protestant Church of Eirke stands. This Pierce was usually called *Piaras a Pinadh 'sa n'greanaigh*. He forfeited in 1691. His eldest son, Patrick, afterwards lived at *Tigh n'huaighe*, near Kilmacow.

The writer of this note descends from him as follows:—

Pierce Archdeacon, who was McCodo.

Patrick, of Tinahua—the Robust.

John, of Glenmore.

Mary, married (1750) Edward O'Donabhain, commonly called *Sean Eamon*.

Edmond, born, 1760; died, 1817.

John O'Donovan.

That the district which he then saw got the popular name of *Radharc Mha Coda*, i.e., McCody's See or View. They support this by a quotation from an old Eligiac poem of the early part of the last century, written on the death of a Mr. Bryan, of Bawnmore, into whose family McCody's possessions had come. It enumerates his possessions *inter alia* :—

Baile Phrais na m-brataibh Sioda 'as Radharc MhCoda agobhail na gaithe.—("Ballyfras of the silken streamers, and Radharc McCody the windy eminence.")

A castle with three sides of one of its square towers in Rathpatrick, two miles S.W. of Eirke Church, is called *Caislen Phiarais MhicCoda*, i.e., Pierce McCody's Castle.

The above Inquisition of 16th January, 1619, flatly contradicts the foregoing tradition that Eirke, in the Barony of Galmoy, got its name from any transaction between Pierce McCody and Cromwell. The Inquisition states that Richard Archdeacon was seized *inter alia* of a part of *Eirke* and Rathpatrick that were attached as demesne lands to the manor of Bawnmore. The locality was therefore known by the name of Eirke 30 years at least before Cromwell appeared in Ireland. Castle Pierce is still in a good state of preservation, and is in the County Kilkenny, though on the very borders of the Queen's County. It scarcely, however, represents the original dimensions, and may be only one of the square towers of a much larger building.

There was another Castle of the Cody's in Castletown, but of this only a small portion of the north wall remains. It is left of the road leading to Kyle, on Mr. L. Harte's farm. It was originally within a square enclosure of about 185 feet by 130 feet, surrounded by a fosse 12 feet deep and 14 feet wide, the inside being lined with stone. The walls of the Castle appear to have been 7 feet thick.

On Patrick Archdeacon's (great grandfather of J. O'Donovan) land at Tinnahoe, Iverk, according to an old legend, was situated a lake, from which emerged or glided forth beautiful horses of black colour. Patrick became anxious to learn all about those horses, and one skilled in the "black art" informed him that they were *enchanted*, and also instructed him how he might secure one of them. He caught one, which brought him in after years seven young ones, but having, through forgetfulness or neglect, violated the rules of his "informant," and having moreover scolded the mother and used the name of the devil, calling her ugly names, she neighed three times, after a mysterious manner, and having broken from his grasp, she, with her seven foals, sprang towards the lake, and disappeared beneath the surface of its bosom. John O'Donovan remarks on the above that the oldest reference to a belief in supernatural aquatic horses which he had met with was entered in a vellum manuscript of Trinity College, and related the *Tria mirigilia de Glenn Dallain*, or "the three wonders of Glen Dallan," in the County of Tyrone. In 1657 the following members of the Archdeacon family appear in the list of forfeiting proprietors :—

BARONY OF COWRAN.

Redmond Archdeacon, Ologhlea,
 John Archdeacon,
 Henry Archdeacon, Alderman, Kilkenny.

GALMOY BARONY.

Peter Archdeacon, Rathpatrick.

BARONY OF CRANAGH.

Ellen Archdeacon.

KILKENNY LIBERTIES.

James Archdeacon, Edmond Archdeacon.

(2)—CARUCAT.

A carucate, according to Hore's "Ancient Measures of Land" (p. 19), "was as much land as could be tilled in a year with one plough and the beasts belonging thereto." He adds that it varied in extent in different counties from 60 to 120 acres. In Northumberland county, in the time of King John, 6 carucates made the 3rd part of a *knight's fee*. In the 25th year of Edward I. (1297) 9½ carucates made the 3rd part of a *knight's fee* in the county of Lancaster. In Lincoln county so many as 48 carucates went to make one *knight's fee* in the reign of King John (1199, 1216)—the hide was the measure used in the reign of Edward—the Confessor and the *Carucate*, the standard introduced by William the Conqueror. The contents of the *Carucate* were different in different counties, and sometimes even in different districts of the same county, and from what has been said we may conclude that as a *fixed* measure it was both *vague* and *indefinite*. Some ancient books and charters made it to contain 100 acres, others set it down at 120 acres, whilst a third book states it consisted of 240 acres. The following, regarding the Carucate, appear certain:—In the first years of Richard I. (1189-99) it consisted of 60 acres, and was subsequently fixed at 100 acres. In the 23rd Edward III. (1350) a *carucate* of land in Burcester was 112 acres, and in Middleton 150 acres. The same *indefiniteness* characterizes nearly all the "terms" of land measurement occurring in the Inquisitions, and makes it exceedingly difficult to assign any one of them a *certain* or even an approximate quantity.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION IX.)

"Kilkenny, 27th April, 1609.

RICHARD SHEE,¹ Knight, died at Bonestowne, in the county Kilkenny, 10th August, in the 6th year of the present King's reign. Luke Shee is son and heir of the said Richard, and was then 39 years of age, and married. The said Richard at the time of his death was seized, in fee, of the manor, town, and lands of Aghowre² and Uppercourte, in the county aforesaid, containing 11 carucates of land arable, pasture, pasturage, moor, wood, and underwood, and of 1 water mill, with the market to be held on every weekly Tuesday, by payment thereof annually to John, Bishop of Ossory, and his successors, £10 for all services. The premises are held from the King by Knight's service. The said Richard was also seised of the third part of the town of Ballyroe, containing 1 carucate of land; and of 1 castle thereon; and of 6s. 8d. rent issueing out of the remaining two parts of the said town; which premises are held from Oliver Shortall,³ of Ballylorcan, in the county of Kilkenny, as of his manor of Ballylorcan, for the annual rent of 18d. He was also seised of the manor of Glashcro,⁴ as also of the advowson of the church thereof, and of the principal messuage of Glashcro; of a long store house, in which an oven is set up; of a large terrace, and that part of the castle (site) on which the said terrace is raised; of 1 columbarry thereon; and of two parts of all the lands in the town of Glashcro, divided into three parts, containing two carucates of land.

The premises are held from the aforesaid Oliver Shortall, as of his manor of Castledowgh, by fealty and suite of court. He was also seised of the towns and lands of Browneston and Ourraghavoyneigh, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate, which are held from the said Oliver Shortall, by fealty; the reversion of the castle and moieties of the town of Cowleishell, expectant on a State-tail made by the said Richard Shee, Knight to Edmond Grace, late of Cowleishell, and the premises are held from the said Oliver Shortall, as of his manor of Castledowgh, by fealty and suite of court; of 5 acres of meadow in Couleishill, parcel of the big meadow called 'the great meadow' of Couleishill, and are held from the said Oliver Shortall; of the castle of 'Barde's-haies' and 'Pricke-lands,' containing 1 carucate of land; the castle, lands and tenements, called 'Symon's lands,' in Castledowgh, which are held from the said Oliver; the castle, lands, and tenements of Suttentrath, containing 4 carucates of land and 8 arable acres, which are held from the said Oliver; the town and lands of Tollaghglysee, containing 2 carucates of land, by paying therefrom and for the towns and tithe charges of Arlagh and Farrenedive, 20s. to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, the same being held from the said Earl; of the town of Ardlough and the tithe

charges of the same, containing 2 carucates of land, by paying from thence and for the aforesaid towns of Tollaghglysse and Farrenedive the said Earl 20s; and the premises are held from the present King for the said rents in free socage. Of the town, lands and tenements of Farrenedive, containing 1 carucate of land, rendering thence, and for the aforesaid towns of Tollaghglysse and Ardough, 20s. to the said Earl; and the premises are held from the said Earl as of his manor of Donmore by fealty, and the rents aforesaid. He was also seised of the manor of Dromedeligin *al.* Thornback, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land, which is held from the Bishop of Ossory by fealty and suite of courte; of the third part of the lands and tenements of the town of Keatingstown, with the moieties in bosage of the aforesaid town, containing one carucate of land, and the premises are held as of the manor of Dromdelgan, by fealty; of Magheryreagh and "Black-acre," containing 20 acres (small measure), which are held as of the manor of Dromdelgan aforesaid, by fealty; of the tithe charges of Farrenbrock "chaple" and Wallestown *al.* Ballynvalle, containing two acres (great measure), which are held from the King in free socage; of the manor of Oromock *al.* Browneston, containing 3 carucates of land, which manor is held from the said Earl in free socage; of 5-6th part of the town of Ballibrenan, containing 2 carucates of land, which are held from the said Earl in free socage; of 'Alderne wood' and Ballendoyne *al.* Bowlyshee, containing 3 carucates of land, and Drylingston 2 carucates, which are held from the said Earl; Carristown of 2 carucates, which are held from Robert Grace by fealty; 5 parts of Braveston, containing 2 carucates of land, which are held from the said Robert; Rossenarrow *al.* Owny, 1 carucate, which are held from Viscount Mountgarrett as of his manor of Kells; Lymoneston, 1 carucate, with commonage of pasture in Muchmore for the aviaries of the tenants of Lymenston, and the premises are held from Richard Butler of Kerrihill, as of his manor of Kerrihill, by fealty; Castletown, 5 carucates, which are held from Richard Archdeacon, as of his manor of Galmoy, by fealty; and 4 caples⁶ of land in Cowlcashin,⁷ which are held as of the manor of Cowlcashin, by fealty. The said Richard Shee was also seised of 1 messuage in Kilkenny, 1 garden and 1 orchard, 1 other messuage in the same called 'Emlyne's Hall,' and 1 messuage called 'Coostiloft,' 1 messuage called 'fowling-house,' 3 messuages covered with thatch in the 'High-street,' 2 messuages in the 'New-Keey,' 7 tenements in Walkingstreet, 2 thatched tenements with garden in Croker-street, 1 messuage with garden in Castel-street, 1 castle and 6 messuages with garden annexed in Magdalin-street, 1 columbary with garden in St. John's, 1 columbary with curtilage nigh the common meadow, 2 messuages and 2 gardens in St. John's-street, 3 acres arable in the 'Magdalins,' 1 enclosure with garden near the 'Coorsies pond,' 1 garden in St. John's, which is demised to Thomas Cardife, 1 garden near the 'Magdalins,' 1 enclosure near Blackvyll, 1 enclosure near Robert's hill, 10 acres of meadow called 'Fowlinge and Sweetman's meadowe,' 1 enclosure near 'Walking's,' 1 orchard near 'Walking's gate,' called 'Dullard's orchard;

1 garden next adjoining the said orchard, 7 arable acres near 'Magor's Park,' 2 small enclosures adjoining the river Dregagh, 20 arable acres in 'the Knockes' and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres between the 'Knockes' and the 'Bregagh,' all which are held from the said Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, by tenure burgage; 3 acres in Grauntethorne, 1 garden joining the King's way leading to 'Stanosmylls,' and 1 garden adjoining which are held from the said Earl; 1 stone house called 'the corner house of the Irish towne' is held from the Bishop of Ossory '*in jure Ecclesiæ*,' 1 messuage 'in the Dame's street' is held from the said Bishop; 20 acres arable and pasture in Colen-grannagh *al.* Goosehill, rendering from thence annually to the said Bishop, 6s. 8d.; 1 water mill and 6 tenements covered with thatch 'in the Freerestreet in Kilkenny;' 1 garden near St. James's Green, rendering from thence to the said Bishop annually, 6s. 8d., and the premises are held from the said Bishop in free burgage; 1 garden and 1 messuage in Tullaherin, held from the said Bishop by fealty; 4 messuages, 4 gardens, and 4 acres of arable lands in Corrastown, and within the liberties of the said town which are held from Thomas Denn and Richard Archdeacon, as of their manor of Thomastown, by burgage tenure; 1 messuage, 1 garden, and 1 curtilage in the North-street of Kilkenny; 2 messuages with gardens and orchards in St. John's-street, and 12 acres of land, arable and pasture in Banemoor, which are held from the said Earl; 1 bakehouse and 6 [] which are held from the King; the manors and towns of Tascoffin, Ballenrunagh, Granesegh, Oolephoble and 'Seskyn-wood,' containing 5 carucates of land, yielding from thence annually to the said Bishop of Ossory *in right of his Church*, £4, and the premises are held from the King in capite; the rectory and manse of Poorstowne which are held from the King in free soccage; 7 arable acres in the "burgagery" of Dongarvan which are held as of the manor of Dongarvan, by fealty and suite of court; "Walshe's-heises" with appurtenances containing 1 carucate of land are held from James Foristall, as of his manor of Kilferagh, by fealty and the rent of 10s. and 10 arable acres called *Farren-McReman* in Ballyregan, which are held as of the manor of Dongarvan in burgage by fealty; and also of 2 messuages, 3 gardens, 3 curtilages, and one acre in the town of Garrovane and burgagery of the same town, held from the said Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, by fealty and suite of court. There is no female dowered of $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the premises."

(1)—THE O'SHEE FAMILY.

"The O'Shee's or O'Sheths," says the Rev. J. Graves, "were a Milesian family, of whom the head seems to have been the chief of *Ui-Rathach*, in *Iveragh*, County Kerry," (Antiq. St. Canice's Cathedral p. 309). O'Heerin's Topographical Poem favours *Iveragh* as their local settlement:—

"Without dispute, an extensive land
Was obtained by O'Shea chief of *Iveragh*."

In the Annals of the Four Masters under 1095, is mentioned the death of *Mathghamhain Ua Seaghdha* Lord of *Corca-Dhuibhne*. Dr. O'Donovan

in a note remarks:—"According to O'Heerin's Topographical Poem, O'Falvy who was the senior of the race of King Conary II. in Ireland, was chief of the territory of Corca-Dhuibhne or Corcaguiny, which extended from the river Mang westwards to the strand Finntraigh, now Ventry, in the now County of Kerry; and O'Shea was chief of Ui-Rathach, now the barony of Iveragh in the west of the same county; and this is evidently correct, though O'Shea who was of the same race with O'Falvy was sometimes chief lord of all the race of Conary." The above notice of the demise of Mahon O'Shea, in 1095, is noticed again under 1096, and is the earliest mention of the name we find in the ancient annals. Playfair says that the ancient family of Shee is descended from the house of Olioll Olum, King of Munster, in the year 250 of whom in a direct line descended Odamus O'Shee, father of Robert, father of Richard, whose son Robert had a son Richard who was father of Cormack O'Shee of Cloghran, in the County of Tipperary. This agrees with Keating's account who derives the origin of the family from the same stock—Oiliolir Olum. "From this Oiliol Olum's spreading branches descended the following families according to the Munster Annals, viz., O'Shee, the Shealbhach, the Maothains, &c."

From K. Olioll descended in direct line Odanus O'Shee, from whom as follows:—

Robert, son of Odanus

Richard

Robert

Richard

Cormack O'Shee, of Cloghran, Co. Tipperary.

Richard

Thadens O'Shee, Lord of Drangan, Cloghran, Clone, O'Shee, Oramin's Castle and the Cantred of Tirnane—O'Shee, &c.

He left issue four sons, viz.—(1) William, (2) Odonius, (3) John, (4) Edmond, all four obtained letters of denization from Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, dated at Clonmel, 15th Richard the second, 1381. The following is a copy of the "Denizen":—"Rex, etc., omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, etc.; salutem. Sciatis quod pro fine viginti solidorum Nicholas Hotot clerico hanaperio cancellarie nostre Hibernie persoluto, concessimus *Odonio O'Shee, Willielmo O'Shee, Johanni O'Shee, et Edmundo O'Shee* pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod ipsi et omnes exitus sui utriusque sexus, tam procreati quam procreandi, liberi sint status et conditionis et ab omni servitute hibernicali liberi sint et quieti; et quod respondeant in quibuscunque curiis Hibernie; et quod ipsi gaudeant et utantur leges Anglicane in omnibus et per omnia eodem modo quo Anglici in terra nostra Hibernie ea gaudent et

utuntur; et quod libere possint adquirere sibi bona et catalla, terras et tenementa et inde disponere et in eis succedere tanquam Anglici in terra nostra predicta; et quod libere possint habere et possidere quecumque beneficia Ecclesiastica conditionibus Hibernicis non obstantibus; dum tamen iidem Odonius, Willelmus, Johannes et Edmundus vetagii nostri non existant.

"In cujus rei, etc., Teste Edmundo de mortuo Mare comitate Marcii et Ultonie locum nostrum tenente—Apud Clonmell.

"Sexto die Novembris, anno quinto Richardi Secundi, 1381-2."

The "Cartulary" of Sir Richard Shee, contains a copy of the confirmation of the foregoing letters of denizenship, from Ric. II, by Henry VI, and is as follows:—"O'Shee free Denizen.

"Henricus Sextus Dei gratia rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere pervenerunt Salutem:—Sciatis quod nos volentes Richardum Sheeth alias *O'Shee* de Hibernica natione existentem favore prosequi gracioso gratia nostra speciali de assensu dilecti et fidelis nostri Thome Fitzmorice comitis Kildar deputati carissimi consanguinei nostri Ricardi Ducis Eboraci locum nostrum tenentis terre nostre Hibernie, *concessimus* prefato Ricardo Sheeth quod ipse et omnes exitus sui procreati et procreandi liberi sint status et libere conditionis et ab omne servitute hibernicali liberi et quieti; et quod Ipsi legibus Anglicanis in omnibus et per omnia uti possint et gaudere, eodem modo quo homines Anglici infra dictam terram eas habent et eis gaudent et utuntur. Quodque Ipsi respondeant et respondeantur quibuscumque curiis Hibernie, et quod ipsi omni modo terras, tenementa, redditus, servicia, officia et alias possessiones quascumque adquirere, habere, occupare, et eis gaudere sibi, hereditis et assignatis suis in perpetuum ac in eisdem succedere et de eis hereditari valeant. Ac etiam ad quemcumque beneficia Ecclesiastica tam dignitates quam alia beneficia Ecclesiastica promoveri et admitti, et ea habere, acceptare, occupare et eis gaudere possint prout homines Anglici infra dictam terram nostram ea habent et eis gaudent absque aliqua impetitione vel impedimento, perturbatione sine gravacione nostri, heredum, successorum officiariorum vel ministrorum nostrorum quorumcumque, aliqua condicione hibernicali, aut aliquibus aliis statutis, actis, ordinacionibus, provisionibus vel privilegiis ante hec tempora inde in contrarium factis non obstantibus. Dum tamen idem Richardus Sheeth et exitus sui predicti ut fideles ligei nostri erga nos et heredes nostros ac fidelem populum nostrum se habeant et gerant in futurum.

"In ejus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes teste prefato Deputato Apud Naas, decimo octavo die Novembris, anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto. Prendregest per petitionem ipsum deputatum, indersatum et privato Sigillo suo consignatum, et per sex solidos et octodenarios solutos in heraprio, anno Domini, 1458."

Odonius the second, was the only one said to have left issue, viz., an only son, Robert, who left (1) Thadeus, (2) Cormack. Thadeus is recorded to have slain, in 1433, John Butler, brother of the Baron of Dunboyne, and it is a tradition of the family that it was this un-

fortunate act which gained the confirmation by Henry VI, of the "Denizenship" of Richard II, given above. Dunboyne thereupon entered into Drangan, Sheesland, and other parcels as an eric according to Irish custom. Thadeus married Margaret daughter and heiress of William Briton, by whom he had (1) Robert, (2) John, who lived at Waterford, and had issue, (3) Arthur, (4) William; Robert, the eldest, married Ellen, daughter of — Bermingham, by whom he had an only son Richard O'Shee, who was sent to school at Waterford. He married Rose, daughter of — Archer, by whom he had a son Robert, who is commonly said to have been the first who settled at Kilkenny. The Ormonde MSS., however, make mention of one Thomas Sheth Portrieve, of Kilkenny, in 1396, and again, in 1422, on which latter occasion his name is spelt "Shee," in the municipal records. The last named Robert O'Shee, led a 100 men of Kilkenny, (of which he was Sovereign, in 1493 and 1496), against Turlogh O'Brien, and was slain at the battle of Mealiffe or Moyalliff, in 1500. He left, by his wife, Catherine Sherlock, a son Richard, and four daughters, viz.—(1) Joan, married to Thomas Motheley, Esq.; (2) Beale married to Thomas Pembroke, Esq.; (3) Mary, married to James Forstal, Esq.; (4) Alson, married to John M'Donell, Esq. Richard, only son and heir, married Joan, daughter of Ellias Archer, of Ross, by whom he had issue, five sons and three daughters, viz.—(1) Edmond, married to Lady Lettice Hackett; (2) Nicholas, married to Beale Walsh; (3) William, married to Margaret Walsh; (4) Robert, of whom presently; (5) Thomas, married to Beal Butler—(1) Austace, (2) Catherine, (3) Lettice.

Robert O'Shee, the fourth son, purchased lands in Kilkenny, and became M. P. for the City, in 1559. He was J. P. of the County, and Sovereign of the City, in 1543 and 1553. He was buried in the Choir of St. Mary's Church.

According to Playfair's "Baronetage of Ireland," (vol. ix., appendix cxxx., London, 1811) he was the fourth son of Richard, and grandson of Robert, who was slain at Moyalle, in 1500. Burke's "Commoners," published, in 1832, makes him the eldest son of Richard, whose issue are set down as follows:—Richard Shee, of Kilkenny, who married Joan, daughter and heir of Elias Archer, of Ross, by his wife, Marion, daughter and heir of — de la Hyde, of the same place, whose lands he inherited, had five sons and three daughters, viz., (1) Robert, his successor; (2) Thomas, who married Beale Butler, and had two sons and two daughters; (3) William, married Margaret Walsh, and had seven sons and four daughters, of whom Pierce Shee, the eldest, was Recorder of Kilkenny. William (the father) died in 1584, and is buried in St. Mary's choir, in Kilkenny, under a flat tombstone bearing the following inscription:—

"Hic Jacet Wilhemus Shee, quondam Burgensis Vill Kilkenne
qui obiit 1584 uxor ejus Margareta Walshe

(4) Nicholas married Beale Walshe and had issue; (5) Edmund married Lettice Cranesborough and had issue.

(VI.) Katherine, married first to Michael Boyle, Esq., and secondly to Nicholas Garvey, Esq., by both of whom she had issue.

(VII.) Lettice, married to John Sweetman, Esq., of Callan.

(VIII.) Austice—this lady was married thrice.

Robert Fitz-Richard left by his wife, Margaret Rothe, of the family of Jenkin Rothe, Kilkenny, five sons and six daughters, viz. :—(1) Richard (Sir), his heir ; (2) Elias ; (3) Marcus ; (4) Mathew ; (5) Andrew.

(1) Marion, married to Thomas Archer, Esq.

(2) Joan, married, first, to Luke Blake, Esq., and secondly to ——— Rothe, Esq.

(3) Honor, married to John Archer Fitzwalter, of Corbetstown, and had issue. She died 24th August, 1616, and was interred under a mural monument in St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny, on which were the arms of Archer, impaling those of Shee, with a Latin inscription underneath.

(4) Ellen, married to Richard Archdeacon, and had issue.

(5) Cicely, married to John Archer, Esq., and had issue.

(6) Rose, married to James Sherlock, Esq., of Waterford.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Richard Shee, the subject of the above Inquisition. He was an eminent lawyer, and professionally engaged by the Ormonde family, through whose influence he probably received the honour of knighthood. In the "Description of Ireland, A.D. 1598," he is mentioned amongst "men of account;" and the editor, Father Hogan, S.I., notices him as follows :—"Sir Richard Shee hailed from Uppercourt, in the Co. Kilkenny, and Cloran in Tipperary ; he was the son of Robert Shee and Margaret Rothe ; a Member of Gray's Inn ; Seneschal of Irishtown in 1568 ; Deputy Treasurer to the Earl of Ormonde (Lord Treasurer of Ireland) in 1576 ; knighted in 1589, and died at his castle of Bonnettstown in 1608. By his will he left an injunction on his son Lucas to build an alms-house, and he left his curse on any of his descendants who should ever attempt to alienate the property provided for its maintenance, which consisted chiefly of impropriate tithes." The front of the "alms-house" or "hospital" here mentioned faces Rose Inn-street, the back gable extending to Mary's-lane, which originally was part of St. Mary's churchyard. On the gable fronting Rose Inn-street is a shield charged with the armorial bearings of the Shee family. The blazonry is pretty perfect, and the *achievement* seems to be nearly in accordance with the *patent* obtained by Sir Richard Shee in 1582, under the seal of Robert Clarendieux, King-at-Arms, entitling him and his descendants to bear eight coats quarterly.

The following is a copy of the patent, from the original in the possession of N. Power O'Shee, J.P., D.L., Gardinmorris :—

"To all and si gular, as well as nobles as gentles, as others to whom these presents shall come, be seen, heard, read or understoode, Robert Cooke, Esquire, *alias* Clarendieux, King-of-Arms, and principall herald of the east, west and south parts of this realme of England, sendeth

greeting in our Lord God everlasting. Anciently, from the beginning, the valiant and virtuous acts of excellent persons hath been commended to the worlde and posterity, with sundry monuments and remembrances of their good desearthes. Amongst the which the chieftest and most usual hath been the bearing of signs and tokens in *shields*, called *armes*, being evident demonstrations and testimonies of prowesse and valour diversely distributed, according to the qualities and desertes of the person meriting the same, which order, as it is prudently devised to stirre up and enflame the heartes of men to the imitation of virtue, even so hath the same been continued from time to time, and yet is continually observed to the intent that such as have done commendable service to their prince and country, either in warre or peace, may therefore receive honour in their lives, and also derive (*devise* Ed.) the same successively to their offspring and posteritie for ever. Amongst the which number Richard Shee, of Kilkenny, in Ireland, and of the Grey's Inns, in England, being one of the bearers of these tokens of honour hath instantly requested me, the said Clarencieux, to assign, blaze, marshall, and sett forth *his ancient armes and crest*, as by just descent he may lawfully beare them, and, being blazed and sett forth, to deliver the same unto him under my hande and seale of mine office, and to exemplify and regester the same within the Regesters and Recordes of the Offices of Armes for the accomplishment whereof, I, the said Clarencieux, King-of-Armes, by the power and authority to me committed by letters patentes, under the Great Seale of England, have ratified, confirmed, regestered and allowed unto the said Richard Shee, Esquire, these *armes and crest* hereafter following, as the same doth lineally descend unto him from his ancestors, viz., that is to say, the first for Shee, the field, azure and golde, per bend, indented, two fleur-de-lys counter-changed, *which was the armes of Odoneus O'Shee*, and the second, the field, gules, three swords per fesse, silver hiltes and pommeles, golde, and *that was the armes of William O'Shee*. The third, the field, sable, three broad arrow-heads, silver, *which was the armes of John O'Shee*, and the fourth, the field, gules, three swords, silver-hilted and pommeled golde, two of them in salter, and the third in palle, *which was the armes of Edmund O'Shee*. The fifth, the field, silver-a-cheveron, between three broad arrow-heads, sables, *which is the armes of Archer*. The sixth, golde and gules, per palle indented, *which is the armes of Bermingham*. The seventh, the field is silver, three barres gules, over all a bend sable, *which is the armes of de la Hyde*, and the eighth is as the first. And to the *crest* upon the helme, upon a wreath, gold and azure, a swan, rous and sable, mantled gules, doubled silver, as more plainly appeareth depicted in the margent,* which armes and crest, and every part and parcell thereof, the said Clarencieux, King-of-Armes, by these presents, do ratify, confirme and allowe to the said Richard Shee, Esquire, and his posterity, and he and they, the same to

* The arms are emblazoned on the parchment.

use, beare and set forth in shield, coat-armour, or otherwise, at his and their liberty and pleasure, according to the ancient laws of armes, without let or interruption of any person or persons.

"In witness whereof, I, the said Clarencieux, King-of-Armes, have signed these presents with mine hand, and set thereunto the seale of my office, the seventh day of August, anno Domini 1582, and in the XXIIIth year of the reigne of our Most Gracious Sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth.

"ROBERT COOKE *alias* CLARENCIEUX,

"Roy d'Armes.

"Entered in the

"Office of me,

"RICHARD ST. GEORGE,

"Ulster King-of-Arms."

The blazonry of the arms on the front of O'Shee's "Alms House," Rose-Inn-Street, Kilkenny, is as follows:—

"First and fifth, or, a bend indented, azure, two fleur-de-lis, counter-changed of the second. Second,—gule's three swords fesswise, the middlemost pointing to the dexter side, all pommel'd—Or; Third,—sable-three pheons of the field. Fourth,—three swords, two in saltire, points downwards; third in pale, point upwards, all pommel'd—Or; Sixth,—argent, a bend sable, over three bars gules. Seventh,—or, a bend indented sable. Eighth, argent, a chevron, between three pheons sable."

This blazonry differs somewhat from that obtained, under the above Patent, but so little that we may excuse the artist, who in later years attempted to renew the original colours and somewhat mistook them.

Underneath this shield is the following inscription:—"Insignia Richardi Shee, Kilkeniensis, Armigeri qui hoc Zenodochium fieri fecit, 1582."

Trans. "The arms of Richard Shee, Kilkenny, Esquire, who had this Hospital erected, 1582."

In the rere gable in Mary's Lane, is inserted another shield of six coats with the arms of Sherlock impaled, viz., "*per pale or and argent two fleur-de-lis.*"

Here again this latter had been, or should have been "*per pale argent and azure two fleur-de-lis counterchanged.*" This shield has on its dexter and sinister sides the letters R. S. floriated, and underneath the following inscription:—"Insignia Richardi Shee, Kilkeniens', armigeri et Margarete Sherlock, uxoris illius qui hoc Zenodochium fieri fecerunt, 1582."

Trans. "The arms of Richard Shee, Kilkenny, Esquire, and of Margaret Sherlock, his wife, who (both) had this hospital erected, 1582."

On a square block inserted also in this rere gable are inscribed the words of a passage from Tobias :—"Elemosina liberat a morte purgat peccata et fecit viam ad misericordiam et vitam eterna."

Trans. "Alms free from death, expiate sin and open the way to mercy and eternal life."

A square stone originally the base of an ancient monumental cross and preserved for a long time in this hospital had been removed I was informed to the Presbytery St. Mary's. On one side is a shield charged with three swords in fess, the middle one pointing to the dexter side for Shee ; *impaling a chevron-in-chief three cups covered* for Fagan. Margaret Fagan being the second wife of Sir Richard Shee.

The following inscription may be read on the remaining sides of the block :—

"Christ's picture humblie worshipp,
thou which by the same doest pass,
Y. picture worshipp not but him for whom
depicted was
ffor what this picture shois ys God
itself noe God can be this newe bn. (born)
With thy harte *** dost see.
this monument of pieti dame Margaret
Fagan erected for her husbände Sir
Richarde Shee Knighte deceased.
Pray for him."

The Alms House was fully endowed accordindg to the will of Sir Richard, by his son and heir Lucas Shee, who, moreover, obtained from the Privy Council and Lord Deputy Chichester, in 1608, certain ordinances for the regulation of "the master brethern and sisters of the Hospital of Jesus Christ, in Kilkenny."

It was sold by Edmund (great grandson of Lucas O'Shee), of Cloran, but was repurchased by John O'Shee, of Sheestown and Gardenmorris, at the close of the last centary. It was repaired some years ago, by the present Mr. O'Shee, of Gardenmorris, and the use of it given to the poorer dressmakers of the City, under the supervision of the Committee of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The cells of the ground floor were removed, and the upper loft, all one apartment, afforded a commodious place for such employment.

The most interesting record of the O'Shee family, is the "cartulary" of Sir Richard Shee, at present in the posession of N. Power O'Shee, Esq., J. P., D. L., of Gardenmorris. It is entitled "A Book, exemplified under the great seale of this realme, of Ireland, containing certaine evidencis, munimentes and other writings of Richard Shee, of Kilkenny, Esquire, his lands and tenementes, within the said realme."

It contains 160 folios relating to different events and documents, and certified to, as authentic, by the following patent, under the sign manual of Queen Elizabeth, in 1575.

Patent letters
of
Queen
Elizabeth,
1575.

Reciting
various deeds,
charters,
&c.,
contained in
the
cartulary,

and
giving copy
of—

“Elizabeth Dei gratia Anglie Frantie et Hibernie regina fidei defensor, &c, cum dilectus subditus noster Richardus Shee alias Sheeth, de Kilkenny armiger secum dubitans de diversis periculis, que sibi tam in guerris quam aliter combustionē seu aliter quovis modo contingere poterint, ac eisdem quantum in se easse obviare volens; *quemdam librum membraneum* ad suum eximium sumptum accurate scriptum ac in diversa Scripta chartas ac evidēcias hereditatem ac patrimonium dicti Richardi tangentia, et concernentia coram Nobis in cancellaria nostra Hibernie; publice ac manifeste protulit et adduxit cum omni humilitate de Nobis Postulans, et eundem librum per auctoritatem dicte curie nostre diligenter examinatem, et cum cartis, Scriptis, et munimentis suis predictis; in curia predicta probatis, collectum pro meliori auctoritate ac fide ejusdem sub testimonio magni Sigilli nostri regni nostri Hibernie de gratia nostra speciali *corroborari* dignaremur; cujus precibus nos in hac parte inclinati *predictum librum* in forma predicta examinatum et cum cartis scriptis et munimentis predictis diligenter et accurate collatum fuisse. Per presentes innotesimus et declaramus pro et sequitur.”

The “Cartulary” also contains copies of the original “Denizen,” and grant of arms to Odoneus O’Shee, 6th November, 1381, which mark of favour has been accounted for by a tradition in the family that he and his brothers served in the French wars of Edward III., which procured for them the insignia and motto on the arms, the “Rara avis,” the French lilies, and the “Vincit Veritas.” When several centuries later Mathias Shee, of Nantes, obtained *letters de noblesse* from Louis XV. these fleur-de-lis were permitted to be retained in his arms only after strict inquiry, and a formal permission, stating “Son ancienne noblesse et son attachement a la religion Catholique,” the latter having caused his expatriation. As Richard II. was only 15 years of age in 1381 it is reasonable to suppose that the device and arms were given as a reward of services under his father, the Black Prince. Some time after the Irish prefix to the name was dropped, doubtless in obedience to the necessities of Irish policy and to facilitate alliances, &c., with the Anglo-Normans, but although the members of the family dropped the “O,” their lands continued to be called, as before, *Texnane O’Shee*, *Cloghrane O’Shee*, &c. The present townland of *Booly Shea*, in the barony of Orannagh; Parish of St. Canice, is named in the “cartulary,” *Booly O’Shee*. “Shee” and “Shea” are of course forms of the Irish *Seaghdha*, but the Kilkenny and Tipperary Branches preserved the former as far back as 1381. Besides Mathias, above mentioned, there were distinct branches of Sir Richard’s descendants existing in France up to a recent date.—The last members were Count Henry Shee, Peer of France, Baron Redmond Shee.

Baron de Shee, General Richard Shee and Colonel O'Shee, *chevalier de la legion d'honneur*, &c., who died at Alençon, in Normandy, in 1880. He was the last of the Cloran branch.

The monument of Sir Richard Shee, in St. Mary's Church yard, is another object of interest. It is inclosed within an iron paling, and consists of front and table, arched overhead like a recess. The table supports four stone pillars, ornamented with capitals, and dividing the front into three round arched compartments. The architrave of the entablature is divided into three pannels, moulded and embordered, bearing the following inscription:—"Inclyta Richardi Sut—insignia Sheti Militis Aurati Nobilis antque prob." Translation:—"The illustrious armorial charges of Richard Sheth (Shee), *Knight*, noble and upright." Underneath are four shields charged as follows.—(I.)—*Party per pale—dexter—three phaeons;—sinster—by a tree a stag recumbent.** (II.)—*Three swords fess-wise, the middle pointing to the dexter side* (for Shee), *impaling a chevron-in-chief, three covered cups—*(for Fagan.) (III.)—*Party per pale—dexter—a bend indented, two fleur-de-lis; sinster—in pale two fleur-de-lis—*(for Sherlock.) (IV.)—*Party per pale—dexter—three swords, two saltire wise, points downwards,—third in pale, point upwards; sinster—quarterly—first and fourth, a chief, indented; second—three cups covered; third—a lion rampant.* There is no inscription on this monument beyond the above:—

The following regarding its erection appears in the last will of Sir Richard Shee himself:—"I bequeath my soul to God, and my bodye to be buried in my said ffather's buriall in my parish church of our Ladye in Kilkennye. Executors of this my last will and testament I doe make, constitute, and appoynte my sonnes Lucas Shee, Marcus Shee, and John Shee; whom I doe appoynte to buylde a decent monument of the value of 100 marks sterling over my said buriall. And a chaplen to be kept, &c., as formerly I advysed; wishing if Shee (his second wife) shall see allow thereof that shee and I might be buried together in the newe monument see to be buylded; and my late deare wyfe Margaret Sherlock's bodye to be brought from the other monument thither with us." Beside this monument of Sir Richard Shee is also erected a *fac-simile* one to Elias Shee. This latter bears an inscription, and shall be noticed hereafter.

I think it well to remark here that some confound *armiger* with *Eques* or *militis aurati*, and translate it *Knight*, whereas it means only *Esquire*, which in feudal times was a real title of honour.

This mistake is made in Hogan's "Kilkenny" (p. 317,) where the author supposes that Richard Comerford, of Ballybur Oastle, was *Knighted*, because of the word "Armiger" attached to his name in the inscription on his monument, in Cuffes' Grange Church-yard. In the inscriptions on Shee's Alms House, already given, we have "*Insignia Richardi Shee, Armigeri*," &c., because at the date of the erection, 1582,

*In the painting of Bishop Rothe, preserved at Jenkenstown House, the arms are:—"A Stag argent, trippant by a tree proper."

he was not *Knighthood*, and in the Patent of his arms the title *Esquire*, as we have seen, is only given him. He is styled "*militis aurati*," on his monument, because it was erected after he had received the honour of *Knighthood*, in 1589. A Knight was called *Miles*, because his duty was to serve as a soldier, under his lord in the wars, according to the obligation of his feudal tenure—*Eques*—because he did such service on horseback, and he was called *Eques* or *miles auratus*, because of the gilt spurs, which being useful, added also to the glitter of his military equipment. Sir Richard Shee died at his castle of Bonnestown, on the 10th August, 1608, and was buried in St. Mary's, where the tomb already noticed, was erected to his memory, according to the instructions of his will, dated the 31st December, 1604. With regard to the "will" itself, N. Power O'Shee, Esq., J.P., D.L., Gardenmorris, writes to me to say that it is "a very voluminous and quaint document, the modern Englished copy of which occupies 60 sheets of foolscap, and has partly been published before. There is here an original duplicate. It was dictated by Sir Richard, and the style and English show, the lawyer and *original* Westminster Schoolboy, to have been an amiable as well as clever man." He left by his first wife, Margaret, daughter of John Sherlock, Esq., of Mothel, Co. Waterford, five sons and four daughters, viz.—(1) Robert, who died unmarried during the lifetime of his father; (2) Lucas, his heir of whom hereafter; (3) Thomas, of Freynestown, who married Ellen, daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Dobbyn, Esq., Alderman of Waterford, but died without issue; (4) John, who became a Jesuit. Comparatively, little is known of his history. He lived in days when to be a Jesuit, meant to be hunted like a wild beast. Sir Richard's will, provides that John, his fourth son, being an ecclesiastic, is to have a life provision only, which is to revert to the elder son, or his heirs, (Lucas of Cloghrane.) He is mentioned in Fr. Hogan's, S.I., "Description of Ireland, in 1598," appendix, p. 291, as one of the Society of Jesus, in Rome, in 1609, and aged 28, being then five years a member. Foley's "Collectanea," speaks of him as follows:—"Shee John, born in Kilkenny, in 1581; entered the society in Italy, in 1604; was professed of the four vows. He defended Theology and Philosophy, in a public act; was minister of a College at Naples; appears in Ireland, in 1614 to 1626; was Father Wm. Boyton's,* Professor at Cashel, up to 1627, and was esteemed an amiable and prudent man."

(5) Marcus; (1) Lettice, married John Grace, of Courtstown; (2) Catherine, married, first, Edmund Cantwell, Esq., of Moycarkey Castle, Co. Tipperary, and had a daughter, Catherine Cantwell, who married the Hon. John Butler, son of Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret. Lettice, married, secondly, Richard Fforstall, jun., of Fforstalltown, by whom she also had a daughter, Catherine, who married, in 1650, Mathew Morres, of Ballyrickard-Morres. (3) Margaret, married to James Walshe, Esq., M.P. for Thomastown in 1634. (4) Elizabeth, married to David

* The Boytons, were a very ancient family of Cashel, and a stone in the north transept of the Cathedral, has a shield charged with three rowels, and the name "Boyton."

NOTE.—Date of Sir R. Shee's will should read 24th December, 1603.

Rothe, Esq., of Tullaghmaine, M.P. for the city of Kilkenny, in 1634.

Sir Richard Shee, married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Christopher Ffagan, Esq., Ald., Dublin, but by her, who survived him, left no issue.

He was succeeded by his second son, Lucas, Esq., of Uppercourt, Co. Kilkenny, and of Cloran, Co. Tipperary, to whom his father left most of his Kilkenny, and all his Tipperary estates. He married Ellen, daughter of Edmund Butler, second Viscount Mountgarret, and dying on the 27th July, 1622, at the age of 53 years, left issue, two sons and six daughters, viz.—(1) Robert, his heir; (2) Edmond, married Dorothy, daughter of Nicholas Dormer, of Ross, and died, S.P. (1) Mary, married to Richard Strange, Esq., of Dunkitt. (2) Helena, married to — Archer, Esq. (3) Lettice, married to Sir Thomas Hurley, Bart., of Knocklong, Co. Limerick, and was mother of Sir Maurice Hurley, and of Catherine Hurley, who married Pierce Butler, fifth Lord Dunboyne, who died in 1689. (4) Margaret, married to — Dormer, Esq., of Stokestown. (5) Ellen, married to Richard Lawless, Esq. (6) Dorothy, married to Henry Shee, Esq.

He was succeeded by his elder son and heir, Robert Shee, Esq., of Uppercourt and Cloran. In connection with his uncle, Lord Mountgarret, he took a very zealous part in the Civil War, of 1641-2, and at his house, in Coalmarket, Kilkenny, met for the first time, the representative assemblage, lay and spiritual, of towns and counties, which immediately assumed the form and responsibilities of an influential and powerful Confederation, denominated the "Council of Confederate Catholics." Ledwiche alludes to this important event as follows:—"They (the Confederate Catholics) formed it (the meeting), however, according to the plan of a Parliament consisting of two houses; in the one of which sat the estate spiritual, composed of bishops and prelates, together with the temporal lords, and in the other deputies of the counties and towns as the estate of the Commons by themselves. The meeting was at the house of Mr. Robert Shee, son of Sir Richard Shee (recte grandson of Sir Richard) now Mr. Langford's, in Coal Market; the lords, prelates and commons all in one room.

"Mr Patrick Darcy, bare-headed, upon a stool, representing all or some of the judges and masters of Chancery, that used to sit in Parliament upon wool-sacks; Mr. Nicholas Plunket, represented the Speaker of the House of Commons, and both Lords and Commons addressed their speech to him; the lords had an upper room, which served them as a place of recess for private consultation, and when they had taken their resolutions the same were delivered to the Commons by Mr Darcy." Such is the account of the first meeting of what may be called a Provisional Government of Roman Catholics, resolved, at a critical period of galling exactions and Puritanical machinations, to conduct their own affairs, and shape their own destinies, "till his Majesty's wisdom (Charles I.) had settled the present troubles." Shee's house, from the above circumstance, was called the "Parliament House," but it appears erroneously so, as the parliamentary assemblies were held in the Castle of Kilkenny. Its site is now occupied by the gate-way of the New Market. About

1856, five of its oaken chairs, one of them called the "Speaker's Chair," ornamented with carved *devices* of flowers and leaves, were in the possession of Mr. Richard Kelly, of Ballysalla. He presented one as a specimen to the Museum of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, but unfortunately the "Speaker's chair" had got so broken up that he was unable to forward it. Mr. Kelly had received them, together with an oaken table, also ornamented, from a friend of his, on whom they were bestowed by one Mr. Richard Tresham, an apothecary who had been in occupation of Shee's old "Parliament House" at the beginning of the present century. Amongst the Commoners of the Supreme Confederate Council sat Edward and Robert Fitzwilliam Shee, of the city of Kilkenny—two ecclesiastics *reverses*. James and John Shee also took a lively interest in the stirring scenes of the Confederate period, and John's name appears with those of Bishop Rothe* and other clergymen of the city to the answers to the *queries* of the Supreme Council, in 1648, expressing themselves in favour of the cessation of hostilities, the excommunication and interdict of the Nuncio Rinuccini notwithstanding. William Shee, the father of the above two clergymen, is buried in St. Mary's. In St. Canice the names of the clergymen themselves are commemorated on an intramural slab in the north aisle. The following is the inscription:—

D. O. M.

Rdus. D. Jacobvs Shee, Gvlielmi Senatoris, et in hac Kilkeniensi, civitate bene prudenter et feliciter fvneti ter proetoris officio filius divini cvltus et Animarvm zelo Reliquisque quæ vervm Dei Sacerdotem decent virtvtibvs conspicvvs prebendarius de Tascoffin, vicarivs de Claragh Ecclesiæ Oathedralis Sancti Canici, providvs procurator et Vicariorvm Commvnis avlæ indvstrivs provisor, inter alia pietatis opera monvmentv, hoc sibi suoqve Germano Fratri R. D. Joani Shee, Prebendario de Mayne. Parochiæ Sancti Joannis Evangelistæ, Kilkennicæ, Vicario fieri fecit. Obit D. Jacobvs, Die 29 Mensis, Apri, Ano. Dni, 1648, obisit etiam D. Joannes Die [], Mensis [], Ano, D. 16 []. Eternam illis requiem Ecclesiæ Dei pacem et Tranquillitatem precare viator.

Una parens fausta fratres quos protulit aluo,

Una Sacerdotes continet vrna Duos.

Trans.—To God Omnipotent Most High.

The Rev. Master James Shee (son of William, Alderman, who in this city of Kilkenny had thrice discharged the office of Mayor with credit, prudence and success), conspicuous by his zeal for the worship of God and (the salvation of) souls, as also by those other virtues which become a true priest of God, Prebendary of Tascoffin, Vicar of Claragh, the judicious procurator of the Oathedral Church of St Canice, and industrious provost of the Vicars of the Common Hall; amongst other works of piety he caused this monument to be erected for himself and

*O'Neill had at this time his tents pitched within view of Kilkenny. David Rothe was in his 80th year, and the *queries* which urged him to revolt against the Nuncio, and defy his censures, were presented to him, or fathered on him, by one Walsh, who found it his advantage and conceit to secure the palsied signature of Bishop Rothe, and the signatures of many Franciscans to them.

his own brother, the Rev. Master John Shee, Prebendary of Mayne, Vicar of the parish of St. John the Evangelist, Kilkenny. Master James died on the 29th day of the month of April, A.D. 1648. Master John likewise died on [] day of the month [] A.D. 16 []. Traveller, pray eternal rest to them, and peace and tranquility to the Church of God.

In one of the piers of the south-east gate of the church-yard there is an inserted stone with the following inscription in *alto relievo*—R. D. Jacobvs Shee, procvrator Templi, 1647; and in a yard wall at the foot of St. Canice's steps is another stone with the following in raised Roman capitals also—R.D. Jacobus Shee, Vicariorvm Commvis alvæ provisor, Anno Dm. 1647.

The part taken by the members of the Shee family in the Confederate movement of 1641-2 involved them wholesale in the consequent confiscations of 1653-4, as may be seen in the "Book of Survey and Distribution" which forms the appendix of this work.

The Kilkenny estates of Robert Shee, were divided amongst Sir George Askew, Sir Francis Gore, the Countess of Mountrath, &c., the first-mentioned receiving about 3,659 statute acres, including 953 acres in Freshford and Uppercourt. The arrear due to this Cromwellian soldier, was £200 sterling, for which he received the above number of acres out of Robert Shee's estates. A portion of the Cloran estates was allotted to the latter by the court of claims, the rest being granted to the Duke of Ormonde and others. Robert Shee, married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Masterson, of Fernes, and left issue one son and five daughters, viz.—Richard, his successor. (1) Marian, married to — Cantwell, of Cantwell's Court. (2) Margaret, married to — Butler, of Kildellick. (3) Ellen, married to — Comerford, of Inchiolaghan. (4) Mabel, married — Ragget, of Carnegeale. Richard, his son and successor, of Cloran, commanded an Irish regiment, in the Spanish service in Flanders, during the exile of King Charles the Second, which came to grief at the siege of Arras. He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Everard, of Fethard, Co. Tipperary, and had issue. (1) Edmond his heir; (2) Richard, living in 1682, died S.P.; (3) Margaret, married to Richard Butler, fifth Viscount Mountgarret, and died, S.P. Colonel Shee, married, secondly, Bridget, daughter of — Malone, by whom he had a son Robert, who died, S.P. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Edmond Shee, of Cloran, whose will bears date 23rd July, 1709, and was proved 26th May, 1739. He married Catherine, daughter of — O'Dwyer, of Dundrum, Co. Tipperary, and had one son and four daughters, viz.—Richard, his successor. (1) Margaret, married to Sir John Morres, of Knockagh, Co. Tipperary; (2) Mabel, married to George Lanigan, and had a son, William Lanigan, who married Elizabeth, daughter and eventual heir of Thomas Fogarty, Co. Tipperary, and had a son who became inheritor of the estate, and Lanigan, of Castle Fogarty; (3) Ellen; (4) Bridget. Edmond Shee, was succeeded by his son, Richard Shee, of Cloran, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Michael Grace, of Shangnanagh,

now Gracefield, and dying at Cloran, 30th May, 1743, aged 42 years, left issue by her who survived him, five sons and one daughter, viz.—(1) Edmond, his heir, who sold the ancient estate of Cloran, together with the tithes of Kilmoclehill, the property of Sir Richard Shee's Hospital, of Kilkenny. The hospital, was subsequently repurchased by John O'Shee, Esq., Gardenmorris and Sheestown, in 1796. He died 1785, S.P.; (2) Lucas, a Priest; (3) Michael, died, S.P.; (4) Robert, a Count of France, married 1776, a daughter of Sir Patrick Bellew, and left issue, William, a colonel, in the French service; Knight of the legion of Honour, and died in France, in 1880. With his, the Cloran branch became extinct; (5) John, captain in the Spanish service, died, S.P. (1) Catherine, married in 1761, John Wright, jun., of Cloneen, Co. Tipperary.

To Marcus Shee, his fifth son, Sir Richard bequeathed the castle, lands, &c., Wasesheyes (Sheestown), Blackouse Sheys, alias Cantwell's lands, Ballyragane, his part of the alterage of Tullaroan, and the pursonage of Stonecorty, on condition that the said Marcus pay annually and for ever, out of the same, two shillings sterling to Lucas, his (Sir Richard's) heir and his heirs for ever, and he directs his executors to keep the said Marcus, to the "studdye of the King's lawe," at his own personal charges. Marcus married Ellen, daughter of Oliver Grace, of Courtstown, and left five sons, viz.—(1) Richard, his heir; (2) John; (3) Lucas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Warren, of Castletown, and had a son, Nicholas Shee, M.D., from whom lineally sprang Henry Shee, of Landreces, created a Peer, by Louis XVIII. His heir was killed at the battle of Albuera, on the 16th May, 1811. His sister, Letitia Shee, married Thomas Clarke, of Landreces, (a native of Kilkenny, and Colonel of Invalids in the French service,) and had a son, the celebrated Marshal, Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre, for many years Minister of War, to the Emperor Napoleon; (4) James; (5) Thomas. Marcus was succeeded at his decease by his eldest son and heir, Richard Shee, of Sheestown, who lost his estates, for the part he had taken in the Civil War, of 1641, to the possession of which he was, however, subsequently restored. He married Rose, daughter and heir of Peter Rothe, and was succeeded by his son, Marcus Shee of Sheestown, who married Mary, daughter of Nicholas Plunket, of Dunsoghly, and left issue four sons, viz.—(1) Richard, his successor; (2) Marcus; (3) Nicholas; (4) John, ancestor of the Shees' of Ballyreddan. He made his will on the 16th March, 1684, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard Shee, of Sheestown, who married the Hon. Dymrna Barnwall, daughter of Robert, 12th Lord Trimblestown, and dying 10th December, 1748, was succeeded by his son, Marcus Shee, who married Thomasina, daughter of Thomas Masterson, of Castletown, and had issue—(1) John, his heir; (2) Robert; (3) Richard, a general in the French service; (4) Phillis, died unmarried at Kilkenny, aged 87 years; (5) Dymrna, died unmarried, aged 70 years; (6) Catherine, died unmarried, aged 68 years; (7) Mary, died unmarried. He was succeeded at his death by his eldest son, who adopted the Irish prefix and became

John O'Shee, of Sheestown. He mostly resided at Brussels, but for some time filled the office of Sheriff for the County of Waterford. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Power, of Gardenmorris, County Waterford, and had issue—(1) Richard Power, his heir; (2) Arnold, a major in the Waterford Militia, died 1844, and was buried at Sheestown, in the old church built there by Sir Richard Shee in 1571; (3) John, a colonel in the Austrian service, died at Sheestown in 1809, and was buried in the family-burial there. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard Power O'Shee, of Gardenmorris and Sheestown, who married Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Power, of Snowhill, County Kilkenny, and dying in 1827, aged 59 years. (1) John Power, his heir; (2) Nicholas, born 1821.

(2)—FRESHFORD.

Aghowre or *Acadh-ur*, i.e. the fresh field has somehow been wrongly translated "Freshford." Its rivulets no doubt retain a limped freshness, particularly the one called the *Nuenna* (*Uaithne* transparent, fresh,) chiefly fed near its source by the bubbling springs of *Tober-Phaidraic* of Tubrid-britain, famed in history, as the site of Muirchertuch, MacNiall's bivouac in A.D. 939, when making his circuit of Ireland, at the head of one thousand chosen heroes.

"We were a night in the cold *Maghairbh* (Greene). At the wells of the long-lived Britain"—(Oss. Arch. Trans. vol. 1. p. 46). The scenery round Freshford, is to say the least very charming—and the woods of Upper-court contribute exceedingly to produce a pleasing impression on the eye of the observer. The town itself has not advanced in material prosperity, according to its physical position in the heart of a rich and highly cultivated neighbourhood, where the fields, through all the seasons of the year, mostly preserve their sparkling green verdure. It has, however, olden associations and existing relics which link its present with the early days of Christian civilization, and its "legends" and its "memories" mantle it with sufficient antiquarian interest to recall the past from the deep Tranquility of endless sleep."

About two miles from Freshford, by the banks of the Nore, Heremon, the first Milesian King of all Ireland, erected his *Rath-Beothaigh** (Rathbeagh,) at least over a thousand years before the Christian Era, and having died after a reign of fifteen years, was buried there.

A few miles south of Freshford, in the direction of Kilkenny, and also on the banks of the Nore, is *Airget-Ross* or the Silver Wood, where nearly 700 years B.C.—the hammer of the Artificer, fashioned his silver shields, as presents of distinction for the nobility, and those heroes, who had deserved well in battle. But there are later incidents in Anglo-

* About eleven years ago, Canon Moore, of Johnstown, and myself were informed by an intelligent man, who met us at this very beautiful rath, that he had seen a hole sunk in its centre, from which human bones were thrown up. A massive stone rising to about 2 feet of the surface, was perpendicularly inserted in the earth, answering in all appearance a huge head-stone.—Several implements of war, were also found in the sinking and cleaning up of dykes.

Irish records, to remind us that Freshford is not only seated in the lap of historic land, but that it is itself historic, even in the military sense and the site of one desperate encounter at least, between the men of Ossory and the first Invaders. On the first landing of the English, at Banno, in May, 1169, MacMurrough hastened from his lurking place at the Monastery of Ferns, to meet Robert FitzStephen and Hervey de Montemariaco (Mountmaurice) who headed 30 knights, 60 men-at arms, and 300 Welch archers. The siege and capitulation of Wexford at once followed, and after three weeks rest at Ferns, MacMurrough resolved, with his own collected forces, and the aid of his new allies, to invade Ossory, and revenge himself on Doncadh MacGilla-Patraic, for having put out the eyes of his son, Enna, whom he had detained as hostage. The King of Ossory, strongly entrenched himself with 5,000 men, in the neighbourhood of Gowran, and plashed the roads through the forests against Dermot's army. After great difficulty the English forced the plashed passes, and the Ossorians were put to flight. Dermot and his followers plundered and burnt Ossory before them. On their retreat 2,000 Ossory men lay in wait for them, but having been decoyed from their position, by the tactics of Maurice de Prendergast, they got exposed to the dash of the Norman Cavalry, and the English forces having crossed a marsh, and secured firm ground they wheeled about and having loudly invoked St. David, broke up the reeling ranks of the Irish, and piled 200 of their heads at the feet of Dermot. It is supposed that the King of Ossory fell in this conflict, as after it he disappears from history. His was probably the head which the savage Dermot is said to have seized by the ears, and having leaped thrice from the ground with joy at the sight of the ghastly heap, he bit off the nose and lips, thus gratifying his personal aversion with brutal and revolting barbarity. After this victory Dermot retreated to Leighlin, and thence retired to Ferns, but no sooner had he retired, than he found that Donald, successor of Donach MacGilla-Patraic, had revolted and refused submission to his authority. I need not say from what has been already related, with what haste Dermot summoned together his men and allies to crush his new opponent, and again devastate Ossory. Having crossed the Slaney, Dermot kept with his English allies, whilst Donald Kavanagh, his son, led the van with 500 men. They crossed the Barrow at the usual pass, the old Bridge of Leighlin, and encamped at Dinn Righ, a little south of the town. Donal of Ossory was not idle on his part. He collected together all his available forces, supported by many stout Munster men, and strongly entrenched himself and his army, at "Hachedur," i.e. Achadh-ur, then a fast and close country, and now known as Freshford. Having moved from Leighlin, Dermot crossed the Coolcullen and Muckalee hills, till he came to Magh-Airget Ross, and encamped for a night, by the banks of "a grete rivere," i.e. the Nore. Next morning the engagement began, and after three days desperate efforts to carry the stockade and dislodge the Ossorians from their entrenchments, Dermot was on the point of retiring, when a sudden dash of his English allies won the position. The Ossorians fled in disorder,

and Donal saved himself also by flight, but only after his brave and spirited resistance was further hopeless. Where the King directed his course is not well discovered. It is stated that he fled as far as "Tiberath," through the midst of the land of "Wenenath," and from thence as far as "Bertun." I am of opinion that "Tiberath," is identical with Tubrid or Tubridbrittain, and not with "Tipperary," as is generally supposed. "Wenenath," I take to be an ancient appellation of Achad-ur or Freshford, from *waithne* (fresh or green,) and *ath* (a ford.) "Bertun," has not been identified. The site of the battle was beside the Clachacrow stream, which crosses the Kilkenny road, about a mile from Freshford, towards the city. This stream was anciently called *Ath-na-mara*, i.e. the ford of the dead.

For the site of the battle, no better position could have been selected by the Ossorians. The ground presents the appearance of a defile, protected south and west by hilly ground, and on the east a flying foe would be impeded by the deep waters of the river Nore. The advancing enemy from Airget-Ross direction, could have been annoyed and galled by the cross-bows of scouts, under cover of the hilly woods on their left flank, a circumstance very likely availed of, considering that three days had been spent in assailing and carrying the stockades. The flight of the Munster men must have been in the direction of New Birmingham and Killenaule, through Tullaroan, and its line is very probably indicated by the townland of Ballynamara, on the borders of Tullaroan parish, where many of the fugitives must have fallen under the battle axes of their pursuers, Ballinamara meaning the "town of the dead," or slaughtered.

Turning to the ecclesiastical history of Freshford, we find mention made of a religious house having been founded here by St. Lactan, about the close of the 6th century. Whether this primitive foundation stood on the site now occupied by the modern Protestant Church, which retains the much celebrated ancient doorway, which I will presently notice, admits of some doubt, but to affirm so seems mostly likely, if not positively certain. St. Lactan is said to have belonged to an illustrious family of the county Cork, claiming descent from Conaire II., King of Ireland, (slain A.D., 165, F.M.), of the Royal House of Heremon.

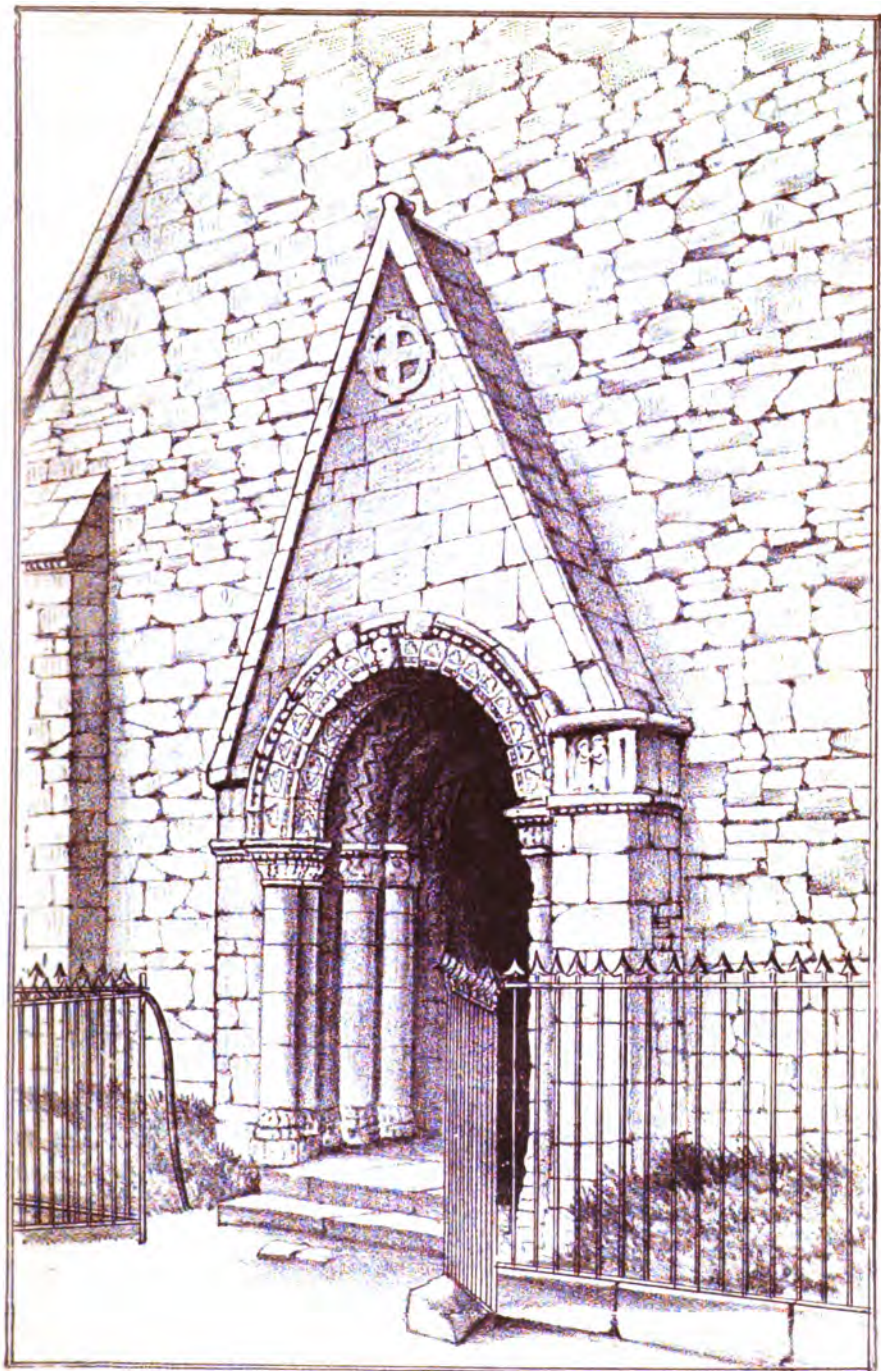
The exact date of his birth is not known, but as he died in A.D., 622, he must have been born in the 6th century. His Father's name was *Corpre* of Muskerry, and of the family of *Corpre Muse*, and his mother was called *Senecha*. From the circumstance that a blind man was said to have received his sight whilst Lactan was being borne in his mother's womb, it was commonly believed that he was therein sanctified before his birth, like another Jeremias or John the Baptist. When born there was no water to be found for his baptism, but *Mohemeth* who had received light, made the sign of the Cross on the dry earth with the infant's hand, and forthwith a living fountain sprang up in which he baptized Lactan. At the age of fifteen years, St. Lactan in obedience to an admonition of his angel guardian, was placed under the great Abbot, St. Comgall, in his famous monastery of *Banchor* (now Bangor,) near

the bay of Carrickfergus. Here Lactan was placed under the immediate tuition of St. Molua, of Clonfert-Molua, in the parish of Kyle, near the Slieve-Bloom, who grounded him in the knowledge of SS. Scriptures, and moulded his youthful dispositions to the love and practice of rigid asceticism. St. Molua, was ever afterwards held in veneration by Lactan, who probably through his influence and his friendship with St. Canice, was induced to found his religious house, at Achadh-ur. Many miracles are said to have been wrought by St. Lactan, even the raising of the dead to life. That he was an ardent lover, and defender of his native province of Munster, appears evident from the following stanza in "the calendar of Irish Saints," p. 169, from the writings of St. Cuimin or Cummian, of Connor:—"Lachtaín the Champion loved

Humility perfect and pure;
Stand through perpetual time
Did he in defence of the men of Munster."

Munster, in return reckons St. Lactan amongst its chief patrons, and at *Lisnasciath* (Lisnaskea) in Cashel diocese, there was a holy well sacred to him, and in the time of Colgan (author, A. S. Hib.) was much frequented by pilgrims. St. Lactan's well, near Freshford, is thus noticed by Dr. O'Donovan:—"About one quarter of a mile to the south of Freshford, on the roadside, to the left as you go to Kilkenny, is a large spring bubbling from the earth with considerable strength, and rendered remarkable by a large aged ash tree which grows over it. About fifty years ago old people were in the habit of performing stations at it on every Saturday, but Dr. Marum, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, abolished all these customs throughout the diocese" (letter dated Freshford, September 1st, 1839—O.S. MSS.) It is perhaps worthy of remark that the efficacy of the wells dedicated to St. Lactan was chiefly acknowledged in the cases of paralytics, and persons possessed. Our saint is called bishop in different Martyrologies, but if ever distinguished by this dignity, his see, in the opinion of Doctor Lanigan, must have been confined to Achadh-ur or Freshford. He may have been one of those *chorepiscopi* who were styled *bishops*, and existed in great numbers for a long time subsequent to the preaching of St. Patrick. Moreover, it was quite usual in Ireland to raise pious monks to the episcopal dignity without any fixed sees up to the time, I believe, of the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1118—not 1110, the date assigned by Keating, as Dr. Lanigan shows, (Ecc. His. vol. 4, p. 41, n. 86.) St. Lactan died on the 19th of March, 622, and after death as well as during life, mention is made of many miracles having been wrought through his intercession.

The ancient Romanesque doorway of Freshford Church is engraved in Dr. Petrie's "Inquiry, etc., of the Round Towers," and is greatly admired for its quaint capitals and elaborate zig-zag mouldings. On the inner arch is an Irish inscription in deeply indented letters. On the lower band—*Or do Neim igin Cuirc acus do Mathgamhain u Chiarmeic las in Dernad i tempulsa. Trans.*—"A prayer for Niam, daughter of Coro, and



FRESHFORD DOORWAY. CO. KILKENNY.

From a photo by Mr. ROBINSON

for Mathgamain O'Chairmeic, by whom was made this 'church.'” On the upper band—*Or do gille Mocholmóc u Cecucaí do signí. Trans.*—“A prayer for Gille Mocholmóc O'Cencucian, who made it.” It is evident though no date is affixed to those bands the doorway cannot be earlier than the year 1010, when *surnames* came into use by an imperative law of Brien Borhu—Mathgamain or Mahon O'Chiarmaic, or Kirby or Kerwick, would seem to have been an Ossorian dynast or chief, who rebuilt the church as being located in this territory, and *Niam*, his wife's name, whilst the name in the other inscription was that of the artist who executed the Sculptures and finished ornaments that decorate this doorway, and have made its fame imperishable. Not less curious than this beautiful gem of ancient Irish art is another relic called St. Lactan's hand. It was preserved in the Church of Donoughmore, Co. Cork, till about the year 1740, when it passed into the hands of the Fountaine family of Norfolk Hall, Norfolk, England. Some short time ago it appeared amongst the *Fountaine collection* of the late Sir Andrew Fountaine, and was advertised to be disposed of at Christie's and Mason's, London. By the generous efforts of Lord Powerscourt the Government purchased it for £450, and it may be now seen at our Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. The following description of the reliquary by his lordship appeared in the *Freeman* previous to the sale:—Lot 539—Reliquary of St. Lachteen in form of a hand and forearm of yew covered with bronze gilt and inlaid with silver, in interlaced patterns nielloed, and enriched with silver filigree, small bosses of blue glass are set round the base, and inscriptions in Irish are engraved and nielloed in narrow slips along the arm.

On the four narrow fillets down the arm the Irish inscriptions may be translated thus:—1st—“A prayer for Maelseachnaill O'Callachan, Chief King of Ua [Echach Mumhain, County Cork], who made this reliquary.” 2^d—“A prayer for Cormac, son of MacCarthy Righdamhna (next heir) of Munster, who gave——.” 3^d—“A prayer for Tachg (Tady), son of MacCarthy Righ.” 4th—“A prayer for Darmaid, son of MacDenisc Oomharb (successor of L)—(Lactan). As O'Callachan mentioned in the first prayer was the maker of the reliquary, it must have been made before his death, which occurred in 1121, and accordingly may be taken as a specimen of Irish art in the early part of the 12th century. In the demesne of Uppercourt was situate in ancient times the chief residence of the Bishops of Ossory. Geoffrey St. Leger, who is styled “the second founder of the Cathedral of St. Canice,” and Bishop of Ossory from 1260 to 1287, expended large sums in completing the Episcopal residence of Freshford and Durrow. Ledwich also tells us that he founded the College of Vicars Choral, and “liberally endowed them.” He also gave them “his manse and lodging,” i.e., the palace and place of residence of the Bishops of Ossory before those of Freshford and Durrow were erected. Dr. Thonory made a grant of the manor and lands of Uppercourt to Sir Richard Shee, Kilkenny, and his son Luke continued to reside there till his death in 1622. His wife, the Honourable Ellen Butler, daughter of

Lord Mountgarret, erected a cross to his memory which originally stood at the back entrance to the demesne called *Bunacruisa*, "the foot of the Cross," but at present occupies a position in the square.

The monument was decorated with armorial bearings, and an inscription now totally illegible. Clynn mentions that John, eldest son of James, first Earl of Ormonde, was born at Freshford on St. Leonard's day, 1330. This John must have died young, as the second Earl of Ormonde is James the *Noble Earl*, who succeeded his father in 1337-8. The first Protestant Bishop of Kilkenny—Bale—resided at Freshford. John Bale was a native of Suffolk, and was appointed to the See of Kilkenny by Edward VI. He was a Carmelite, but of a temper too hasty and ungovernable and of a manner too scurrilous for the meekness of his order, and so he quitted his companions, avowed that the Lord had converted him, took to himself Dorothy, his wife, and with her adorned the Reformed Church. He put his servants to make hay on the 8th September, then a holy day with Catholics, and this so incensed the people of Freshford that they slew the servants, and would have done likewise to Bale had he not received timely aid from Kilkenny. The making of the hay was not exactly, as Bale asserts, the real crime of himself and his servants, but because Bale specially intended such as an insult offered to the Holy Mother of God, whose Nativity it was. Others say he created with some followers a *melee* by his gross vituperations against religion in the streets of the village, which ended in the murders alluded to. On the accession of Queen Mary, Bale was driven into exile.

(3)—THE SHORTAL FAMILY.

The antiquity of the Shortal family admits of no doubt, but its origin is involved in uncertainty. Not being of Irish or Milesian extraction we can only suppose that the first of the name came into this country either with Strongbow, in 1170, from the Welch marches, or else was found amongst the numerous train of Knights and warriors who accompanied Henry II. to Waterford in 1171. Be this as it may, "we find," as the Rev. J. Graves remarks (*Antiq. S. Canice*, p. 167,) "the Shortals settled in the county of Kilkenny, and on the townland of Ballylarkan, at a very early period." There is a charter extant amongst the records of London Tower, whereby *Robert Scorthals* obtains a grant-in-fee from Theobald Troja of the land of Corbally, with three and-a-half carucates adjoining the Bishop's demesne at Hachethur (*Acadh-ur-Freshford*), to be holden by "homage and service, and a head-rent of 16 marks of silver yearly."

Corbally is another name for Ballylarkan, for by an Inquisition taken at "Gawran" on the 14th April, 1631, I find mention made of Sir Oliver Shortal, Knight, being seized *inter alia* "of the manor of Ballylarkan *al. Corbally*," etc. The charter above bears no date, but is witnessed by Hugh, Bishop of Ossory, and Thomas Fitz-Anthony. The latter was Seneschal of Leinster in King John's reign, and was founder

of the monastery of Inistioge in or about 1206—Hugh Rous or Rufus was Bishop of Ossory from 1202 to 1218. The above charter must have been perfected before his death, and hence the aforesaid Robert Scorthals was settled at Ballylarkan, *alias* Corbally, in the early part of the 13th century. The name of Robert Shortal, Knight, appears as witness to a deed whereby the manor of Clomantagh is granted by Sir John Fanin to William Kitelere, and his demise is recorded by Olynih, under date 1323, as follows.—“Ipso die scilicet 3^o Idus Januarii deposissio domini Roberti Scorthals.” Trans.—“On the same day, viz., the 3rd of the Ides of January, the burial of Lord Robert Scorthals.” In the time of Edward III. (1332), Robert Shortals' name appears on the public Rolls as collector of the Quinzime tax, or levy of the fifteenth part of a man's goods after careful valuation by two assessors for every county appointed by the King. In espousing the cause of Edward Baliol, and after the defeat of the Regent Douglas at Halidon Hill (1333), we find King Edward in the wars which followed with the Scots, supported by armed expeditions of men and horse from Ireland, and amongst those summoned for attendance by the Justiciary, John Darcy, are mentioned the names of Gilbert and Geoffrey Shortall. Subsequently, in 1336, this latter Geoffrey Shortall received the honour of knighthood from James, 2nd Earl of Carrick and 1st Earl of Ormonde, as Olynn mentions:—“Item die Lune in Festo Fabiani et Sebastiani Jacobus Le Botillor apud Roscre fecit Johannum de Rochford et Galfridum Schorthalis milites.” Trans.—“Also on Monday, in the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, James Le Botiller (Butler) made Knights of John de Rochford and Geoffrey Shortal at Roscrea.” This Sir Geoffrey, or Geoffry, Schorthals, filled some public offices of trust in connection with the County of Kilkenny, and was succeeded by his son, Robert, who appears also to have been knighted, and engaged in public offices also. In St. Canice there is an altar tomb surmounted by an effigy in complete armour, the sword buckled obliquely across the left hip, and feet resting on a lion. The “haubergeon,” or shirt of chain mail, falls upon the thighs as it projects from beneath a coat of plates, and the arms are encased in plate *brassarts*, with roundlets on the elbow-pieces and shoulder joints. The head is covered with a sharp-pointed *basinet*, and a tippet of chain mail covers the shoulders and chest. On either side of the head is a shield, the *dexter* charged with the emblems of the Passion; and the *sinister* bears the armorial insignia of Shortall, viz., on a cross (Roman) five lions heads erased. The following is the inscription on this monument, which is supported at present by a front slab divided into arched niches, each bearing a *relievo* sculpturing of one of the apostles:—“Hic jacet Jacob Schorthals, dns de Ballylarka, 't de Balykif, q' hac, tuba, fieri fecit ano di m ccccviij, et Katina Whyte, uxor ei p'quor' 't paretu aib' cilibet d . . . dinca 't salutæ agi' cecedut lxxx dies Indulg.” Trans.—“Here lieth James Schorthals, lord of Ballylarkan and Ballykif (Ballykeeffe), who had this tomb erected in the year of our Lord 1507, and Katerina Whyte, his wife. Eighty days indulgence are granted to anyone who shall say the Lord's (Prayer) and the Angelical Salutation for their souls and the souls of

their parents." The Rev. J. Graves mentions (*Antiq. S. Canice*, page 169-70), that James Schortals lived for many years after the date of the erection of this monument, and quotes a deed of the year 1516, which confirms to him, as Lord of Ballylarkan, the possession of three carucates of land in Ballyrathyn, and 40s. rent in Rathcally, payable for 40 acres of land formerly granted by Roger de Pembroke to David Wogan. Odogh, or Three Castles, also came into the possession of the Lords Schortals, of Ballylarkan, in Henry the Eighth's time; and the Vicar of Odogh, in 1537, was denounced by a presentment of the jury of Irishtown, Kilkenny, for his unjust exactions for his own and the Lord's (Schortals') benefit. Another presentment of the Corporation of Kilkenny condemns this Lord, James Schortals, for the exaction of "livery and coyn," and grievously censures him for that he "usually sends his horses to the howses of husbandmen, and with every horse one or two horseboys, and they are founde at the costs of the said husbandmen, and there remain during their pleasure." A third charge against him was, that in common with many gentlemen of the district he compelled his tenants "to sell their vyttalles, corne, and other things whiche they have to sell to one only person." For this monopoly the favoured trader was said to have rewarded the lords by underhand money. The date of his death is unknown.

His son and successor, also a James Schortals, became involved in a quarrel with James FitzPiers Shortall, of Bourheys. The latter, before a general session held in Kilkenny, 1583, found sureties in a bond of £100 that he would keep the peace towards James Shortall, of Ballylarkan, *gentleman*; but subsequently in 1589, we find him arraigned before the judges for having drawn "a skyne at the said James, of Ballylarkin, and thoughte to thruste hym, and put him in danger of his lief." In *Pat an Olos. Rolls Edw. VI. (1548)*, we find "Pardon of William Shortall Fitz-Thomas, Ballylorgan; Richard Shortall Fitz-John of the same-horseman; John Shortall Fitz-Thomas, Edward Shortall Fitz-Thomas, of the same; Peter Shortall Fitz-Thomas, Edward Fitz-John Shortall, horse boy; Walter Fitz-John Shortall, of the same Kern. Their offence does not appear, but they may have had to do with the unfortunate rebellion of Silken Thomas, in the preceding King's reign, (Henry 8), or the subsequent "long and harassing wars waged by the English Government against the Irish." By an Inquisition taken at Gowran, 14th April, 1631, we find that Sir Oliver Shortall, Knight, had been in possession of the manor of Castledowgh, with all its parts and appurtenance, including a water-mill near Purcell's—heyes, Lewghe (Loughe) and Stockhill, &c.; also of the manor of Ballylarkan *al*, Corbally, and in the towns and lands of Ballylarkan; Fenuskye, Ballyphilip, Shehanagh, Kilnone and Ballyhanry, &c. &c. It further appears from said Inquisition, that an annuity of £20 was payable by him, out of the manor of "Ballylarkin," &c., to "Owney Shortall *al*, Fitz-Patrick, widow of James Shortall, his father," and that said Sir Oliver, died on the 9th August, 1630, leaving a son and heir, James, then of full age

and married. Sir Oliver's wife, was according to the Inquisition, Lady Ellen Shortall, who survived him and at his death, had issue living besides James—Peter, Oliver, John, Robert and Ellicia Shortall.

According to Lodge's Peerage (vol. 2, p. 20), she was the eldest daughter of John Butler of Kilcash, and sister to Walter Butler, who became "11th Earl of Ormonde." Lodge, by mistake, names her "Joan." She was first married to Nicholas Shortall, of Upper Claragh, who died 14th September, 1600. From an Inquisition taken at Thomastown, on the 11th April, 1636, it appears that her eldest son, James Shortall, above mentioned, died on the 4th March, 1635, and that she herself had again married after the death of Sir Oliver Shortall, her second husband, on the 9th August, 1630; as she is designated therein, "Lady Ellen Fitz-Patrick al Butler, late wife of Oliver Shortall, Knight." Thomas, son and heir of the above James Shortall, son and heir of Sir Oliver Shortall and Lady Ellen Butler, was, according to the Inquisition, 28 years of age, and married, at the time of his father's death, on the 4th of March, 1635. With him ends the powerful house of the Ballylarkan Lords Schortals, after a long period of more than four hundred years. The Confederate struggle of 1641-2 launched them forth with the millions of their Catholic fellow-countrymen on the stormy sea of armed independence. The experiment but excited the anger of the waves and the King, the cause and adherents were driven deep beneath their surface. Ballylarkan property was declared forfeited after the Conquest, and, as mentioned in my notice of Freshford, was handed over to Sir George Ayscue, one of Cromwell's admirals, who was confirmed in the same under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation in 1667.

The Ballylarkan Lord Schortal was always acknowledged "head of the House" of which powerful branches or offshoots were seated at Tubridbritain, Kilkenny, Roystown and Clomantagh, and also at Claragh, from a very early period. In 1326, we find by Pat. Rolls, Ed. II., Robert, son of John Shortalls, of Claragh, paying half a mark for a Brief, and in the old Church of Templemartin are two sepulchral monuments of the Rathardmore Shortalls, a junior branch of this Claragh family. Thomas Shortall, of Kilkenny, was one of the portreeves in 1310, and was Sovereign of the town in 1330. In the 13th Henry IV. (1412), John Shortall was Sovereign of Kilkenny, and Pat. Rolls 10, Henry VI. (1431), we find his name mentioned amongst those burgesses to whom the King granted a pardon for disturbance or violation of the peace, in consideration of losses sustained in resisting the aggressions of the "Irish Enemy." In 1516, amongst the deponents in support of the claim of Piers Butler to the property and *Earldom* of Ormonde, we have a John Shorthals, Lord of Roystown and Clomantagh, who deposed he was 80 years of age, and was son of Robert, of the age of 80 years, who was Sheriff of the County of Kilkenny in the time of James, the White Earl (1405-52), &c. Subsequent Inquisitions shall disclose more fully the power and opulence of those several branches of the "House of Ballylarkan" here set down

in a general way. The Shortalls sided with the Confederates in 1642, and their properties were accordingly confiscated. The following obtained Transplanters' Certificates in 1653-4 :—Thomas Shortall, Kilblyne; Thomas Shortall, Ballylarkan; Leonard Shortall, Kil-drinagh; Edmond Shortall, Butler's-grove.

Amongst the forfeiting proprietors in the County Kilkenny under the Cromwellian Settlement, 1657, are found :—

GOWRAN BARONY.

Peter Shortall, Kilblinne.
 Oliver Shortall.
 Thomas Shortall, Kilblinne.
 Peter Shortall.
 Mrs. Piers Shortall.

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY.

Edmond Shortall.

CRANAGH BARONY.

James Shortall, Procestown.
 Mary Shortall.
 Thomas Shortall, Ballylarkan.
 Lady Shortall.
 Nicholas Shortall, Upper Larragh.
 Robert Shortall.
 Widow Shortall.

KILKENNY LIBERTIES.

Thomas Shortall.

About a mile west of the town of Freshford, on opposite sides of the road, are the sites of the ancient Church and Castle of the Ballylarkan Shortalls. On a calm summer evening many years ago I made a personal inspection of them. The old church was standing; its east window robbed of its chiselled beauty by the hand of some unsparing vandal. Within were relics of religious ceremonies in the olden days of faith and fervour. These were a *sedilia*, *piscina* and *aumbry*. The *sedilia* is of the Gothic style, and consists of a recess divided into three compartments by moulded pillars supporting three pointed arches surmounted by crosses in *fleur de lis* terminations. Those *sedilia*, so frequent in our churches, escaped for a long time the observation of their true meaning, but they are now universally admitted by ecclesiologists to have been the triple compartments occupied by the *Celebrant*, *Deacon* and *Sub-deacon* in the solemn celebration of the Divine Services, particularly the Most Holy Sacrifice. The notion of their having been originally monumental structures is now entirely abandoned. The *aumbry* here is but a square hole devoid of all tracery and ornament. Its purpose was to hold the chalice, &c., when not in use, as a kind of

safe or cupboard. The *piscina* has an elegant pointed arch, and its use was to carry into the earth the ablutions or rinsings of the Chalices, consequent on the celebration of the divine mysteries by means of a perpendicular perforation in the centre of its basin. On leaving this ancient church I found no other object to recall the "olden memories" or glories long faded and forgotten. The sinking sun was withdrawing his yellow light from the neighbouring hill-tops. The stately castle no longer stayed him on its loft battlements. It was utterly demolished, and, even as a crumbling ruin, its massive dimensions and confused outlines no longer lengthened their broken shadows on the green sward.

(4)—CLASHACROW.

Glashcro, or as it is now written, *Clashacrow*, is in the present parish of Freshford, and within a mile or so of the town. Joyce, in his "Irish Names of Places," p. 220, says it derives its name from *Clais-a-chro*—i.e., the trench of the shed, *cro* meaning a hut, shed, or pen for cattle. The late Mr. Hogan, in his "St. Ciaran of Ossory," p. 210, thinks it comes from *Clash-na-cro*—i.e., the stream of slaughter or death. *Glaisechro* would be the correct Irish form, and the traditional name of the stream which runs through the locality, *Augh-na-maragh* (Ath-na-marabh), the ford of the dead, favours Hogan's interpretation. As a further indication that this stream had been the site of the three days terrible conflict between the Ossorians and Dermot McMurrough and his new English allies, already mentioned in my notice of Freshford, the Rev. J. Holohan, P.P., informed me that there is a field convenient to this stream which is still called the "field of the dead." According to the "*Spicilegium Ossoriense*," p. 3, the Church of "*Glashecron*" was in the deanery of Odogh. St. Kieran was its patron (5 March.) Some years ago I went in search of some monument of antiquity in this old ruin, but found none. The Catholics have still the right of burial within the precincts.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION X.)

"Kilkenny, 15th January, 1609.

"**R**ICHARD AROHDEACON¹, of Bawnemore, is seized of the fee of 2½ carucates of land in Bawnemore, and of the hamlets thereof, viz:—Quoylgad, Motoge, and Rathussin. Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, has certain lands in Quoylgad, beside the foresaid 2½ carucates for which the said Richard pays him annually 40s.,

and holds those same at the will of the said Earl. The aforesaid Richard is also seized in fee of the town and lands of Bawneballinloghie and Barrynbyn, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate free of all impositions; of Ballinveahelly, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate and of the moieties of the town of Monemuckie, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land; of Breckennagh, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; of Ballihan-kard, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate; and of Rathpatrick, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate, all which are situate in the Barony of Galmoy, in the county aforesaid. He is also seized of the manor of Kilmurry, in the county aforesaid, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land, which manor is held from John Cantwell, as of his manor of Kilfayne, for the head rent of 6s. 8d.; of the town of Monganmacody, containing $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate, and Kilbegg, $\frac{1}{8}$ carucate, (which lands, Peter Butler, of Callan, claims as his rightful inheritance); the town of Kilthemuse, $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate, and of one water mill in Thomastown, with water course belonging to same; of 7 tenements within the 'burgagery' of Thomastown, and of 3 fish weirs within the 'burgagery' aforesaid on the river Nore; of 144 small acres of arable land within the 'burgagery' aforesaid, and of 1 carucate of land, barren, mountainous, wood and pasture near the town of Thomastown, [on all which lands the burgesses (of Thomastown), have commonage of pasture and wood, except on the lands of Cloghbrody and Daingin], of 40s. yearly rent, issueing out of certain messuages and 'burgages' in Thomastown; of 2s. from the lands and tenements of 'Newhowse,' (belonging) to the portion of Thomas Deny; of 8d. from the town of Ballyroe, near Thomastown; of 12d. *extra* the town of Knocksheltye, of the lands of John Cantwell; and of 6s. 8d. out of the town and lands of Brownesbarne. All the aforesaid head rents belong to the manor of Daingin aforesaid, which manor is within the 'burgagery' of Thomastown, and is held from the king in free burgage. The burgesses of Thomastown, owe suit of court twice a year to the said manor of Daingin. The said Richard Archdeacon and Thomas Denn, of Grenan, hold *court baron* twice in the year, at the feasts of Michaelmas and Easter, on the demesne lands of the town of Thomastown. Richard Archdeacon, of Corballymore, in the County Waterford, is seized of the fee of $\frac{1}{4}$ carucate of land in the town and fields of Daingin and Cloghbrody, in the County Kilkenny aforesaid."

(1)—RICHARD ARCHDEACON.

See (8) Inquisition King James I, an. 1609, n. 1, p. 124.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION XI.)

"Thomastown, 26th September, 1615.

RICHARD BUTLER¹, of Kirrehill, at the time of his death was seized of the fee, and died seized of all the lands and tenements of and in Kirrehill and Kildrome, in the County Kilkenny, containing altogether 12 acres of land, great measure; after his death the premises descended to Walter Butler, son and heir of the aforesaid Richard, and are held from Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, as of his manor of Kells, for the head rent of 6s. 8d., and by fealty and suite of court. The aforesaid Richard was seized of the *reversion*² of the town of Awnebege, containing 3 acres, expectant on the termination of the life of Ellen Howling, *alias* Butler; he died so seized, and after his death the aforesaid *reversion* descended to the aforesaid Walter, and the premises are held from the king *in capite* by Knight's service. The aforesaid Richard was also seized of 3 acres, great measure, in Kilmogane, which are held from the aforesaid Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, as of his manor of Kells, by fealty, suite of court, and 6s. 8d. head rent; of 3 acres in Bollifogh al Monehary, which are held from the said Viscount as parcel of Kirrehill, by fealty and suite of court. The aforesaid Richard, by his charter bearing date 20th April, 1615, gave to Geoffrey Purcell³ FitzRedmond, of Kilcollan, and Richard Purcell FitzRedmond, of Esker, the town of Ballifogh al Monehary aforesaid, for £40 sterling, and he closed his last day at Kirrehill, 8th May, 1612. Walter Butler is his son, and is not married."

(1)—RICHARD BUTLER, OF KIRREHILL.

I have not been able to connect this Richard with any on the Butler pedigree given by Lodge and Burke. On the list of forfeiting proprietors in the County of Kilkenny for the part taken by them in the rebellion of 1641-2, prepared for the "Lord Protector's Council for the affaires of Ireland" in 1657, the following members of the Butler family may be found:—

BARONY OF IVERK.

James Butler.

BARONY OF KELS.

Tibbot Butler.

David Butler.

Edmond Butler.

Richard Butler.

Colonel Richard Butler.

BARONY OF KELLS.—*Continued.*

David Butler.
 Pierse Butler.
 David Butler.
 Pierce Butler.

BARONY OF KNOCKTOPHER.

Edmond Butler.

BARONY OF GOWRAN.

Sir Edward Butler, Lowgrange.
 Pierse Butler.
 Sir Richard Butler, Loegrange.
 Sir Walter Butler.
 Sir Richard Butler, Knocktofer.

GALMOY BARONY.

Edmond Butler.

BARONY OF CRANNAGH.

Pierse Butler, Bonncestown.
 Lady Mountgarrett, (always living in England.)

BARONY OF IDA.

Peyrs Butler.
 Petter Butler.
 Richard Butler.

Walter Butler, son of Richard Butler, Kirrehill, mentioned in the above Inquisition, does not appear amongst the "forfeiting proprietors" in the barony of Kells, to which Kirrehill or Currahill belonged, but an Inquisition taken at Gowran, in the 28 Car. 11 (1679-80) places it beyond doubt that he was implicated in the Civil War of 1641-2, and that he suffered accordingly. The Inquisition 28 Car. 11, states that Walter Butler, Kirrehill, an Irish Papist, was in 1641 seized of the fee of 100 acres in Kirrehill, in the barony of Kells, which were forfeited by reason of the Rebellion. The ruins of Currahill castle stands a short distance west of the village of Kilmoganny, right of the road leading to Killamery.

(2)—REVERSION.

A reversion is the returning of land to the grantor or his heirs after the grant is over. It is a species of estate created *not* by deed or writing but by the act or operation of the law itself. This is evident from the nature of the *feudal system* or constitution from which reversions derive. When a person obtained a *fee*, for instance, for life, or to him and his heirs, made by payment of certain rents, or the rendering of some service, then at his demise, or in case of failure of male issue, the *fee*

became determined, and by the operation or construction of the law itself reverted back to the *grantor* to be again disposed of at his will and pleasure. If no rent be reserved on the estate or *fee*, the evidence of tenure is preserved in *fealty*, which becomes an inseparable incident thereto, and an acknowledgment or proof that the lands are held from a superior. When *rent is reserved*, it is an incident to the reversion but *not* an inseparable one. The rent may be granted away reserving the reversion, and *vice versa* the reversion may be granted away reserving the rent by *special* words however, for if there be a *general* grant of the reversion without any reservation of the rent, this latter will pass with the former as an incident annexed thereto. The *incident* passes with the granting of the *principal* but not *econverso*, the *principal* does not necessarily pass by the granting of the *incident*. A *reversion* differs from a state in *remainder*, defined to be an estate limited to take effect, and be enjoyed after another estate is determined, as for instance, if an owner in *fee simple* grant lands to a person for a certain term of years, after the expiration of which, then to another, and his heirs for ever—the *first* grantee is *tenant for years*, with remainder to second in *fee*. But if an owner of an estate in *fee* grants or makes a lease for life with *remainder* to himself and his heirs, this is properly a *reversion*, for it is the *original* or former estate in him, and which was never lost.

(3)—THE PURCELL FAMILY.

Amongst the many powerful Anglo-Norman families who settled in this country after the invasion, that of *Purcell* held high rank and influence. The first of the name came over with *Richard de Clare*, Earl of Pembroke, and Strigul or Chepstow, surnamed *Strongbow*, from his skill in archery. The *Earl's* force of numerous mercenaries and armed adventurers, amounted to 1200 men, including 200 "goodly Knights" equipped *cap-a-pie* in ring-armour. They meant *conquest*. Strongbow had been already the recipient of splendid promises from Dermot MacMurrough, to wit, the hand of his daughter, *Eva*, in marriage, and the succession to the throne of Leinster. Such promises would have stimulated the martial and enterprising spirit of a less needy warrior. He accordingly embarked at Milford, and on 23rd August, 1170, the vigil of St. Bartholomew, he landed probably at Dundonnell. Every Irish history tells the sequel. Dermot MacMurrough with his allies hastened to meet him, and the nuptials of Strongbow and Aife or Eva were celebrated at Waterford, whilst the streets yet reeked with the hot blood of the slaughtered citizens. Amongst the knights who had followed the fortunes of Strongbow on this occasion, and had engaged in the siege, was *Hugh Purcell*, said to have been his lieutenant. This Sir Hugh was subsequently "slaine by the Waterfordians," but whether on the departure of Strongbow, who immediately marched on Dublin, or later on, when Henry II. left Waterford also, to fix his court in the Metropolis, in 1171, I cannot well say; very probably it was on the first occasion when Strongbow left, that he fell a victim to the "Skeans"

of the boatmen who engaged to row him safe across the river, in order to hold a parley with the King, i.e., Cormac MacCarthy, of Desmond, who having taken advantage of the Earl's absence, surprised and cut off the garrison he had left behind for the defence of the city. This Sir Hugh Purcell was of Norman extraction.

"The name of Purcell first appears on record in Normandy, about A.D. 1035. We learn from a charter of that date, that the tithes of the *assarts* (reclaimed forests lands) of Porceval had been granted by the Lord of that vill to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, at Rouen. It was also embodied in the name of several other villis in the province. In the time of William the Conqueror, Hugh Porcel, granted the tithes of Montmarguet, a vill on the frontiers of Picardy, and near Aumerle to the Abbey of Aumerle" (O'Hart's *Irish Landed Gentry*, p. 164). This *Hugh* is said to have accompanied the Conqueror in his invasion of England. Tradition has it that on their landing at Penvensey in Sussex, on the eve of St. Michael, 28 September, 1066, he was the first to give proof of his prowess by dislodging from their entrenchments in the ruins of an old Roman Castle one or more parties attached to the interests of Harold.

After the stubborn but decisive battle of Hastings* (1066), William the Conqueror rewarded him with a large grant of land in consideration of his valour and services. He founded a Baronial family hereditary ushers of the King's Chamber, and holding their lands by tenure of that office—which continued in the direct male line, to the end of Henry the second's reign, and offshoots of which flourished in several counties to the close of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. His successor, Dyve Purcell, about the year 1120, got a grant of the manor of Catshill, Surrey, from King Henry I. He married a daughter of Nigel de Broc, a famous justiciary of the time; and his elder son Geoffrey paid his relief for his father's land, and obtained the favour of a royal remission of the *Dane-geld* due by him in 1129-30 (Hunter's *Pipe Roll* 31, K. Hen. I. p. 50.) The original charter of confirmation of his lands and court office, subsequently issued by King Stephen, is still extant among the archives of the Duke of Westminster at Eaton. He granted a hide of land in the manor of Windsore, the earliest plot of ground held by the family in England, to the Abbey of Reading, and there died in the habit of the Order. His brother and heir, Ranulph or Ralf, assumed his

* The battle was fought at *Senlac*, about nine miles from Hastings. Hardly does History record more chivalrous valour than that displayed by Harold on the occasion. He was at the head of an army elated with the victory of Stamford or Battle Bridge, but three days previously. On his march to meet the Conqueror, his men wavered and melted. With the faithful remnant, he occupied an eminence or rising ground, and threw up trenches to protect his flank. Having placed the men of Kent in the van, and the Londoners round the Royal Standard, he himself with his two brothers, headed the infantry, resolved to win or perish. After the battle his body was found amongst the slain, the eye pierced by an arrow. He was interred at Waltham Abbey, which he had founded, and his resting place was marked by a stone, not visible at present, on which was inscribed the too true even if spurious epitaph.—HAROLD INFELIX.

mother's name of De Broc. He and his brother Robert were arch enemies of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and it was at his castle of Saltwood, that the conspirators, Reginald FitzUrse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito (Breton) met, having travelled by different routes from Normandy, and next day sallied forth, armed with swords and battle axes, to accomplish their deed in blood.

Ranulph died in 1187 without male issue, and the male representation accordingly passed to the family of Newton-Purcell, Oxon and Shareshull, Staffordshire. Ralph, the founder of this house, inherited many manors in Normandy, near Rouen, from his maternal uncle, Robert Burnwell (living in 1129-30), and obtained by royal favour the remission of *Danegeld*. He lived to a very advanced age, and became the patriarch of a numerous tribe in England and Ireland. He son Hugh it was who came to Ireland, and was "slaine by the Waterfordians," as above mentioned. He was succeeded by his sons, Walter and Hugh Purcell. The latter was knighted, and towards the close of the 12th century, or shortly after, married Beatrix, daughter and heiress of Theobald FitzWalter, the first butler of Ireland, and the childless widow of Thomas de Hereford (Lodge, vol. 2, p. 3). He received with her large property in the district of Eliogarty, county Tipperary, which had been given her as her dowry upon marrying De Hereford; and in consequence, Sir Hugh Purcell became the owner of the barony of Loughmoe, and the founder of that noble and historic house. Hanmer states that Walter Purcell was one of the subscribing witnesses to a charter granted by William, Earl Marshal, the younger, to his burgesses of Kilkenny, and dated the 6th April, 1223. He was probably identical with Walter, the brother of Sir Hugh Purcell, above mentioned, and the immediate ancestor of the Kilkenny Purcells. He must have received a considerable grant of land from either William, Earl Marshall, the elder, or his son (the former having inherited the vast possessions of Earl Strongbow in right of his wife Isabel), for we find him styled Baron of Bargy, which was included in the ancient territory of *Ui-Duach*. *Ui-Duach* stretched from the Ncre to the Barrow, under the slopes of the Slieve-Margy, and comprised within it the present old church of Killeslin, near the town of Carlow, as its chief is mentioned in the inscription over its doorway. The inscription before it became illegible was secured by Dr. O'Donovan previous to 1839 and read as follows:—

Or. Do. Art Ri Lagen. . . . Don Airchindech. . . . Lena. . . .
Do. Toisech Hua N-Duach. Translation—"A prayer for Art, King of Leinster For the Airchinedech Lena. . . . The Chief of *Ui-Duach*." This eastern portion of *Ui-Duach* extended from within the Queen's County to County Carlow and Kilkenny. It was called Bargy, and bordered on the Queen's County side on the territory of the O'Moores. From this warlike sept, and from the O'Braenans the original owners, Walter Purcell, Baron of Bargy, must have experienced incessant feuds and incursions, anything but calculated to make his life peaceable and comfortable.

In the second year of King John his name appears amongst a dozen baronial witnesses to the famous charter granted by the King to the City of Dublin. He was the first sheriff of Kilkenny on its being reduced to *Shire ground* in 1215, and was *Seneschal of Leinster* in 1219, (*chartae Hib.*, p. 13, *clos. Rolls Hen.* 3). He attested the charters granted by the Earls of Pembroke (Marshalls), as Lords of Leinster, to the City of Kilkenny, and to the towns of Carlow and Tintern, in Wexford, (*chartae Hib.* 33, 34, and 37, &c.) On the partition of the Lordship of Leinster, among the heirs of the last Earl of Pembroke, the share of the barony, assigned to the suzerainty of the Lords of Kilkenny, was assessed at six Knights' fees. Sir Hugh Purcell, successor to Walter, occurs as witness to the Earl of Norfolk's charter, as Lord of Carlow, to Rosspont, (New Ross), and of Theobald Butler's to Gowran. Another Sir Hugh was summoned to Parliament as a Baron, in 1298, and dying before 1307, his only daughter and heiress Joanna, was in that year given in marriage by the Crown, to Sir William St. Leger, who thus carried the barony into that name. Accordingly in the year 1380, we find Thomas St. Leger summoned to Parliament as Baron of Bargo. In the course of the fifteenth century the demesnes of Bargo were reconquered by the native clans, and the barony escheated to the Crown. Several cadets of the Purcells, Barons of Bargo, had been planted in contiguous manors within the northern part of the Co. Kilkenny, the ruins of whose castles are still to be seen, the crumbling and tottering testimonies of the feudal power and splendour of their ancient occupants. When Bargo had escheated to the Crown, those manors were converted into tenures *in capite*, and are so described in the records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We, therefore, find mention made of the Lords of Ballyfoyle, Foulksrath, Lismayne, Ballymartin, Esker, and Clone, who were more or less no doubt in constant strife with the old Irish septa. Common cause nevertheless was not unknown amongst them, for in 1277 we find Walter Purcell denounced as "a favourer and maintainer of Irish enemies"—the O'Brennans, O'Moores, and MacKormans, and brought before the Justiciary at Dublin, to answer for having "act and part" with such "felons and incendiaries," for such were the only befitting names which Crown officials thought well to apply to "mere Irishry," who struggled to maintain their rights, or recover their plundered inheritances.

In 1318 by Pat and Close Rolls we find Symon Purcell with others receiving special licence from King Edward II. to hold parley with the O'Brennans. Subsequently, in 1327, Olynn records his death as follows:—"Item anno 1327, in festo Sancte Trinitatis occiditur, Symon Purcyl, tunc in officio vice-comitis KylKennie per O'Brennanis et allicum eo fere 20." Trans.—"Also in the year 1327, on the feast of the Holy Trinity, Symon Purcell, then Sheriff of Kilkenny, was slain by the O'Brennans, and about 20 others with him" (*Olynn Annals* p. 19). In the wars of Edward III. with the Scots, Sir Philip Purcell was amongst the knights summoned by the Justiciary, Sir John Daroy, (1335,) to assist the King. In 1385, Adam and Thomas Purcell were appointed *custodes pacis* in the

liberty of Kilkenny, with power to assess for arms and horses to defend the *marches* against the enemy. In 1392, Thomas Purcell was again appointed *with others* a J. P. in the baronies of Oskellan, Shill'r, and Obargon, in the liberty of Kilkenny, "with power to fine all rebels and to restrain all kerns taking meat, hay, corn, &c., from the lieges of the King." The residences of those Purcells so commissioned are not given in the records (Rot. mem. 9 Ric. II. *ibid.* 18 and 19 Ric. II.), and accordingly we have no means of ascertaining to what particular branch or branches they belonged. I have endeavoured, however, to throw some light on the origin, and spread of the name *Purcell*, and to trace it down to a period when existing documents can help the later history of its various offshoots.

We have seen that those several and powerful branches all sprang from Walter and Hugh Purcell, sons of Sir Hugh Purcell, Strongbow's lieutenant, who was "slaine by the Waterfordians." Sir Hugh himself, as above mentioned, was son of the Patriarch Ralph Purcell, founder of the lordly house of Newton Purcell, Oxon, and Sharesnull, Staffordshire. The name and blood continued to flourish in Oxfordshire, till the sixteenth century, and the rolls of Parliament, record Sir Otwell Purcell, who insisted upon "redress of grievances" as Knight of the Shire for Oxon. I may also mention that a cadet of this house, Roger Purcell, settled in Shropshire, about the end of the twelfth century, and from him sprang the families of Winsbury and Norbury, which endured to the seventeenth century. From a collateral branch of the Norbury Purcells, descended the famous English composer, Henry Purcell, born in 1658. He was organist of Westminster Abbey at the age of eighteen, and subsequently organist of the Chapel Royal. Among his works are *Anthems*, *Sonatas*, *Orpheus Britannicus*, and the opera of *Diocletian*. He died in 1695, at the early age of thirty-seven; and if we may credit Dr. Busby, "this musician shone not more by the greatness than by diversity, and originality of his imagination; nor did the force of his fancy transcend the solidity of his judgement." His brother Robert, who was also a page attached to the court of Charles II., became a colonel in the army. In 1704, he served under Sir George Rooke at the surprise of Gibraltar, but threw up his commission after the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, or at all events in the year following on the accession of George I., of the House of Hanover. He survived for some years, and died suddenly at Lord Abingdon's house in Berkshire. Having so far taken a general view of the Purcell family as cradled in Normandy, and subsequently planted in England and Ireland, after the periods of the Conquest and Invasion, I now come to deal with the particular branches which flourished in Kilkenny, and first of all with the Purcells of Esker and Kilcollan, mentioned in the above Inquisition. Geoffrey Purcell, Kilcollan, and Richard Purcell, Esker, were sons of Redmund Purcell, living about 1580. He was dead in 1612 (Inquests in Chancery, A.D. 1615, No. 11). There are no traces of their castles, but portions of garden and park walls indicate that Kilcollan Castle stood where farmers the name of Nolan live at present, about a mile east of the

chapel of Conahy ; whilst that of Esker, occupied the site of a farmyard now in possession of Mr. Delany, just by the river Dinan. Richard, son and heir of Redmond, purchased jointly with his brother Geoffrey, the town of Bollifogh al Monehary, for the sum of £40, from Richard Butler, of Ourrahill, Kilmoganny, previous to his death in 1612. The said Richard of Esker, had issue four sons—(1) William, his heir ; (2) Patrick, of Ballycomo ; (3) Geoffrey, and (4) Edward, both of Coolbane, which they held in 1635 ; whilst Patrick, the second son, was also in that year found seized of the town and lands of Ballincomo (Inq. 64, Car. 1, Sessions House, 1 May, 1635). William, son and heir of Richard, according to an Inquisition taken at Gowran, on the 17th January, 1632, (recte 1633,) made his last will on the 4th July, 1632, and died on the 20th of the same. At his death he was seized of the castle, town and lands of Esker, Caslanebobam, and Tullepishane, Killcollan, Ballincomo, Coolbane (Coolbawn,) and Drongoile, "where Caslewonder has been lately built." From this same Inquisition it appears also that the said William had eight children—(1) Edmond Purcell, his son and heir, aged 21 years at the time of his father's death, and unmarried ; (2) Redmund ; (3) Pierce ; (4) Margaret ; (5) Ellen ; (6) Elizabeth ; (7) Mary ; (8) Eleanor. All the above premises or possessions were held from the King, *in capite* by knight's service. Edmond, son and heir of the said William, was compelled in 1638, to sue out a confirmation of title to his estates, in pursuance of the Governmental policy of "defective titles," planned for "plunder" and spoliation," by the execrable Lord Deputy Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, and Baron of Raby, of odious and hateful memory. The same duty and fine devolved also on other members of the Purcell family, such as the Purcells of Foulkarath and Clone, &c. Edmond appears to have been the last possessor of Esker, which was confiscated in 1651-3, and passed into the hands of Lieutenant St. George, Killcollan, fell to the possession of Mr. Henry Webb (See Book of Survey and Distribution—Appendix). Redmund, his heir, obtained Listow, Co. Mayo, under the Cromwellian Settlement, and was M.P. for Knoctopher, Co. Kilkenny, in King James's Parliament (1689). The estate was, in consequence of his adhesion to the Stuart, confiscated in 1691. In Redmund, the elder line became extinct, and the representation of the family passed to the descendants of Patrick Purcell, of Kilbane, (Coolbawn,) and Ballincomo, uncle of Edmund, of Esker, and second son of Richard, mentioned in the above Inquisition (11 Jac. I., 1615). In 1635, Patrick, as has been above mentioned, was in possession of the town and lands of Ballycomo, which he held by grant of William Purcell, of Esker, and he also possessed divers other lands and townships, mostly on the borders of the Queen's County, adjoining the vills of Doonane, Moyadd or Moyarde, and Coolbane (Inquests in Chancery, A.D. 1635, No. 64). He was designated "of Kilbane" in the transplantation certificate, adjudged to him on the establishment of the commonwealth. There appears to be no trace of him in Connaught, and very probably he sold his claim like many others, for what it would fetch, and left the country till the Restoration,

when he returned, and once more settled in his old neighbourhood. His estate passed to the Wandesfords, (See Book of Survey—Appendix).

On the outbreak of the civil war, of 1689, we accordingly find Theobald or Tobias Butler seated at Moyadd, near Coolbane. He was in all probability son and heir to the above Patrick Purcell, and at the sight of his ancestral estates in the grasp of greedy and unscrupulous foreigners, we are not surprised to find him taking up arms and holding the commission of *lieutenant*, in Colonel Nicholas Purcell's regiment of horse. He was attained in 1691 in consequence, but after the flight of King James, he joined the "Peace Party," who were averse to a protraction of the war as a hopeless struggle and useless expenditure of blood. He died in 1701, at Moyarde, and according to his will (extant in the Record Office, Dublin,) he bequeathed a handsome sum to his priests for 100 masses for the repose of his soul, and divided his property equally amongst his children, as if he severally named them. He appointed his eldest son Thomas, his executor, and left a piece of plate to his own Jack. I have not been able to discover the tomb of Tobias Purcell, but in all probability he was buried in the old family burial place at Clough.

In Timogue churchyard, about two miles from Timahoe, I found a tomb with the following inscription :—" Here lies the body of Joseph Purcell, he departed this life the 28th July, anno Domini 1777, in the 63rd year of his age." He may have been son of Thomas, son of Tobias Purcell of Moyadd. Also, on the same tomb, a second inscription as follows :—" Here lieth the remains of Tobias Purcell, Esq., formerly of Timogue in the Queen's County, but late of Stradbally in said county, who departed this life the 8th day December, 1825, aged 87 years." He was evidently son of Joseph, mentioned in the first inscription. Redmond Purcell of Doonane, was probably a son of Tobias Purcell of Doonane, was probably a son of Tobias Purcell of Moyadd. His tomb, in Clough churchyard, shows he was born in 1678. The following is the inscription thereon :—

" Here lies the body of Redmond Purcell, who departed This life May 10, 1738, aged 60 years. Also the body of Bridget Purcell, who departed this life July 23, 1773 (or 1775), aged 78 years. Also the body of Catherine Purcell *alias* Conway, who departed this life June 20, 1773, aged 55 (or 56) years. Also the body of Patrick Purcell, of Doonane, who Departed this life the 10th November, 1797, aged 78 years. Also the body of Mr. Hugh Purcell, of Clonean, who Departed this life the 4th September, 1824, aged 78 years. Also his son, Mr. Patrick Purcell, died Nov. 29, 1845, Aged 54 years. His mother, Mary Purcell *alias* Mulhall, died February 20, 1834, aged 80 years.

Rest, mortal earth, beneath this marble shrine,
Till angels wake thee to become divine,
And when they do we hope to rise
To a life that never dies. *Requiescant in Pace. Amen.*"

He left sons (1) Patrick, b. (1719), of whom presently ; (2) Richard,

who lies buried in Clough. The following is the inscription on his tomb :—

“ Underneath this tomb are the remains of Mr. Richard Purcell, who departed this life April 15, 1779, aged 56 years. Also the remains of his two daughters, Miss Ellen Purcell, who died March 7, 1799, aged 19 years. Also Mrs. Alecia Maddock, who departed This life June, 1821, aged 62 years.”

His only son, Joseph, died S.P. in Trinidad, W.I. ; (3) Joseph married Catherine O’Leary, relative of the well-known Father O’Leary, St. Patrick’s, Soho, London. He died 1803, at Somerset, London, and was buried in old St. Pancras. By his will (dated Feb. 14, 1803), after leaving a legacy to his grand-daughter, Celia Catherine Lindsey, he directs his real estate in Grenada, W.I., to be sold, and, together with his personal property, to be held in trust for his wife for life, with remainder to his son, Patrick Joseph (died 1807 S.P.) ; and to his daughter, Bridget-Maria Robertson for life, with remainder to her children, Celia-Catherine Lyndsey, only child by her first husband, Thomas Joseph Lindsey ; and James Burton, George, Anne, and John-Thomas Robertson, by her second husband, Thomas Robertson of Perthshire ; (4) Pierce Patrick, son and heir of Redmond, and of Doonane House, is buried in Clough. Finding nothing at home but an insupportable livelihood under penal enactments, he left for Grenada, W.I., where he amassed a considerable fortune, but having returned home, he died at Doonane on the 10th Nov., 1797, as mentioned in the above inquisition on Redmond’s tomb at Clough. He left two sons (1) Patrick, of Swell Hall, Grenada, W.I. (died S.P.) ; (2) Hugh, of Cloneen House, near Doonane, died 1824, as recorded on above tomb of Redmond Purcell. His son and heir, Patrick, died in 1845. Redmond, his second son, died S.P., in Trinidad, West Indies.

Pierce, the fourth son of Redmond above, married Arabella or Mabel Dillon, only daughter of Thomas Dillon of Killbane, by Margaret, his wife, daughter and co-heir of Gerald Dillon, of Dillon’s Grove, Roscommon, the representative of the feudal barons of Drumrany, chiefs of the House of Dillon (Lodge, vol. 4, p. 172). He had three daughters and one son, Patrick Richard. Himself, his wife, and daughters lie buried in Clough, with the following inscription on their tomb :—

“ Underneath this tomb lie the remains of Pierce Purcell, who departed this life October 10, 1777, aged 43 years ; and his wife, Arabella, departed This life April 23, 1821, aged 80 years. Also the Remains of their three children :—Bridget Purcell, Who died August 12, 1796, aged 20 years ; Mary Wall died January 20, 1797, aged 22 years ; and Barbara Purcell died Aug. 15th, 1801, aged 18 years.—R.I.P.”

His only son, Patrick Richard Purcell, by his wife, Mabel Purcell *alias* Dillon, went in his youth to the West Indies, where he inherited and

acquired many estates. Subsequently he settled in England, at Cramford, Middlesex, where he died in 1836. He married, in 1813, Celia-Catherine, only daughter and heiress of Thomas Joseph, grand-son of —Lyndsey, of Turin, Mayo, by his wife, Bridget Maria Purcell. He left a widow, who died in 1868, and a numerous family, viz.—Richard Lyndsey Purcell, barrister-at-law, his heir, who married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of John Peter Rasch, of Merton, Surrey, in 1858, and died S.P. 1886; (2) Henry Dillon, who married Julia Berkeley, daughter of John Berkeley, of Grenada, West Indies, and died in 1862 without issue; (3) Edmond Sheridan, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Francis Desanges, London, and has a son, Edmond Desanges (barrister-at-law), and a daughter, Jane-Alice-Frances, both living and unmarried¹; (4) Redmond Percy; (5) Arthur Dillon, a priest and canon of Hampstead, Westminster; (6) Maria-Isabella, who married Professor Hermann Muller, of Wurzburg, Bavaria, a Deputy in 1848, of the German Reichstag; (7) Celia-Catherine, died in 1874; (8) Agnes-Josephine, a Franciscan nun; (9) Emily-Mary Dillon; (10) Allice Dillon, a Franciscan nun, deceased.

So far I have endeavoured to treat of the Esker House of Purcell, as fully and correctly as I could, from trustworthy records and monumental inscriptions. Many representatives of this house are still living; notably those mentioned in my closing paragraph engaged in worthy professions and moving in high circles. The advantages of a more advanced age and civilisation have been secured to them; yet, in their ancestors of the House of Esker, in addition to the "pride of blood," they will find many virtues worthy their imitation, and will discover many qualities that might well adorn the more improved upholders of modern culture and enlightenment.

"Inspicere, tanquam in speculum in vitas Omnium,
Jubeo; atque ex illis sumere exemplum sibi."

From their castles of Esker and Kilcollan, we have seen them spread themselves over a large extent of country, embracing considerable portions of the Queen's County, in the baronies of Slievemargy and Stradbally, their chief seats having been at Doonane, Moyard and Timogue. Those were the old times of feudal sway, before civil commotion shook the fabric of society, or rancour and religious hate struck down the ancient pinnacles of pomp and power.

Like numerous Anglo-Norman families, the Purcells gradually fused into one blood and feeling with the old Irish inhabitants, and thickened the ranks of those that were designated the *Hibernicis ipsis Hiberniores*. The storms of 1641-2 and of 1689, overtook them, and they suffered the wholesale confiscations and spoliations of their properties in consequence of their devotedness to the tottering throne of Charles I. and hapless cause of James II. Their castles and lands passed accordingly into the hands of Puritan strangers, principally the Webbs, as may be seen by the "Book of Survey and Distribution."—(Appendix).

In other countries the scattered members acquired fortunes and rose to high positions. Some returned to die within sight of their ancestral demesnes, and rest their remains in the tombs of their forefathers.

ARMS OF THE ESKER PURCELL'S—A SHIELD ARGENT, ON A BEND OVER TWO BARS WAVY, GULES; THREE BOAR'S HEADS, PROPER SABLE, ARMED AND TONGUED ARGENT—CREST—A CUBIT ARM GULES THE HAND HOLDING A SWORD ERECT; THEREON A DOVE VOLITANT PROPER—MOTTO—DUM SPIRO SPERO.

Another very powerful branch of the Purcell family, was seated at Foulksrath, contiguous to the houses of Esker and Killcollan, in the present parish of Conahy. Philip Purcell, of Foulksrath, is mentioned in a *deed* in the Evidence Chamber, of Kilkenny Castle, as living in 1528, and having then a son, Thomas Purcell (*Antiq. S. Can. Cath.* p. 264). He was probably identical with Philip Purcell, who, in 1539, was arraigned by the "Commyners of the Towne of Kilkenny," for his unjust and oppressive exactions on the King's lieges, it being his wont "in the tyme of Lent to take up otes of every ploughman of the countrey of Kylkenny, *not paying money therefor* for to find his horse, &c." He is further charged with the stealing of two horses, in company with one Richard Sertall (Shortall), from the house of Davy Tobyn, "which they did in the daye tyme, feloniously breake" by no means, as the Rev. J. Graves remarks, an ungentlemanly proceeding in those days when *might made right*. He is also presented by the jury of the Irishtown, Kilkenny, as one of the freeholders of the said "countie of Kilkenny, who doo use at their pleasure to charge their tenants and all others the King's subjects within the said countie, with *coynes* and *lyverey*" (*Antip. St. Can. Cath.* p. 265). His son, James Purcell, was one of the jury who formed "the inquest of Gentlemen of the bodye of the Shyre of Kylkenny." His monument, in the shape of a floor-slab, exists in St. Canice's Cathedral."

It has the arms of the Crucifixion carved within a circular scroll, and underneath two hands holding a heart; also a shield charged with *three boars' heads, couped* for Purcell; and below it a second shield with *five lions' heads erased on a Cross Roman*, for Shortall. The inscription thereon reads as follows:—"Hic jac' Jacob' Purcell, fili' Phillippi, de Ffouksrath, q' obiit xi die mes Octobris, A^o.D.^o, mccccclii,^o et Johana Shortals, uxor ei' q' obiit [] die mes ano di. mcccc^o [] quor' aiab p'piciet de' ame, Jesus, M (aria). Credo quod Redetor me' viuit et i novissimo die de tra surrectur' sum et i carne mea videbo Deu' Salutore' meu' que visur' su ego ipe et no ali' et oculi mei cospecturi sut, suscepit Israel pueru suu recordat' mei' sue. Letat' su' in his que dicta sut mi in domu dui ibim'. Trans.—Here lieth James Purcell, the son of Philip, of Ffoukerath, who died on the 11th day of the month of October, A.D., 1552. And Johanna Shortals, his wife, who died on the [] day of the month of [] A.D., 15 [] on whose

souls may God have mercy. Amen. Jesus. Mary. I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I will rise out of the earth, and in my flesh I shall see God my Saviour, Whom I myself shall see and not another, and my eyes shall behold. He hath received Israel, His servant, being mindful of His mercy. I have rejoiced in those things that have been said to me. We will go into the house of the Lord." Underneath all—"Wellelim Otuny fabricanit Ista'tuba' pro me p' o'.—William Otunny made this tomb: pray for me, I beseech you."

The successor of this James appears to have been Thomas Purcell, who died in August, 1585. From an Inquisition taken at Thomastown, on the 16th August, 1626, he was found to have been seized in fee of the vill and lands of Foulksrath and Roestown, containing one-eighth part of the proportion of land called "Horseman's bed,"¹ held from the Earl of Desmond² as of his manor of Caulcrahine. It also appears from the same Inquisition that he left a son and heir, Robert Purcell, aged fourteen years, at the time of his father's death and unmarried. This Robert died on the 6th January, 1635, and was buried in the old church of Coolcraheen, the ruins of which still may be seen a short distance south of the chapel of Conahy. Within the church is his monument displaced and broken. The top slab, thrown one side, has a cross in relief, and an inscription thus:—"Hic Jacet Robertus Purcell, de Foulksrath Generosus me fieri fecit etiam . . . eius uxor Ellenor Purcell." . . . Translation—"Here lies Robert Purcell, of Foulksrath, Gentleman . . . had me made also . . . his wife, Ellenor Purcell." The supporting side and end stones are sunk in the floor by the north wall and one has an escutcheon of the Purcell arms, with a *boar* for crest, and motto—SPES MEA IN DEO EST. Outside the west end of the ruins are three fragments of a slab placed together on a grass mound. The inscription on them reads as follows:—

"O, Homines Homines-vid multos queritis agros
Loca quibus septem suefecit, urna pedes,
Major nostra solo . . . vovis me . . . Scadit Olympum,
Olla tamen Corpus continet urna meum,
Vante Deo fines me . . . superemiet vras
Altior est hujus sors mea sorte loci
Porci si generis ceteri sunt insignia nostri
Scire viator aves gallica scripta lege."

I have taken a careful rubbing of this inscription, but the date,

¹ "Horseman's bed" was so called from the circumstance that the county was divided into districts for the support of the militia, each district being obliged to maintain and supply a mounted soldier for the public service.

² Earl of Desmond, i.e., Sir Richard Preston, Baron Dingwall in Scotland. He married Elizabeth, only surviving child of Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, the "Black Earl," as he was called, and this alliance so pleased King James I., his Majesty created him *Earl of Desmond*, in Ireland, and handed him over the Ormonde estates.

1629, which was visible some years ago, is now broken away. The concluding lines refer to the legend of the "porcus" or "porcelles," the family cognizance. It contains a beautiful *moral* regarding the manner in which we should ever listen to the cries of the poor and avoid all harshness towards them. It is, however tinged in a certain sense which prevents me from appending it.

I will be pardoned for just remarking that a little censure attaches to the Kilkenny Board of Guardians for their neglect in having this old church and burial ground of Coolcraheen properly enclosed. Canon Hogan, the respected parish priest of Conahy, informed me that he mentioned the matter more than once, but as yet nothing has been done. Numbers are still buried there, and the place appeared to me to be more like a cattle-pen than the sacred resting place of the dead. I hope the local guardian, Mr. White, Ballycarron, will bring the necessity of its enclosure at once under the notice of the board, and if compelled agitate it warmly till an end is made of such a revolting spectacle.

To return—Robert Purcell, at his death in 1635, left a son, Philip, then forty years of age, and unmarried (Inq. Com., Kilk.-Car. I., No. 91). After the Revolution of 1641 his property was confiscated, and granted to one Bradshaw, who lies buried in the old churchyard of Donaghmore, near Ballyraggett.

Foulksrath belonged to the family of La Freynes after the invasion, and from one of them named Fulco it may have derived its appellation.

The castle, however, still in magnificent preservation, must have been built at a period subsequent to the reign of Henry the Seventh, or towards its close. A chimney-flue from the ground floor to the top makes this surmise pretty certain. As Philip Purcell was living at Foulksrath in 1528, i.e., nineteen years after the death of Henry the Seventh (1509), it is probable he was the founder of the present castle, or at all events of a castle which stood at the west end of the courtyard, and portion of which is still visible. Whether erected by this Philip Purcell, or subsequently by his son or grandson, Foulksrath Castle bears marked evidence of ancient power and feudal importance. The walls are nine feet thick from foundation to top. The first floor, or ground floor, measures clear on the inside twenty-four feet by seventeen feet in width. At the entrance to this room a spiral stone stairs ascends to a second, third, and fourth floor, all modernized into apartments beautifully kept and ventilated. The stairs itself consist of 61 steps, each eight inches high. From within the fourth floor a second stairs of 19 steps leads to the passage round the roof, protected by a battlement or parapet, and from which may be obtained a magnificent and charming view of the surrounding country, and of distant mountains in towering grandeur. The courtyard is of oval shape, measuring about 75 yards long by 45 yards wide, surrounded by a strong looped wall of four feet in thickness. The late proprietor, Mr. Ryan, expended a considerable sum of money on the restoration of the castle, modernizing its appearance to some extent, but still securing it a proud and permanent endurance.

Amongst the attainders of 1691, appears the name of John Purcell, of Connehy, county Kilkenny. Connehy is here likely set down for Shangana, which is quite convenient, and where once stood a castle of the Purcell family, held under the Earls of Ormonde. The site is hardly traceable at present, but is inside the public road leading to Kilkenny, near Canon Hogan's residence. The castle and lands of Connehy, or Shangana (I know of no site of a castle at all in the townland of Conahy) were leased to Pierce Butler, of Lismolin, county Tipperary, then Viscount Ikerrin, in trust for the term of 41 years, on the 20th May, 1620, by Walter, 11th Earl of Ormonde. On the 20th March, 1627, the said Viscount Ikerrin, leased the premises for the term of 21 years, together with Ballengarren and Kilcolman, to Richard Purcell, of Oldtown.

Amongst the forfeiting proprietors under the Cromwellian settlement (listed 1657) in the Barony of Fassadinin, are found the names of Edmond Purcell, Esker; Dr. John Purcell, Oldtown; John Purcell, Oldtown; Philip Purcell and Richard Purcell. This last was probably the Richard Purcell to whom the castle and lands of Connehy or Shangana had been leased by Viscount Ikerrin, in 1627, and which through the influence of Ormonde he was able to maintain, notwithstanding his forfeiture for his part in the Confederate war of 1641. John Purcell, of Connehy, above-mentioned, as attainted in 1691, on account of his adherence to James II. in the struggle of 1689, was either the son or grandson of Richard, and the last of the name I find mention of in connection with Shangana or Connehy. At Lismaine¹, on the banks of the Nore, another very powerful branch of the Purcell family resided. On an elevation above the left bank of the river a small portion of their ancient castle is still standing. It was evidently designed to guard the passage of the Nore at this point, convenient to the old fort of Rathbeagh, the burial place of King Heremon, and the site of many a stiff conflict. The mill formerly attached to this castle has disappeared; but the watercourse which propelled it may still be traced, under the road leading by Mr. White's house to Lismaine bridge. By Pat. Rolls 5, Ric. II. (1382-3), we find that William Purcell was chargeable with a chief rent of 40s, on account of the mill, payable to the Lord² of Castledogh (Three Castles) manor as superior lord. The lineal descendant of this William was Pierce Purcell, of Lismaine, whose death occurred on the 10th February, 1623. He was succeeded by his son and heir, Richard, whose life closed on the 18th Sept., 1635.

¹ Lismaine is probably derived from *lios*—an earthen fort, and *maighin*—a field, i.e., the fort of the field or meadow. The eminence on which Lismaine castle was built was the site of an ancient fort elevated above the valley or plain through which the Nore here winds and cuts its bed. Father Shearman supposes Lismaine to mean the *cáin* or *lios* of *Mughain*, daughter of Cucraidh, and wife of Diarmaid MacCarrol, whom Flann Sionna made King of Ossory in the tenth century (Loca Patric, p. 337).

² The Lord of Castledogh was the heir of Walter de La Laund, then a minor, the care of the property having been entrusted during his minority to one Richard Lanyngton by the King in 1381.

He was seized at the time of his death of "the castle, vill, and lands of Lismayne," with one water mill above-mentioned. He left behind six young children, viz. :—John, his eldest son and heir, only ten years of age; 2, Theobald; 3, Edmond; 4, Pierce; 5, Anastatia; 6, Catherine. By his will he made provision for his wife, his mother, and younger children (Decrees of Innocents, Roll iv., No. 13). The lands, which were held from the King in *capite* by knights' service, were demised to the executors to bear the charges thereon till 1650, when John entered into possession. In 1657 he was dispossessed under the usurping Government in favour of Major Robert Blackney, but on the 28th of March, 15, Car. 2. (1663-4), he obtained a decree from the Court of Claims that the lands be immediately restored to him as an *innocent* person. With a singular good luck he seems to have enjoyed the fruit of his decree, and to have regained his old home. At the Revolution of 1689 he remained quiet, either from advanced age or by reason of his former sufferings. His son, John, however, entered the service of King James, and is described as Purcell, son of John Purcell, of Lissinane (Lismaine), County Kilkenny. He very probably was one of the many Purcells who enjoyed high positions in Colonel Purcell's Regiment of Horse. He was accordingly attainted, but the estate remained in the family till about the middle of the last century. He had a daughter, Anty, who was married to a Mr. Greene, of Foulksrath. The following inscription, on a floor slab within the old Church of Rathbeagh, mentions her name :—

"The body of Mr. Thomas Greene, of Foulksrath, is deposited here. He was the son of Mr. George Greene and Anstice Purcell, who was daughter of John Purcell, of Lismaigne, Esq. He died the 30th day of March, 1761, in the 67th year of his age—The Lord have mercy on his soul Here also is interred the body of his spouse, Mrs. Bridget Greene, daughter of Sir Robert Harpole, of Shrewel, Bart. She departed this life on the 19th July, 1761, in the 87th year of her age."

The Wright family came into possession of Foulksrath in 1777. A stone inscribed—"Stephen Wright, 1777," was formerly inserted in an angle of the wall attached to the Castle, but is now lying one side in the court-yard. In Rathbeagh Churchyard I also discovered a portion of a tombstone, with the following imperfect inscription thereon in raised letters :—"Patricii Purcell de Lismean." On the centre the initials, R. P. and T. P. *floriated*. The missing portion of this slab would be valuable, as it would supply the date, and fill up the inscription.

Theobald, second son of the above Richard Purcell, of Lismaine, deceased, 18th September, 1635, is possibly the person who held Ballymartin under the Mountgarrets. A Major Toby Purcell appears in the Army List of King James, who subsequently passed over to the side of King William, and was raised to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel. He distinguished himself in King William's service, especially against the *Rapparees* of Longford, and got the command of a regiment after the departure of General Douglas for Flanders. After the war he was

appointed Governor of Duncannon. He memorialled the King for a confirmation of his estates in Tipperary, in consideration of his past services. He sat as member for Ardfert in King William's first Parliament, which met in Dublin on the 5th October, 1692, and he is described in the Parliamentary record as *then* residing in Archer's Grove, Kilkenny. He died in Dublin in the early part of the last century. His eldest son married against his consent an unequal, and died childless. Toby, however, made a provision in his will for his widow, the property itself devolving upon his second son, usually designated Major Toby, of Ballymartin. He married the heiress of a Cromwellian owner of Cloghpooke, which was a fragment of the Purcell estate of Ballyfoyle, and by this alliance reverted to the ancient name. In his latter years he resided on this property, and was very fond of passing his summer evenings on a neighbouring hill, eastward of the present chapel of Muckallee. The hill was accordingly called Knock-major, or the "Major's Hill," a name which it retains to the present day, and the tradition of the Major's visits thereto to enjoy the "sunsets," and the unlimited prospect it affords, is still rife amongst the peasantry. He left no sons, but his eldest daughter Anne, married Edmund, 9th Viscount Mountgarret, who conformed to the Protestant Church in 1736, and whose heir is now the representative of the Purcell's of Ballymartin and Cloghpooke. Major Toby married secondly in 1730 the childless widow of Richard Cole, of Archer's Grove, County Kilkenny, who was third son of Sir John Lord Ranelagh, and M.P. for Enniskillen. At Clone, convenient to Ballyragget, and in the present parish of Lisdowney, another branch of the Purcells held under the Ormondes.

The list of pardons granted at Kilkenny, 24th January, 4^o Edward VI. (1550-1), includes the names of James Fitz-phillype Pursell, of Clone, in the County Kilkenny, and his sons Patrick, Thomas, Robert, Philip, and Theobald.

In the time of James the First, I find that Donat McFirr O'Brennan made a grant in *fee* of the lands of Croghtenclogh (Cruttenclough), and Aghnevuckey (Aughamuckey), in the vicinity of Castlecomer, to Thomas Purcell, of Clone, the premises being held from the King *in capite* by knight's service.

Theobald, son of said Thomas Purcell, of Clone, died on the 3rd of February, 1631. He made a provision by will for his wife, Catherine, who survived him. In the old church of Rathbeagh, under the east window or high-altar their tomb exists. The angles and edges are much damaged, which renders the inscription incomplete. It reads as follows:—

"Hic jacet Theobaldio Domine . . . urcell de Clonne . . . Anno Dni, 16 . . . —no Domine. Et uxor ejus. Katherine Purcell—quæ obitt. Qui hoc opus fieri fecerunt. Ano Dni."

Translation—"Here lies Theobald Purcell, Lord of Clonne . . . A.D. 16[31]—lord—and his wife Katherine Purcell, who died . . . who (both) had this monument erected—A.D. . . .

James, son and heir of Theobald was full of age, and married at the

time of his father's death. He got involved in the Confederate war of 1641-2, and was accordingly a forfeiting proprietor under the Cromwellian settlement. How he escaped an uncomfortable lodging beyond the River Shannon, I can't say, unless it had been through the influence of Ormonde, his feudal lord. That he escaped such a fate I am inclined to believe, as his name does not appear amongst those who received back the lands under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, 1661-5, in the reign of Charles the Second. The crash was reserved for his successor, Theobald, who was outlawed and beggared in 1691, for the part he had taken in the war of King James, 1689. At the time of his attainder he was in possession of the vill and lands of Clone, Rabohagh, and Acregare, containing 1478 acres, in the barony of Galmoy. All were forfeited and escheated to the Crown. Theobald survived the stroke but a few years. He was dead before 1698.

He lies buried within the old church of Rathbeagh, under a monument which bears the following inscription :—

D.O.M.

"Here lye the body of Theobald Purcell, of Clone, Esq., of Mr. James Purcell, of Knockroe, his son, and Ellin, wife of James, who died the 10th August, 1760. Aged 93. Also Mary Purcell, daughter of James, Ellen, who died the 23rd of September, 1766.—R.I.P."

On a second tomb, Theobald, son of James, is commemorated thus :—

"Here lieth the body of Teobald Purcell, of Lisdowney, son of James Purcell, of Knockroe, and grandson of Theobald Purcell, of Clone, and John Purcell, of Lismaine, Esq., He died 9th day of December, 1767. Also Margaret Purcell, his wife, who died February 27th, 1772.—*Requiescant in Peace.*"

Beside the above two, there is a third monument in memory of the Rev. James Purcell, a member, no doubt, of the Clone family, as the proximity of his grave beside them indicates. The inscription thereon runs as follows :—

"Underneath this tomb are deposited the remains of the Rev. James Purcell, who, at an early age, became the patient victim of a fatal but lingering disease, which terminated a well-spent life on the 8th of May, in the 50th year of his age, and of his redemption, 1795.—May he rest in peace."

Near this old church of Rathbeagh, which still endures with roofless walls, is the famous *rath* or *tumulus*, which gives the locality a historical importance. *Rathbeathach* means the *Rath* of the *birch-trees*. The *rath* is of an oval shape, and very irregular, the diameters of its greatest length and width being about 120 feet and 75 feet respectively. The interior is much above the level of the field, and is protected on one side by the brink of the River Nore, and on the other by a deep *fosse* or trench, ten or twelve feet wide. According to the Four Masters the Milesian colony arrived in Ireland 1700 years before the Birth of Christ. O'Flaherty fixes the date of its arrival much later—viz., in 1015 B.C., but either date secures for Rathbeagh in connection with these primitive wanderers from the sunny land of Spain a very wonderful antiquity. The Milesians, after their landing, fought a battle near

Tralee with the Tuatha de Dananns, who had already been in possession of the island for nearly 200 years. A second battle was fought at Teltown,¹ in Meath, where the sons of Milesius were the conquerors, and the three De Dennan Kings slain. Heremon and his brother, Heber, now came to a dispute on the division of the island between them. The covetousness of Heber's wife was blasted on the bloody field of *Geisiol*, now Geashill, in the King's County, where Heber fell, and Heremon was left absolute monarch of the "Rich Vales" of Erin. He erected his chief residence and fortress at *Airgiodross*,² on the River *Feoir* (Nore), and his *Royal* residence he fixed further up at *Rath Beathach*, now Rathbeagh, on the right or west bank of the same river. Heremon, after a reign of fifteen years, died at Rathbeagh, and was buried in the *turnulus* or sepulchral mound already mentioned.

"The fifteenth year of the reign of Eremhon; he died at the end of of this period of Rath-Beothaigh, over the Eoir (Nore), in Argat-Ross."—(F.M.)

In the reign of *Tighearnas* of Tiermas, one of the early Milesian kings (B.O., 1620, F.M.) two battles are recorded in the bardic portion of our history, as having been gained by him at *Cuil*, now Cool, in the parish of Rathbeagh, over the race of *Heber Finn*, one of Heremon's brothers. In A.D. 749, the Picts of Ulster penetrated in great numbers into Leinster, wasting and plundering before them. The men of Ossory resolved on checking their devastations, and for the purpose formed themselves into a "fair bright fortress" of opposing weapons on the plain of Rathbeagh. The Picts were defeated with great slaughter in the encounter which ensued. Cathasoch, their king, was slain, and the exploits of his marauding gang no further troubled Leinster.

St. Catherine, whose well is convenient, is the patroness of Rathbeagh, and the bell of the old church was conveyed to the Protestant Church of Carlow, where it is still in use.

Convenient to the present Chapel of Muckalee, may be seen a very small portion of the west end of a castle once inhabited by the Purcells. It is called Clogharinka Castle, and is believed to have been founded by Dermot Reagh O'Brennan, towards the close of the fourteenth century. It was called Clogharinka from the circumstance of its being the meeting point of the several shares of property made by Dermot, amongst his sons, Clogharinka, i.e., *Clogh-a-rointe*, meaning the "stone of the divisions." He is said to have been killed by one Maurice

¹ Teltown is about four miles south-east from Kells. One of the Tuathal de Danann Kings named Lugh Lambfhada or Lewy of the long hand, instituted a fair and public games on the hill of *Taill'e* (Teltown), near the Blackwater (A.M., 3380 Cir.) This celebrated fair, known as *Lugh's fair*, with its various games continued to be held till the 12th century on the 1st of August, and the "vivid traditions are yet preserved of the pagan form of marriage and ancient sports of which the old rath of Teltown was the scene."

² Though the plain near the confluence of the Nore and Dinan was commonly called Airgeadros, yet it is supposed that Airgeadros was much more extensive, and embraced the entire valley of the Nore which stretches northward, and includes Rathbeagh. Hence, Rathbeagh was sometimes called Airgeadros.

Purcell, who accordingly took possession of the castle, and became the founder of the Purcell house of Clogharinka. A document amongst the Ormonde MSS., quoted by the Rev. J. Graves (K. Arch. Soc., vol. 1, p. 232), gives colour to the above tradition of the death of O'Brennan, and the manner in which the "mere Irishry" were disposed of whenever an Anglo-Norman settler wanted to further his encroachments. It is as follows:—John Brenane, sayeth that his Grace, the Duke of Ormonde, hath as much interest in and to the land of Clogherykeye (Clogharinka), Ballynegall (Gaulstown), and Moykilline (Muckalee), in the barony of Fassadynne, as ever he hath to any other part of Idough, and further sayeth that *Mr. Purcell, of Ballyfoyle (not meaning this Purcell alive, nor his father or his grandfather), came to the possession of the said lands by killing one Dermott Leagh O'Brenne, who held the said lands from his Grace's ancestors, as the rest of the inhabitants of that part of Idough which his Grace's ancestors (sic) have sold to the Master of the Rouls; he farther sayeth that he can nominate twelve persons or more alive, to make good the said lands to be of his Grace's inheritance when thereunto required. Dated the 20th April, 1664.*

Dermot Leagh O'Brenane in this information of John Brenane, is most probably the Dermot Reagh O'Brennan, who was slain by Maurice Purcell (circiter) 1396. In 1403 his son, Thomas Purcell, entered into possession after the demise of Maurice, his father. The Pat. Rolls, February 28, 5^o, Henry IV. (1403-4), mention "conveyance whereby John Comyn, chaplain, grants to Thomas, son of Maurice Purcell and Catherine, his wife, such lands, rents, and services as he hath in Ballingall (Gaulstown), Loghton, Cloghrankan (Clogharinka), and Ballilannan, to hold of the chief lords of the fee by the service thereunto due, and of right accustomed."

This deed of conveyance supports the testimony of John Brenane, above quoted, as to the lands of Clogharinka, having been held by the Purcells from a feudal lord (Ormonde), and not immediately from the Crown. The lands were held by the superior lord (Ormonde) from the King *in capite* by knights' service. In the reign of James the First we find the Purcells of Clogharinka holding extensive possessions. Edmund, son of Philip Purcell and Elizabeth Cantwell, died on the 16th August, 1625. He and his brother Patrick were on their way home from the city of Kilkenny, when they were overtaken by Sir Edmond Blanchfield, and his brother Leonard, of Blanchvillstown, with others, at a point traditionally said to be the cross-roads, about one hundred paces south of the present chapel of Ballyfoyle. Here Sir Edmond Blanchfield saluted Edmund Purcell, who in turn saluted Sir Edmond, saying—"God save you also, how be it you did me wrong?" An interchange of heated words with drawn swords followed, and whilst Edmund Purcell, at the request of one McStronge, stood still with the point of his sword to the ground, pending a peaceful understanding, Leonard Blanchfield struck him on the head with his weapon, whereby he expired in a few minutes. For this unfortunate occurrence Sir Edmond Blanchfield and his brother Leonard, were brought to trial but were both subsequently pardoned and discharged by King Charles I

The base of a way-side cross, standing about the centre of St. Patrick's Churchyard commemorates the death of Edmund Purcell:—"Orate pro ania nobilimi D.D. Edmundi Purcell, qui obuit 16 Aug., A.D. 1625. Trans.—"Pray for the soul of the most noble lord, Lord Edmund Purcell, who died the 16th August, A.D. 1625." The escutcheon of the Purcell arms impaling those of Cantwell, his wife's name, are also carved on another square of the block—viz., *a saltier between four boar's heads coupé; in pale four annulets pale-wise Dexter; for crest on a helmet, a hand erect, holding a sword, point upwards.* At the dexter base of the shield the initials E. P., and at the sinister base M. C., for Edmund Purcell and Margaret Cantwell (his wife) respectively. This Edmund was seized *inter alia* of the manor, town, and lands of Muckilly (Muckalee, county Kilkenny), of the town and lands of Williamstown and Ballylonane, parcels of the said manor of Muckalee; of the town and lands of Ballyfoyle, held from the Earl of Ormonde; of the towns and lands of Dromyrrhin (Drumhe-rin), Killmedoine (Kilmadum), Ballyneale, Cloghfoulke (Ologhpooke), and of the reversion of the town and lands of Gallestown (Gaulstown), and Cloghranicke (Ologharinka), expectant on the death of Elizabeth Cantwell, *alias* Tobin, mother of the said Edmund Purcell. The said Elizabeth Cantwell held also in satisfaction of her dowry the lands of Killfoulke and Clonmore, parcels of the manor of Ologharinka, all of which formerly belonged to her husband, Philip Purcell, and were held from the king by knight's service. From the foregoing it appears that the Ballyfoyle Purcells were the same who held Ologharinka from the closing years of Richard the Second (1396) down to the period we are investigating.

At the time of Dermott O'Brennan's assassination, the O'Brennans were at open war with the government. In 1385, Thomas St. Leger, Baron of Bargo (ancestor of Sir William St. Leger, who was married to Johanna Purcell, heiress of Bargo, in 1307), received ten marks from the Irish Privy Council "for the taking of Henry O'Legan (O'Logan), Dermot Roth O'Brenan, and John Roth O'Brenan, and for the killing of Tayg son of O'Brenan, captains of the Irish, then in open war." "The three first were tried and hanged, and Dermot Reagh O'Brennan, killed by the Ballyfoyle Purcells (relatives of the St. Legers), in 1396, was probably a descendant of one of them. That Maurice Purcell should have got O'Brennan's possession at Ologharinka, in reward of his having done away with Dermott, must not surprise us; for at that period, and even down to the reign of James I., the Irish people were, in the eyes of the law, "Irish Enemies," denominated as such in Royal Proclamations, Charters, and Parliamentary Acts, and "their murder was no more a crime than the killing of a rabid or ferocious animal." That the said Maurice Purcell was of Ballyfoyle is supported, not only by the testimony of John Brennan, above given, in 1644, and founded on tradition, but also by a Pedigree of the Grace Family, wherein is mentioned the marriage of Catherine Gras, daughter of Almaric Le Gras, Baron of Courtstown, with Thomas Fitzmaurice Purcell, of Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny, in 1400 or 1404 (Mem. Grace Family, Pedg. XVI., p. 2). There can be no doubt, therefore, but those are the same persons men-

tioned in the above "Conveyance" of 28 Feby., 5 Henry IV. (1403-4), whereby "John Comyn, chaplain, grants to Thomas, son of Maurice Purcell and Katherine, his wife, such lands, rents, and services as he hath in Ballingal (Gaulstown), Lochton, Ologhrankan (Clogharinka), and Ballilannan, to hold of the chief lords of the fee by the service thereunto due and of right accustomed." From the last condition of this "Conveyance," it is clear the lands of Clogharinka were not conferred on Purcell *in capite*, but to be held of the chief lords, etc., that is, of Ormonde—namely, James, 3rd Earl, who, in the reign of Richard II., finding the country about Nenagh too hot and troublesome, came and settled at Gowran. It appears, that in lapse of time, the Purcells managed to ignore the feudal lord, his rents, and services, and became tenants *in capite*, i.e., holding immediately from the king and by knight's service. Doubtless it was to clear up how this occurred, that James, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormonde, called into requisition the testimony of John Brenane, already mentioned. How it did occur is not easy to see. Some fifty years after the Purcells had settled in Clogharinka, the great civil conflict, known as the "Wars of the Roses," convulsed England. The Ormondes got mixed up in this great feud between the House of York and Lancaster, and having assumed the "red rose" of the latter, they made one of those few mistakes which occurred in the history of that noble family. Six years after the first battle of St. Albans, James, 5th Earl of Ormonde, fell into the hands of the Yorkists after the battle of Towton (1461), and in consequence lost his head at Newcastle (May 1, 1461). His brothers, John and Thomas, were attainted, but subsequently were taken into favour and restored in blood, the former by Edward IV., and the latter by Henry VII., so that they became successive Earls. It may be that it was during this confusion that the Purcells of Clogharinka, were enabled to better their condition, by changing their feudal tenure into tenure *in capite*.

By the inquisition, No. 5, car. 1, taken at Kilkenny on the 10th of October, 1625, it appears that Walter Archer and Thomas Purcell, of Garryduff, "were seized, for the use of Edmund Purcell, of the town and lands of Ballyfoyle, in the Co. Kilkenny, containing 4 acres, great measure, and held from Walter, Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Gowran. Further down, the Inquisition adds, that the aforesaid Edmund Purcell died, seized also "of the reversion of the towns and lands of Gallestown (Gaulstown), Cloghrinke (Clogharinka), expectant on the death of Elizabeth Cantwell, *alias* Tobin, mother of the said Edmund, which towns and lands the aforesaid Elizabeth held, and still holds by the assignment of the aforesaid Edmund, in satisfaction for her dowry." It adds that the premises belonged formerly to her husband, Philip Purcell, and were held from the King *in capite* by Knight's service. The same Inquisition also states, at the outset, that Walter Archer, New Ross, and Thomas Purcell, Garryduff, above-named, were seized for the use of the said Edmund Purcell, of the manor, town and lands of Muckkully (Muckalee), in the Co. Kilkenny, and of the towns and lands of Williamstowne, and Ballilonane, parcels of the manor of Muckalee, &c., which are held from the King *in capite* by Knight's service.

A manor was so called because the lord or owner made the district or place his usual residence, as Blackstone has it, and hence the Purcells must have made Clogharinka and Muckalee their chief residence, and established their domestic court or court-baron there, with a suitable number of tenants around them to form at least a jury or homage, without both of which no manor could continue to subsist. And is it likely that the Purcells would continue their chief residence at Ballyfoyle as the *mere feudal tenants* of Ormonde whilst such a residence of Clogharinka *by virtue of its manor* would convert them into barons, and for that matter, if they wished it, into despots. So far this question of their chief residence. With regard to the Castle of Ballyfoyle, a late inspection of it leads me to believe that its foundation dates back much earlier than the reign of Elizabeth or of James I., and hence cannot be attributed to either Edmund Purcell, who was killed in 1625 or to his father, Philip Purcell. The most that can be said is that either of them, probably Edmund, introduced some "modern improvements," to be noticed presently, and so far may be considered the renovator, but by no means its founder. Its shape is a rectangle. The door is at the north side and jambed with massive blocks of finely drafted limestone, with pointed arch. All inner doors are constructed likewise after the same style and finish. Inside the front door there is a hall about sixteen feet long, corresponding to the width of the castle within, and six or seven feet wide. The walls are fully seven feet thick from foundation to top. In the left, or east end of this hall, a spiral stone stairs ascends to the upper rooms, and fronting you a door opens to the kitchen or ground floor. This apartment is 24 feet by 16 feet, and was originally lighted by three loops. It has no fire-place or chimney, but the broad splays of the loops made them serve the double purpose of showing light and conducting smoke. Ascending about sixteen steps of the spiral stairs you enter the second floor, similar in size and construction to the under. A second door leads off the stairs to an apartment corresponding with the unoccupied portion of the hall underneath. Ascending again you come to the third and last floor. Its size corresponds to the two under, and the door to the apartment or bed-room over the hall opens off it, and not from the stairs as in the case of the under one corresponding. This third large room may be fairly considered to have been the state or drawing-room of the castle in its later or more modern times. It has a fire place furnished with a massive stone chimney-piece finely executed, the top slab or architrave resting on huge droppers or brackets springing solidly from the perpendicular uprights, the whole surmounted by a cap or cornice chamfered and fluted. Its west and east lights are mere loops of equal dimensions with those of the under floors, but the south wall has a window of much more modern size divided into two lights by a centre mullion (now broken away) and surrounded by a drip-stone on the outside. If this window be not of later date than the foundation of the castle the fire-place mentioned at least is. Fire-places with chimney flues are of earlier date in England, I believe, than in Ireland. In the former country chimneys made their appearance in the 12th century, but were not, I

believe, universal till the 14th or 15th century. In the 13th century English houses had only one ground floor, consisting of one hall or room used by day for cooking, eating and living in, the fire kindled on dogs or and-irons placed in the centre, and the smoke escaping through a *louvre* in the roof. At night the hall was converted into a dormitory, and anything like an up-stairs or upper chamber was unknown till about the time of Edward the Third, or middle of the 14th century. In Ireland it is very freely admitted that the use of chimneys did not prevail till about the close of the 15th century, and even so late as February 2nd, 1680-1, we find "severall have none belonging to their cabins, hutts so-called, wherefore the collectors of the hearth money are to exact four shillings per hearth to bring them to the decorum of the English, and some rather pay double, than by having a chimney to loose the benefit of so much good smoke, which, they say, nourisheth and keepeth warme their children in which thatcht hutts abound" (Ext Diueley's journal). Ballyfoyle Castle having no chimney flue in its first and second floors must have been founded at least prior to Henry the Seventh's time (1485-1509). What is more the wicker plastering of the arches of the opes go far to show that it was erected in the very earliest times of Anglo-Norman feudalism. Mr. Comerford, on whose premises the castle now, and to whom I am indebted for many useful and intelligent remarks regarding it, informed me that the hazel used in the mortar has an exactly similar bark to that growing in the glen convenient. The fire-place and chimney-piece in the third room imply undoubtedly a modern improvement. This, I consider, took place when Edmund was about to return to this more ancient seat and make it his fixed residence, Ologharinka having been allotted to and in the possession of his mother, Elizabeth Purcell, *alias* Cantwell, by the will of her late husband, Philip Purcell, and in consideration of her dowry. It was surrounded by a deep *fosse* which can be traced at present, and embraced, Mr. Comerford informed me, at least an Irish acre. 'Tis built upon a solid rock, and at the mouth or opening of one of those romantic glens which won the early admiration of Banim, and are elegantly described in his favourite "Orohore."

Edmund Purcell, deceased, in 1625, was, as has been mentioned, the son and heir of Philip Purcell and Elizabeth Cantwell, *alias* Tobin. His grandfather was probably Patrick Purcell of Ballyfoyle, mentioned in Lodge's Repertory of the Records of the Rolls, vol. 1, p. 86, as having enrolled a Deed, in 1545, dated 28th February, 1403—"Wherein, Thomas Comyn, chaplan, grants to Thomas Fitz-Maurice Purcell and Catherine Grace, his wife, all the estate in Ballingall (Gaulstown), Loghton, Ologhrainicke (Ologharinka), and Ballilannan, that he has been enfeoffed with, by the said Thomas Purcell (his heirs), for their lives, with remainder to Walter Fitz-Roger Purcell, James Fitz-Henry Purcell, Thomas, Philip, and John Fitz-Roger, William Fitz-Thomas Purcell, and John Fitz-Fulco Purcell, in *tail-male*, with the remainder to the said Thomas Fitz-Maurice Purcell." The foregoing, supplied to me by one interested in the Inquisitions beyond the Channel, throws additional light on what has already been written, and leaves no doubt about its

substantial correctness. It is clear, from this deed, that Thomas Fitz-Maurice Purcell and Catherine Grace, who got possession of Ologharinka castle and lands, in 1403, were of Ballyfoyle. It shows also why it was that the Ballyfoyle Purcells did not separate into two distinct branches, known as the Ballyfoyle and Ologharinka Purcells, the latter a cadet of the former. The deed itself prevented it, as, by its conditions, Ologharinka property was to descend to the *heirs-male* of the original Thomas Fitz-Maurice Purcell, of Ballyfoyle, and could not, therefore, be given to or vested absolutely in any of his younger sons, unless in defect of heirs-male of his eldest son or heir. It is easy to understand, then, why it was that they never assumed the name of Ologharinka Purcells, even though they had made it their chief residence. Their title, thereto, rested on a deed in tale-male, wherein they were described as being of Ballyfoyle, and solely to the heir of the "Ballyfoyle Purcell" the property should descend. On inquiry, moreover, I have been informed by an intelligent old man of near 80 years of age, that, in his boyhood, he alway heard it said that the Purcells lived in Ologharinka Castle, but not, as he said, to the memory even of his grandfather. The above Edmund Purcell, deceased in 1625, and for whom the way-side cross, already noticed, was erected in St. Patrick's cemetery, left a son and heir named Philip Purcell, by his wife, Margaret Cantwell, and who was 18 years of age at the time of his father's death. Subsequently, this Philip married a daughter of Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret, the distinguished leader of the Confederate Catholics in the civil war of 1641-2. Philip was a member of the General Assembly, and was said to have used his influence in saving the lives of many of the Protestants. That such a murderous intent ever entered the minds of the Confederates, rests on no reliable authority whatever. I have already shown, in a previous article, that is a calumny founded on the depositions of an illiterate brood of informers, in 1644, numbers of whom were unable to write their names, and were but too ready for their share in blood-money to give the most extravagant scope to their imaginations, and convert the lowing of a cow into the vengeful shriek of a murderous Papist. He left a son, Edward Purcell, who was adjudged "nocent" by the court of Claims, and his paternal estate was awarded to one Tobias Cramer, a Cromwellian officer, and ancestor of the Coghill Family, Co. Cork. Edward Purcell engaged in a foolish resistance for the recovery of his property, and at the head of an armed party, severely wounded Balthazer, son of Tobias Cramer, near his Castle of Ballyfoyle, whose life was merely saved by the arrival of a timely "rescue" of the members of his family. Subsequently he entered foreign service, by accepting a position of small rank, purchased for him in the French *Gens-de-Armes*, by the generosity of the Duke of Ormonde. As to Ologharinka property, I have already stated that it returned to the name, by the marriage of Major Toby, second son of Sir Toby Purcell, of Ballymartin, with the heiress of a Cromwellian owner at Ologhpooke. Knockmajor hill, as already remarked, was called after him, and having remarried, in 1730, the childless widow of Richard Cole, of Archer's Grove, Kilkenny, I find no mention of his having left male issue. In defect of such, the Ologharinka property

(Knockmajor was called Upper Clogharinka), must have passed to the Mountgarrets, the Major's sister, Anne Purcell, having married Edmund, 9th Viscount Mountgarrett.

Towards the close of the century (18th), I find the Purcell name again at Clogharinka. Philip Purcell, of Clogharinka, died in 1788, and lies buried within the old Church at Muckalee. The following is the inscription on his tomb:—"Here lyeth the body of Philip Purcell, he departed this life the 4th of April, 1788, aged 63 years." Where he came from I cannot possibly discover, by tradition or otherwise. He left sons, John and Tobias, the former of whom was highly respected at Clogharinka, and in high favor with the "gentry." He got somewhat embarrassed, and the residue of his property he divided between his four daughters, Mary, Margaret, Anne and Elizabeth. Mary was married to Patrick Buggy, grandfather of the Rev. Father Buggy, R.O., now on the Australian mission. Margaret was married to Patrick McEvoy, and Anne and Elizabeth to Thomas Hosey and Patrick Hosey, respectively, of Bilboa, Queen's County. John Purcell is buried in Muckalee, near the west door, and within the old Church. I merely give this short notice of him and his children, that their representatives may be able hereafter to furnish additional information. John Purcell, who was prior of the Augustine Abbey of St. John's, Kilkenny, was very probably a member of the Purcells of Ballyfoyle. His tomb is of black marble, whereon he is represented in the habit of a canon regular of the Augustinian Order, with mitre. The inscription is:—

F. Joannes Purcell. Abb. ecc. . . . qui
obiit.

The date of his death is unknown.

THE PURCELL FAMILY OF LOUGHMOE.

Hugh, son of Sir Hugh Purcell, who was "slain by the Waterfordians," in or about 1171, married, as was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Beatrix, daughter and heiress of Theobald Fitz-Walter, the first *butler* of Ireland. She had been first given in marriage to Thomas de Hereford, who received with her, as her dowry, large property in the barony of Eliogarty, county Tipperary. Hugh Purcell her second husband, was knighted, and obtained the aforesaid grant of property in right of his marriage. He fixed his chief seat at Loughmoe, and became the founder of this line of the family. When James, 2nd Earl of Carrick and 1st Earl of Ormonde (c-1328) was authorized, as Count Palatine, of Tipperary, to create Palatine Barons, he included amongst them Purcell of Loughmoe, and "thenceforward the Barons of Loughmoe ranked high on the roll of local aristocracy, intermarrying with the Butlers of Ormonde and other distinguished houses" (Burkes' Land. Gen. supp. p. 1385). Sir Hugh, the founder, left a son and heir of the same name, and we learn from the Plea Rolls 24, Edw. I. (1296) that his grandson, another Hugh, was impleaded by Theobald, 5th Butler (great grandson of the 1st Butler) in a suit for the recovery of Loughmoe lands, on the ground that as the first marriage of Beatrix with de Hereford was issueless, the property given her as her dowry

ought revert to the heirs of the original donor. The result of the suit is not on record, but as the descendants of Purcell held the lands to the 18th century, and as, moreover, we find in still later times a chief rent of £50 payable out of the property to Ormonde, it looks as if the suit had been compromised for this sum. Sir Hugh is frequently mentioned in the records. In A.D. 1280, he paid a fine of 4s. 6d. for release from venue for himself and his Irishmen, and 4s. 6d. for the escape and harbouring of John M'Donough. He was sheriff of Tipperary from 1295 to 1300. On the 27th February, 1297, by charter passed at Clarendon, he received grant of free warren in his demesne lands of Corkteny, Maghclonfert, Admylehan, Moydrom, and Legarth, Tipperary; in his demesne lands of Maybro, Chinneehe, and Ballycathelan, Limerick, and in his demesne lands of Clonmyn and Drumssethan, Kilkenny. A similar grant had been made to his kinsman, Robert Purcell, for his demesnes situate in Tipperary. The Norman Purcells had lent their good swords for weal or for woe to weld together a mighty realm. We find them hence engaged with the English King Edward I., in turning the troubles which agitated the kingdom of Scotland, under Baliol and Bruce, to that monarch's ultimate designs of uniting the whole island under one sovereign, a prospect preconceived by three full centuries. Sir Hugh Purcell, with some 30 other barons, was summoned by close letters, dated January 3rd, 1296, at St. Albans, to be personally at Whytehaven on the first of the approaching month of March, with as powerful and becoming a force as he could to aid the king in doing what he intended for the preservation of his regal right and the honour of his crown. As he had much at heart the expedition and "hastening of this matter," the king renews his supplications to the barons to be present at the place and day named, ready to depart on the king's service. The king himself proposes to be there and then (cal. of Records, Irish Series, p. 126) Purcell, like a good soldier, buckled on his armour, and with lance and broad sword failed not in the tryst. In 1297, we find him testifying before the King that Walter Sergeant, of Dublin, had well and manfully served his majesty in the war of Scotland. The king accordingly pardons Walter, the King's suit of peace, for the death of Walter de Nemson.

The war with France broke out in 1294, by Philip IV., seizing on Guienne, but was prosecuted with little success until the surrender of Baliol at Dunbar, (1296), and his imprisonment in the Tower. On the 4th May, 1297, succeeding, the King directed a close letter to Hugh Purcell:—"Whereas the King would soon want the assistance of Hugh Purcell and his other lieges in Ireland, by reason of the present war between the King and the King of France, the King entreats and commands him on his fealty and affection to the King that without delay, he provide himself with horses and arms, so that he may be prepared to come to the King and to go with the King in the King's own proper person, wherever the King shall demand. The King shall retain him by his side and he shall never be sent away from the King, wherefore it becomes him to be prompt in coming. The King prays him to place credence in what John Wogan Justicary of Ireland, shall tell him with

regard to this matter. He shall send his answer by the justiciary." By a close letter to J. Wogan, the justiciary, written in Norman-French, the King informs him of the letters already sent to Hugh Purcell and his other lieges, to aid him against the King of France, in the defence and salvation of his Realm. He enjoins the justiciary to use pains and diligence, that he might have at command 400 horsemen with armoured horses. Care must be taken that the men be well mounted and well apparelled. The justiciary shall certify how many ships are laden in Ireland, with wheat as supplies for Gascony. On the 17th May, the King by close letter from Warham, prays Hugh Purcell, to be at latest in London with horses and arms, &c., on the feast of St. Peter, *ad vincula* (August 1st) to pay his *devoir*.

Amongst the other magnates of the name summoned to the Scottish war are mentioned Maurice and Adam Purcell. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, off-shoots of the family had become numerous in Munster, and the rolls of the licences for protection and pardon in the year 1310, included according to John D'Alton, no less than thirteen adult Purcells. We learn from Clynn (p. 34.) that during the Christmas days of 1348, Donald O'Kennedy, at the head of a body of insurgents composed of the Irish of Munster, Connaught, Meath and Leinster, wasted with fire and sword the country around Nenagh. All the English strongholds were destroyed, together with the town of Nenagh itself, in this foray, its castle only escaping. He was encountered by the Purcells whomade him prisoner on Friday following the Feast of the Annunciation, and on the 4th of the Nones of June, they had him with one FitzBreyn O'Breyn (O'Brien), juridically hanged at Thurles, and drawn at the tails of horses. During the protracted but hopeless struggles of the Geraldines of Desmond, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, we find the baron of Loughmoe leagued with his kinsmen, the Butlers, sons and brothers of the Earl of Ormonde (Black Thomas) in crushing the insurrection.

Edward and Peter Butler MacPiers, Baron of Dunboync, and Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, united their forces in 1582, near Fethard, Tipperary, and prepared an attack on the Earl of Desmond, who was despoiling the territory of Ormonde, and had already defeated the English troops in a desperate engagement at Gort-na-pisi, or Peasfield. They had stationed in the town (Fethard) an active body of cavalry, and, in addition, had brought together a select company of gallow-glasses and *giomanachs* (light soldiers). The Earl of Desmond approached, but the opposing armies manœuvred without encountering till they closed with each other at Knockgraffon, between Oahir and Cashel. A terrible conflict ensued.

The Butlers, through a recklessness devoid of military skill, exposed their cavalry and foot soldiers to the furious onset and disposal of the Geraldines, who cut down the flower of their army, and overstrewed the hill on which they fought with their dead bodies. Once more the unhappy Earl of Desmond was victorious, but his predatory successes only served to prolong a struggle during which he was hunted like a beast of the forest between Aberlow and Kilmallock, and "from one cavern of a rock or hollow at a tree to another," until his capture and

decapitation on the 11th November, 1583, five miles east of Tralee, in the vale of Glenageenty. Baron Purcell, of Loughmoe, escaped from the carnage at Knockgraffon, and, so far as I can find, he no longer appears in subsequent warfare. He seems identical with Thomas Purcell, the 19th, on MacFirbis's pedigree of the Barone of Loughmoe, quoted by O'Hart (Irish Pedigrees, p. 486).

He had a daughter, Ellen, who was married to Pierce Butler, son of Walter Butler, of Nodstown, or Moyaliffe. This Walter died in 1560, and was buried at Kilkenny. He was fourth son of James, 9th Earl of Ormonde, by Joan¹, daughter of James, 11th Earl of Desmond. Thomas Purcell left a son and heir, Seumas or James, who was succeeded by his son, Thomas, who was succeeded by James, his son and heir, who was married to Elizabeth, second daughter of Thomas, Lord Thurles, son of Sir Walter Butler, of Kilcash, 11th Earl of Ormonde. O'Hart, in his "Irish Pedigrees," p. 486, says that this last James was living in 1689; was Colonel in the army of King James II., whilst his brother, Tobias, served as general under William, and fell at the battle of the Boyne. If I am to trust Lodge, and I would like to do so, as likewise D'Alton, there is not a shred of thruth at least in the first part of this statement. Lodge mentions in his "Peerage" (vol. 2, p. 27-8) that Elizabeth Butler first married James Purcell, Esq., titular Baron of Loughmoe, and secondly, Colonel John Fitzpatrick, of Castletown, in the Queen's County. She died, he states, on the 6th December, 1675, and was buried on the 8th in St. Patrick's Church. Her first husband, James Purcell, must, therefore, have died at least previous to 1675, and consequently could not have been a colonel in King James's army in 1689.

His sister, Mary Purcell, was the second wife of Richard Comerford, of Ballybur Castle, erroneously supposed by the author of "Kilkenny" (p. 315), to have been the daughter of Philip Purcell, of Ballyfoyle Castle. She survived her husband, and had erected to his memory the altar-tomb still existing in Cuffesgrange churchyard, which shows that his death occurred on the 15th June, 1637. James Purcell, by his wife, Elizabeth Butler, had issue one son, Nicholas, and two daughters; Catherine, married to Nicholas Darcy, of Platen, County Meath, and Mary to Mr. Ohevers, of Mountown. Nicholas, Baron of Loughmoe, married Rose, daughter to Marcus Viscount Dungannon, and had issue, Nicholas, his heir.

Before sketching the life of Nicholas Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, some preliminary remarks on the reign of Charles II., and the position of Irish "parties" towards its close, will help to explain why he and the Irish gentry and Catholics, supported James the Second in his struggle

¹ Amongst the ancient vestments and church plate preserved with the Bryan family at Jenkinstown, probably from the time of Cromwell's attack on Kilkenny, in March, 1650, was an embroidered cushion bearing a design of the crucifixion, and on a scroll underneath—"Johanna filia comittis Desmonaie." Also round the border, "Miserere mei Jesus Nasareus Rex Judæorum." Her husband, 9th Earl of Ormonde, died in 1546.

with his son-in-law, William of Orange, and did not leave these two personages to fight out the possession of the throne between them. On the overthrow of the usurping or regicide Government, in 1660, the Catholics were made to feel the full severity of the "penal code." The hopes which at first they naturally entertained of recovering their lands and broad demesnes, were grievously blasted, and Charles II., for whom they had made such great sacrifices, even in his exile, treated them, on his restoration, with the most ungenerous policy and flagitious injustice. To those only who were open and determined foes of the Catholics, were offices of power and preferment entrusted. Such men were Coote and Broghill, who were appointed Lords Justices, though they "had slaughtered more Irish in cold blood, during the usurpation, than any others, if we except Cromwell's massacres at Drogheda and Wexford." Those two worthies, so distinguished for their savage cruelties, were inveterate enemies. They were renegades who turned from Richard Cromwell to the side of Charles, and vied for his favour. Both were richly rewarded, Coote being created Earl of Mountrath, and Broghill, Earl of Orrery, while "the estates of the Irish, who had fought for the king, and followed his fortunes in exile, were confirmed to drummers and sergeants, who had conducted his father to the scaffold." True, a court of claims, to test the rights of "nocent" and "innocent," was established; but as soon as some Catholics, despite the hostility of the Government, and the rabid indignation of the Cromwellian plunderers, had made good their causes, the sittings were suspended and the doors bolted against all comers. Some 3,000 cases listed for investigation were thus summarily and hopelessly set aside, whilst many of those established produced no more effect than the admission of a claim, or the miserable equivalent drawn from "reprisals." In the discussions on the Bills of Settlement and Explanation, which passed in 1665, the Catholics only moderately demanded a third of their lands, in the grasp of soldiers and adventurers. The Act of Explanation insultingly provided that Protestants were first of all to be settled, and all "ambiguities" explained in their favour. It, moreover, set forth, that no Papist, who had not been adjudged "innocent" under the court of claims, should be reputed such at any future time, or be entitled to assert his right to any lands or settlements. Thus was cut off "every remaining hope of those numerous claimants whose causes had not been heard." But it was on account of their religion that the Irish suffered most from this wicked and worthless Stuart. The English mind was fermented by malicious reports of "Popish plots," "Popish conspiracies," and "risings," and French invasions. The House of Commons, in 1673, violently addressed his Majesty, and demanded that he should expel, by proclamation, all who exercised spiritual jurisdiction under the Pope in Ireland. The House of Commons, moreover, demanded that his Majesty should encourage the English Planters in Ireland, and the Protestant interest, and prohibit any papist, unless duly licensed, from inhabiting any part of that kingdom. The infamous fabrication of Titus Oates and his associates, known as the "Popish Plot," in 1678, gave a resistless im-

petus to the public frenzy and fanaticism. Even the Duke of Ormonde (James, 12th Earl), affected to believe it, and that the "plot" had actually reached Ireland. But this was to give a colour of excuse to his iron rule and inhuman treatment of the Catholics and their clergy, against whom he entertained the bitterest enmity, ever since the rejection by them of his insulting *Remonstrance*, in 1666. Archbishop Talbot was dragged from his sick bed, at Cartown House, near Maynooth, the residence of his brother, Colonel Richard Talbot, who was also arrested and driven into exile. The Archbishop was brought a prisoner to Dublin Castle, where he died after a martyrdom of two years. Proclamation after proclamation followed against unoffending Catholics, and the full force and fury of the storm burst in waves of banishment for "all titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general and other dignitaries of the church of Rome; and also all Jesuits and other regular priests," who were commanded to depart by the 20th November (1678), and that "all Popish societies, convents, seminaries, and Popish schools, should dissolve."

Carte is candid enough to avow the real purpose of all this severity and persecution calculated to provoke and exasperate the Irish. "There were," says he, "too many Protestants in Ireland, who wanted another rebellion, that they might increase their estates by new forfeitures" (Carte's Ormonde, vol. 2, p. 482). Such was the height of fanaticism, that Archbishop Plunkett, even in Ormonde's eyes, a good man and a "promoter of peace and order," was nevertheless seized, and subsequently, on the 1st July, 1681, executed at Tyburn, his condemnation resting on the mere wanton evidence of vile miscreants and infamous perjurers. The indolent ingrate and profligate King Charles, was at length seized with an apoplectic fit, which proved fatal. He closed his wicked reign on the 6th February, 1685, and, on the succession of his brother, James, a new vista of hope dawned upon the Irish. The old English had, by this time, blended into like feelings and sympathy with the native Irish. Both had all but fused into one people, with a common cause and interest. Between them and the Cromwellian planters, the dominant party, enriched with the spoils of plunder, there existed that most intensified hate, antipathy and aversion, which could possibly spring from religious antagonism and difference of race. By the accession of James, the Catholic party "who had so long groaned under oppression and ruin, was suddenly raised to the hope of restored fortunes and religious liberty." A corresponding depression seized on the Dominant party, "who now dreaded the loss of power, and of estates so dubiously acquired, and what was worse, the extension of favour towards a creed to which they entertained a fanatical aversion." No monarch ever ascended a throne under greater difficulties than did James the Second of England, so threatening were the elements of discord which swayed the two great parties who composed the realm. The open favour shown to the Catholics is taxed against James as incautious policy, at a time, particularly, when the temper of England was so fanatical and lost to all reconciliation with even the idea of a Catholic sovereign. Be that

as it may, enough have I said to show that, when the revolution burst, which deprived him of his kingdom, it was mainly on account of their religion, and the favour shown to it, that the Irish sided with James against the Prince of Orange. So dark had been their sorrows, and so long their night of agony, that they felt unbounded joy at the first light of religious liberty and toleration, in the exuberance of which they resolved to bury the bitter memories of the past, and strike a still further blow in defence of the House of Stuart. The commissions, issued by Tirconnell, to the Catholic nobility and gentry, to raise troops for the King's Service, were readily responded to. Regiments of foot and horse and dragoon troops, were soon in abundance, anxious for equipment. The subject of my present memoir was not backward in his duty to the cause he had vowed to serve. Colonel Nicholas Purcell of Loughmoe, raised his regiment of horse, of about 720 men, mostly of Tipperary. He was, as already stated, titular Baron of Loughmoe, in the same county. In 1686, he was one of the King's Privy Council in Ireland; and, in 1689, was one of the representatives of Tipperary, in the King's Parliament in Dublin.

The arrival of James, from France, hastened those military movements, in which Purcell and his little army were destined to act conspicuously. His Majesty landed at Kinsale, on the 10th March, 1689, with some Irish troops and French officers.

Immediately after his arrival he hastened to Cork, where he was met by the Earl of Tirconnell (Colonel Richard Talbot), whom he created Duke. On the 24th (March, 1689), he proceeded to Dublin, where he ordered a parliament to be summoned and proclaimed as traitors all who having left the country for England or Scotland, refused to return and aid him against the usurper of his throne. In this parliament, Colonel Nicholas Purcell, titular Baron of Loughmoe, was one of the representatives of the County Tipperary. During its sitting he and his troop of dragoons were ordered by King James to Belturbet, and after an engagement near Enniskillen, the Duke of Berwick¹ lauded their achievements in his despatch to Lieutenant-General Hamilton² then at the camp of Derry. When the siege of this last town proved abortive on the break-up of the Jacobite Camp, August 5th, 1689, Major-General Bohan, with a regiment of foot and a portion of "Purcell's Dragoon's," were placed in charge of Charlemont Fort, on the Blackwater, about eight miles north west from Armagh.

The following year the gallant little garrison of Charlemont, and the veteran Governor Teighe O'Regan, signalized themselves by their

¹ The Duke of Berwick was an illegitimate son of King James, by Arabella Churchill, sister of John Churchill, who was created Duke of Marlborough. She became the mistress of James when Duke of York.

² Hamilton's mother was sister of James, 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormonde, his father being son of the Earl of Abercorn. His brother, Colonel Anthony Hamilton, was tried by court-martial in Dublin for a blunder in taking up the word of command given to the troops by Lord Mountcashel in the fight at Newtown-Butler, August 5th, 1689. He was acquitted, and subsequently became famous in the French Court as a poet, wit, and novelist.

obstinate defence of the fort for over two months, and only surrendered on honorable terms to Duke Schomberg,¹ when compelled by starvation. On the 14th May, being 800 in number, they marched out with drums beating and colours flying, so distressed however, that several were chewing pieces of unshorn cowhide as a "most unequivocal evidence of their resolute devotion to a hopeless cause." That cause, viz.—to secure the throne to James II., was lost at the Boyne. Those north of the river never, perhaps, have bethought them that the factious celebration of the event in after years has cost more lives than fell in the actual engagement, and has inflicted more calamity upon themselves by perpetuating a disunited Ireland, than could ever have overtaken them even had William being defeated, and the Stuart Dynasty upheld. Nothing that has happened in our history has been so anti-national and suicidal as those bloody anniversaries, and yet the story of the Boyne left no room for wild and hurtful exultations. It was not an Irish Crecy, a Poitiers, or an Agincourt, where chivalrous valour, consummate prudence and generalship, proved irresistible and superior to the power of numbers; on the contrary, history records no victory "which gave less right to the victors to exult over the vanquished, or a defeat in which the vanquished had less cause to feel the blush of dishonour."

On the 14th June, 1690, William landed at Carrickfergus, in order to conduct the Irish campaign in person. His forces, derived from England, Scotland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Germany, with French Huguenots and Irish Protestants, &c., combined with those already in the field under Duke Schomberg, made up a formidable army of at least 45,000 effective men. Those veteran troops were well supplied with every necessary in the way of arms and equipments, and had a splendid and numerous train of artillery. They could, moreover, boast of some of the very best officers in the world—Counts Solmes and Schomberg (son of Duke Schomberg); Lieutenant-General Douglas, Caillemot, Lord Portland, La Meloniere, Count Nassau, &c., whilst King William's own presence at their head inspired them with the utmost confidence and kindled their spirits to the very highest pitch of military ardour. King James, on his side, had an opposing army not only greatly inferior in point of numbers being only at most 23,000, but what was still worse, imperfectly disciplined, and poorly supplied with the necessities of war. His only artillery consisted of twelve field guns, which the French brought with them, 6,000 of whom, under the command of Count de Lauzum, formed what might be called the really trained contingent of the entire soldiery except the Irish horse.

The conduct of King James had, moreover, a damping effect on the spirits of his men. About the 22nd of June he advanced as far as

¹ Schomberg was son of Count Schomberg, who married a daughter of Lord Dudley, and fell at the battle of Prague, in 1620. The Duke had, accordingly, English blood in him, and was 82 years of age when killed at the Boyne, being born in 1608. He served in Holland, Portugal, and France, and in the latter country earned a named equal to that of Conde and Turenne.

Dundalk, and took up an advantageous position, but quitted it on the approach of William from Newry. James fell back on Ardee, and, finally, having re-crossed the Boyne, he pitched his camp on the Leinster side of the river. Here he resolved to make a stand, and "put his title to the three kingdoms upon the event of one day."

"The *Irish* army," says the author of the *Macariae Excidium*, "was not a little disheartened by this sudden retreat of *King James*, for as nothing animates the *Irish* more than to be led on to assault, so nothing can discourage them more than to retire from an enemy." It was also a most fatal blunder that some 5,000 of the *Irish* veterans crossed over to France under the command of Lord Mountcashel (Lieutenant-General Justin MacCarthy) whom Tirconnell disliked, and on that account, more than for the defeat he suffered from the Enniskilleners at Newtown-Butler (August 5, 1689) had him removed. *King James*, from the moment he set foot upon the soil, seemed unfortunate in his tactics. Previous to November, 1689, he neglected to attack Duke Schomberg's camp at Dundalk, when it was fully in his power, weakened and reduced as it was by sickness, scarcity, and an unhealthy climate and situation. We have seen how his vacillating conduct in first advancing to meet William in the direction of Dundalk, and then suddenly retiring towards Drogheda, dispirited and damped the ardour of his army. It now only remained for him, by his bad generalship and flight, to make the Boyne a decisive battle, and, in exile at the Court of Louis, "let the political horizon shut down darkly and for ever on his hopes." To hasten this, his inevitable fate, the two hostile camps confronted each other on the 30th June (old style) on opposite banks of the river. The Williamites occupied the heights and ravines on the north, or Ulster side, and the Jacobites the declivity of Donore hill, on the south, or Leinster side, with their right wing towards Drogheda, and their left in the direction of Slane Bridge. The first day was spent in reconnoitring and in the discharging cannon from each camp. William, who rode close to the river, was touched on the right shoulder by a six-pound ball, but escaped with a slight flesh wound, whilst the guns bearing on his party killed several horses and soldiers. By evening James was again at his old conduct of vacillation. He sent his baggage and six of his twelve field pieces to Dublin, and ordered his men to pull down the tents and raise the camp. This latter part of his order he again countermanded, but the heavy guns were gone with the baggage, so that he had now only six to reply to William's fifty ready to open fire on his entire line. In the early bright dawn of Tuesday, July 1st, 1690, Count Schomberg, general of horse, Lieutenant-General Douglas, Lords Portland and Overkierke, and Brigadier Trilauney, with five pieces of cannon and 10,000 choice men, made the first move in the Williamite camp in the direction of Slane bridge.

At Rossnaree, Niall O'Neill, with about five hundred dragoons, disputed their passage for over an hour, and fell mortally wounded. James, who expected from this first move of the right wing of the Williamite army that the real fighting would be in the direction of

Slane, ordered his left wing, under Lauzun, to the assistance of O'Neill's dragoons, and later on he himself came up with the reserve force, consisting of Colonel Nicholas Purcell's horse and Browne's foot, under the command of Sir Charles Oarny. Whilst James was indulging in this delusion news reached William that his right wing had crossed at Slane. It was about ten o'clock when the river was lowest and the fords passable. He accordingly gave orders to his men to throw their whole weight upon James's centre and right. Never were orders more promptly obeyed. Count Solmes, at the head of his Dutch blues, marching ten abreast, first entered the water opposite Oldbridge. Next the Enniskillen and Londonderry horse plunged in. On their left the Flemish footguards and French Huguenots, under Schomberg and Caillemot, crossed; lower down the English infantry, under Hanmer and Count Nassau, with the Danes on their left; whilst at the fifth ford, near Drogheda, William himself crossed with the left wing of his cavalry and Colonel Welseley's horse. "Thus was the Boyne for nearly a mile of its course filled with thousands of armed men struggling to gain the opposite bank in the face of a foe their equals in gallantry, but greatly inferior in numbers, discipline, and arms." At Oldbridge the Boyne forms an abrupt curve almost like the apex of an irregular triangle. The ford here was exactly under Donore Hill, where the Jacobite centre was posted, and on the side right opposite is the valley known as William's Glen, down which his troops poured to the water's edge. The Jacobites knew that the enemy would attempt a passage at Oldbridge, and accordingly the place was left in charge of the Duke of Berwick with the right wing of the cavalry, and Lieutenant-General Hamilton with eight battalions of infantry. The ditches and farmhouses were filled with Tirconnell's footguards, whilst at a short distance from the river seven regiments of foot soldiers sheltered themselves under some hillocks from King William's cannon. With them were Tirconnell's and Parker's troop of horse. In this disposition the Jacobite fire broke heavily on the Williamites wading through the waters. The latter, closing on their foe, returned a deadly fire with levelled muskets.

At this moment Hamilton charged at the head of a division of his ill-trained troops, and cheering them on, rushed into the very river. A squadron of horse followed, and swept through the regiment of Caillemot or Callimotte,¹ leaving the Huguenot commander dead, but on wheeling to return, a "heavy Dutch and Enniskillen fire left their horses to gallop riderless over the field."

Tirconnell, Berwick, and Hamilton, did everything that brave men could to break the accumulated tide of Williamite forces which surged closely around them. Ten different times they charged the enemy, but superior numbers, better disciplined and equipped, left them no chance against such fearful odds. Hamilton, in one of the attacks at the head

¹ The grave of Caillmot is pointed out a distance from the field marked by two elm trees.

of a cavalry charge, sent a Danish regiment flying across the river to the opposite bank. A detachment of Tirconnell's horse cut in two the regiment of La Mellionere, and in their detour by the village of Old-bridge, encountered Schomberg. As they passed on, the lifeless body of the veteran marshal of eighty-two, was found with two sabre wounds in the head, and a bullet in his neck. About the same moment George Walker, the defender of Derry, to whom William gave that See, was shot dead in the ford. William disliked busybodies, and considering his lordship was out of place, gruffly asked, on hearing of his death, "What brought him there?" The camp plunderers, his own countrymen stripped and pillaged his unfortunate remains.

William's cavalry, having crossed in the direction of Drogheda, now came up to the assistance of his centre. The Jacobites, unable to stand, retired from Oldbridge to Donore¹, pressed forward by William's cavalry. Just as they reached the height, they turned suddenly and, making a last desperate charge, sent the Williamite cavalry flying back in disorder. William rallied the Eunniskilleners, and having advanced with a detachment of Dutch, the Jacobites were forced beyond Donore. The gallant Richard Hamilton was wounded and made prisoner. James' entire army was soon in full retreat towards Duleek. The luckless king himself, with Lauzun, Sarsfield, Parcell, and the entire left wing, reached the place before the flying columns of the centre and right poured in. The French infantry admirably co-operated with the Irish cavalry in covering the retreat. Berwick was the last who crossed Duleek with his horse. William's cavalry pressed on the retreating party, as far as the defile of Naul, where the last stand was made. Darkness was closing on the belligerents. It was now nine o'clock. There had been eleven hours' fighting, i.e., since ten in the morning. The Williamite horse returned from the pursuit to Duleek and there rested for the night. Thus was the battle of the Boyne lost, and with it the cause of King James II.

"The conduct of the Jacobite officers, in that engagement," says Dr. Cane, "was remarkable for its daring and its courage, their determined efforts to bring up their men, over and over again, to the fight; their resolute leading on and heading their almost hopeless charges, prolonged a fight which else had been decided in an hour, while the number of them who fell and were wounded, shows where their position had been during the hottest parts of the battle."

Some of the ablest and best of officers fell on James's side at the Boyne. What a pity such gallant men should have fallen in so unequal a struggle, in which desperate bravery alone could have kept the issue doubtful during the entire length of a hot July day. Hamilton was a wounded prisoner. Colonel Dongan, son to the Earl of Limerick, whose ancestors had done brilliant services in the wars of France, Spain, and Portugal, was shot dead in the commencement of the fight,

¹ The little ruin of Donore Church may still be seen, at least it was there some twelve years ago; when I had the pleasure of seeing the battle ground of the

and the loss of such a young and chivalrous commander had a dispiriting effect on his regiment of dragoons during the remainder of the action. Amongst the slain were also numbered the Marquis of Hogen-cour, Sir Charles Tate, Lord Carlingford, D'Amarde, Ashton, Arundel, Fitzgerald, Powell, Parker, Green, etc. The Duke of Berwick states that the loss of the Irish was 1,000 men, including the wounded; but considering how closely the Williamites pressed on the flying mass of the vanquished it is likely the slaughter was somewhat greater. "Few or none of the men," says Story, "escaped that came into their hands, for they shot them like hares among the corn and in the hedges as they found them in their march." Of the Williamite losses no official account is given; but one Captain Parker, an officer on William's side, mentions that they had about 500 killed and as many wounded. The losses on both sides were accordingly pretty even. Some are of opinion that if James had not followed Lauzun with the reserve force and Sarsfield's horse in the direction of Slane, where no action at all took place, as the opposing sections were divided by impassable ravines and broken bog, the result at Oldbridge would have been otherwise. I do not believe so. The odds in numbers, discipline, and arms were too much against the Jacobites, and William, moreover, was unquestionably one of the ablest generals of his time.¹

The Irish campaign might have ended differently if the military operations had been confided to Berwick and Sarsfield, and had James remained at Ambleuse, or the court of Louis XIV., after his escape from the Dutch guards at Rochester. His presence might have thus counteracted the protestations of Louvois, the French Minister of War, and induced the king, as his best policy, to strike at William on Irish soil rather than on the Flemish frontier.

France, and France alone, at the time could have thus prevented William and his splendid army from mowing down the raw masses of the Irish soldiery.

"Oh! who shall say what heroes feel
When all but life and honour's lost?
To Limerick! to Limerick!

Such the notes and watch-word which resounded in the ears and re-echoed in the broken camps of the disheartened and distressed Irish

Boyne, accompanied by my revered friend, Canon Moore. James, as has been seen, did not remain at this church during the engagement, but was higher up with Lauzun and Sarsfield towards Slane. He, however, slept within the Church the night before the battle, and may have read, with sad presage, the following, which appears on a very ancient tomb on the east end:—

"All ye mortals who, on this earth, draw breath,
In health, prepare for the certain hour of death."

¹ It is traditionally said that Sarsfield observed to some of the Williamites after the battle of the Boyne, "change kings and we'll fight the battle over again." If there ever was a doubt about William's superiority as a general and soldier over James, this observation of Sarsfield would have been quite sufficient to remove it."

soldiers after James had deserted them and deserted himself with his back to the Boyne and his tearful eyes towards Brest. Drogheda submitted, Kilkenny was evacuated, and Duncannon surrendered. The garrison of Waterford capitulated next, and its 1,600 men with arms and baggage marched ahead to the ancient city of the O'Briens to prolong a hopeless struggle in defence of a dethroned monarch, whose feebleness, inability, and reproachful insults should have prevented all further effusion of blood in his behalf.

"Gentleman," said he, before quitting Dublin after the battle of the Boyne, "I find all things run at present against me; in England I had an army consisting of men stout and brave enough, which would have fought, but they proved false and deserted me; here I had an army which was loyal enough, but they wanted true courage to stand by me at the critical minute."

Notwithstanding such ingratitude and reflection on their military character, the Irish were still resolved to continue the war, and faithful to the cause he had espoused, the subject of my memoir, Colonel Nicholas Purcell, of Loughmoe, was at his post to take part in the defence of Limerick, which Lauzun¹ pronounced untenable, and swore it might be taken with roasted apples. Defended, however, it was, and, it may be added, as Banim observes, "that under the circumstances, unequal in numbers, undisciplined, unsupported by regular allies, starving, and against the terror of the name of a great general—Limerick made a struggle, and accomplished a triumph not unlike or inferior to the struggle and triumph which has since immortalized the walls of Saragossa."²

After the several garrisons had collected together, there were found in the city about 20,000 foot soldiers, of whom half only had arms. About 3,500 Irish cavalry were encamped on the Clare side of the Shannon. On the 9th July, William commenced his march southwards. He passed through Kilcullen, Timmolin, Castledermot, Carlow, Gowran, and having encamped his army at Bennetsbridge, he dined, on the 19th, with the Duke of Ormonde, in the Castle at Kilkenny. On the following day, he moved on towards Carrick-on-Suir, and having here pitched his tents, he returned about the 27th to Dublin. Better news

¹ Limerick may have been badly fortified enough, but Lauzun wanted to get back to France, and he wished, moreover, to favour the hostile opinions of Louvois, who was unfavourable to James and the Irish campaign from the beginning. It is scarcely admitted that Lauzun was a good general. His men were crying for bread, but it is likely they were inspired by the same longings about Versailles as Lauzun himself, and wished to be back there. Moreover, the cause of James was lost and the object for which they came ceased. One thing, however, is pretty certain—the exchange of Mountcashel and his five or six thousand of the best equipped and best trained Irish soldiers for Lauzun and his equal number of Frenchmen, was one of James's most fatal blunders.

² Saragossa is the capital of the old kingdom of Aragon, and situate on the Ebro about 175 miles from Madrid. It sustained two terrible sieges during the Peninsular war in 1808 and 1809. Byron has immortalized the heroism of the women of Saragossa in his "Childe Harold" on the occasion of those sieges, in which the French lost several thousand men.

having reached him from England, he hastened to rejoin his army, and on the 8th or 9th August, he approached Limerick and encamped at Singlands, in the south eastern suburbs. Douglas, who had gone to Athlone from the Boyne, arrived almost simultaneously. Colonel Richard Grace there delayed him, else he had been sooner. After a week's expenditure of powder and ball, and incessant roar of batteries, he was unable to haul down the blood-red flag, or shake the resolution of the gallant colonel, and so without the venture of an escalade or assault he abandoned his entrenchments and marched his army to the south. He continued his route with the Shannon on his right through Roscrea, and under the "Devil's Bit" Mountain, till he arrived at Thurles, which town he permitted to be plundered by his army. Thence marching he formed a junction with the King's army near Limerick. William was now at the head of a formidable force of 38,000 effective men. He sent a summons to Boisseleau, the Governor, to surrender. The reply addressed to his secretary was spirited and defiant. William opened fire with some field-pieces, "and never was a town better attacked and better defended than the city of Limerick." "King William left nothing unattempted that the art of war, the skill of a great captain, and the valour of veteran soldiers could put in execution to gain the place. The Irish omitted nothing that courage and constancy could practice to defend it. By this time William's heavy battering train, with a numerous escort, was on its way from Dublin, and was anxiously awaited in the camp. Sarsfield having got intelligence thereof left the city under cover of the night with 500 Lucan horse. He proceeded in the direction of Killaloe, then wheeled eastward almost at right-angles and halted near Silvermines, on the slopes of Keeper Mountain. A suspicion of his movement having reached William's ear, Sir John Lanier was ordered out with 500 horse to meet the expected convoy. He was too late. At the little castle of Ballyneety, or Ballyneedy, by break of day, Sarsfield had already come upon the sleeping party and cut them down, leaving not a man to contend with. He then charged the cannon with powder to the brim, and having fixed the muzzles in the earth he heaped around them the several tons of powder remaining, the carriages, baggage, tin boats, provision chests, treasure chests, &c., were next huddled on top. He then laid a train—retired and fired it at a distance. The explosion was terrific and everything around was blow to atoms. The solid earth shook beneath for miles. The old castle of Ballyneety toppled to its foundation. The Slieve Iellum hills glared in the reflected flash and reverberated the roar through their deepest recesses." Lanier and his 500 horse felt the ground quiver to the dread rumbling, and arrived just in time to find Sarsfield out of reach and everything reduced to hot ashes and fragments. This exploit of Brigadier-General Patrick Sarsfield raised the spirits of the besieged, whilst on the besiegers it produced feelings of exasperation. Considerable as was the disappointment William was not to be turned from his purpose. He received a second battering train from Waterford, which he planted on Penny Well height. His entire battering train played as follows on the walls and

on the Irish and English parts of the town, into which an arm of the Shannon divides it :—

At Ireton's fort eight pieces charged the Irish town—nearer to the walls eight battering pieces were directed against them. Parallel with the guns at Ireton's fort were planted four mortar pieces raining shells upon the English town—four additional pieces opened on the bridge over the arm of the Shannon between the two towns, and twelve pieces more shot red-hot balls. In addition to all, four pieces to dismount the enemy's cannon were stationed right opposite Ireton's fort, and by the bank of the river. Thus William's entire battery played from the Irish side of the city. Whilst the guns and rams were thus engaged day by day bellowing against walls and towers, and showering shells and shot upon the houses ; Colonel Nicholas Purcell and his companions made a hazardous sortie by night which so confused the besiegers that they mistook friend for foe, and continued to slaughter each other till the daylight pointed them out their stupid mistake. The havoc thus caused had a depressing effect on William, and subsequently had much to do with inducing him to raise the siege. At length, on the 27th, a breach over 20 feet wide was effected near John's Gate. The guns ceased, and there was a moment of breathless silence. The discharge of three field-pieces at half-past three o'clock gave the signal, and at once five hundred grenadiers leaped from their trenches, fired their pieces, threw their grenades and with tremendous cheers rushed for the counterscarp. A heavy fire opened upon them from behind a wall within the breach and made open lanes through the densely rushing masses. An instant discharge of battery from Cromwell's fort swept the walls with leaden hail. The grenadiers pushed forward within the breach over the dead bodies of their companions, but at the point of the pike and sword were dashed back again. The conflict now became terrible. The grenadiers were supported by ten thousand men, and amid the deafening roar of hostile cannons, walls were disencumbered of their garrisons, and the breach and its approaches choked with the heaps of the dead and dying.

The contest raged for about three hours. Never was a breach so fiercely assailed or so bravely defended. The women of Limerick even rushed on the assailants and hurled in their faces broken bottles, stones, and every missile they could grasp. The Brandenburg regiment gained the Black-battery defence near the breach. The tower of the battery was filled with gunpowder to which a train was attached. It was immediately by this contrivance fired and up went tower and Brandenburgers like so much charcoal darkening the heavens. The result of the action is thus summed up by Story, the Williamite historian :—
“ From half an hour after three till after seven there was one continued fire of both great and small shot without any intermission ; inasmuch that the smoke that went from the town reached in one continued cloud to the top of a mountain at least six miles off. When our men drew off some were brought up dead, and some without legs, others wanted arms, and some were blind with powder. The King stood nigh from Cromwell's fort all the time, and the business being over he went to his

camp very much concerned, as indeed, the whole army ; for you might have seen a mixture of anger and sorrow in everybody's countenance." William lost over 2,000 men in killed and wounded, and in exceeding bad humour left on the 5th September for England. The loss of the besieged is estimated at 400 *in toto*, a number more than compensated for by the glory shed on the military character of the Irish."

Scarcely had the Williamite army withdrawn from before the walls of Limerick, when the most unfortunate dissension broke out amongst the Irish. Tirconnell had become unpopular, and was even suspected of holding a private correspondence with the enemy, designed to bring the war to a termination, and hand over the Island to William. On his leaving for France, to represent to King James the actual state of things, he left the Duke of Berwick in chief command, with two councils, one of regency and one of war, to assist him. The opponents of Tirconnell held a meeting at Limerick, and endeavoured to induce Berwick to alter his government. He refused, but consented to send agents to France to explain their opinions, and report to James on the condition of the army. Henry Luttrell and Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, were sent on the embassy ; and it was the design of Berwick, that both should be detained in France, as in the camp they were considered the "two firebrands of the army." It is likely Purcell's aversion to Tirconnell was influenced by Luttrell, who was a bad man, and was foremost amongst those of the "native Irish, who used all exertions to undermine his (Tirconnell's) power, and denounce his adherents to public scorn." On the voyage to France, both proposed to throw overboard Colonel Maxwell, whom the Duke of Berwick sent with the embassy, in order that he might deliver private instructions to his father, James ; but they were prevented doing so by the Bishop of Cork and the elder Luttrell, the other two delegates. Maxwell, on landing, hastened to give accounts to James, so that the ambassadors, on presenting themselves, were coldly received, and even threatened with imprisonment. They were not, however, forcibly detained, as it was feared the Irish might resent it as a public insult, and even league with William against the French King. They were, accordingly, presented by James himself, to Louis XIV., as legates from the Irish Catholics. They assured his Majesty that those whom they represented were resolved to prosecute the war in Ireland ; and even should they fail to recover the Island from William, they would so employ him as to render him unable to give any effective assistance to foreign princes, who had leagued together against the power and interests of France. They, moreover, represented that the Roman Catholics of Ireland, relying principally on his Royal protection, had committed themselves to the war, and to be now abandoned by his Majesty, was no better than to consign them to perpetual bondage or utter extermination, as their *fate inevitable*, according to the unalterable policy of the English King since the period of the Invasion. They therefore reminded Louis, that he was bound in honour to support them in the war, nay, that it was his Majesty's own interest to do so, as he would thereby prevent William from concentrating his entire forces against him nearer to his throne, and in conjunction with foreign allies.

Louis seemed willing enough to countenance their proposals, but his ministers failed to carry out his orders. The brave French officer, St. Ruth, came over to take the chief command of the Irish army; but neither men nor money came with him. Colonel Purcell was in his camp on the fatal field of Aughrim, July 12th, 1691. St. Ruth fell, and with him expired the last hope of King James II. Purcell, Sarsfield, and those who escaped, were again destined to meet the victorious Ginkell at the second siege of Limerick. But here a still greater victory awaited the Dutch general. On the 30th August, 1691, the bombardment of the city commenced, when sixty twelve-pounders, and nineteen mortars, in a short time reduced it to merciless flames. On the 23rd following, there was a parley; on the 24th, a three days' truce; and, on the 3rd October, the articles of capitulation were signed, which brought the war to a close and left William and Mary the undisputed occupants of King James's throne. Colonel Purcell was one of those who signed the articles of Limerick Treaty, on behalf of the Irish. Some writers are severe on him for his active endeavours to bring the war to a close, and dissuade the Irish from taking foreign service, but rather enlist in the English army. It is rather unfair to brand him as a "recreant," for such a course as O'Connor has done to him, in companionship with Cliford, Luttrell, Dillon and Hussey. I believe Purcell to have been, from first to last, sincere in the cause of the Irish; and that his zeal and sincerity made him give too willing an ear to that unprincipled scoundrel and traitor, Henry Luttrell, who left nothing undone to destroy the reputation of Tirconnell, and even poisoned against him, that truest, noblest, and most heroic of Irish soldiers, the chivalrous, good-natured Patrick Sarsfield. Colonel Nicholas Purcell was attainted; but either in consideration of his services, or by his taking advantage of the Treaty of Limerick, before the issue of his attainiture, he seems to have been left in quiet possession of his superb castle of Loughmoe, where he retired till his death. His only son, a child in his nurse's arms, made a sudden jerk, and fell into a vat of boiling wort or beer, and was scalded to death. This so preyed on his father, that he became a little intemperate in his habits, and died on 4th March, 1722. In the old church of Loughmoe, the following appears on his tomb:—Here lyeth the body of N. Purcell, baron of Loughmoe, who died 4th March, 1722, aged 71 years. This monument was erected by his wife, Alice Brown, daughter to the Earl of Kenmare." He left three daughters, one was married to Mr. Gould, Co. Cork; a second, to a Mr. McGrath, Co. Clare; and the third, or probably eldest, to Thomas Coke, Esq., of Painstown, Co. Carlow. She had one son, William, and one daughter, Anne, married, in 1750, to her cousin, Thomas Viscount Kenmare. The ruins of Loughmoe Castle are grand and imposing, and preserve all the marks and proportions which distinguished the head mansion of the Anglo-Norman Purcells of this country. The foundations of Horse barracks, attached thereto, may be seen at a short distance south of the castle. Whoever visits the place, will, I promise him, read in those ruins, which embellish that rural district, the power of its former owners, and will link the Barons of Loughmoe with "glories" long since faded and forgotten.

With Colonel Nicholas expired the direct line of the Barons of Loughmoe. It is well to remark that his remains do not rest under the present tomb erected by his wife, Alice, in the old church already noticed, but are interred near to, and in front of, where the high altar stood. The older tomb marking the exact spot was broken into eight or nine fragments early in the present century by the fall of a mass of masonry of an adjacent gable. A considerable share of the Loughmoe property passed by marriage to the Goold family, who continued in possession till about 30 years ago, when it was disposed of, and subsequently fell to the possession of the late Sir J. Carden.

Arms of Loughmoe Purcells:—*Or a chevron compone argent and sable between three boars' heads fess wise sable.*

Motto—*Turris fortis mihi Deus.*

O'Hart is not correct in making James Purcell, living in 1689, the last Baron of Loughmoe. In fact this James he mentions in his "Irish Pedigrees," p. 486, was not Baron at all, but only a Colonel who accompanied King James II. from France, and nothing more is known about him. The "Rawdon Papers" mention that the Baron of Loughmoe and his son fell at the battle of Aughrim. This is a mistake as Colonel Nicholas Purcell, of whom I have written so much, was then (1691) Baron of Loughmoe, and so died in 1722. The above Colonel James may have been slain at Aughrim, and erroneously taken for the Baron of Loughmoe. It is still more curious that O'Hart could have found no more evidence of Colonel Nicholas Purcell's existence than mere tradition ("Irish Pedigrees," p. 486, n. 2). He was not a personage in any sense obscure. He raised, according to history, a regiment of horse for King James the Second, sat as one of the representatives of the county of Tipperary in his Parliaments, fought for him at the Boyne, Aughrim, and both sieges of Limerick; signed the Treaty on the 3rd of October, 1691, on behalf of the Irish, took advantage of its articles and retained his castle and property of Loughmoe, where his tomb, still to be seen in the old church, describes him as the *Baron*. He and his wife, Alice, were allotted portions at the court of claims off the lands of Cork and Kerry forfeited by Lord Kenmare. O'Hart also, under the "Purcell family" of Loughmoe ("Irish Pedigrees," p. 486), reckons Tobias Purcell, of Timogue Castle, Queen's County, a descendant of Loughmoe House.

Tobias was born at Timogue Castle, within two miles or so of Timahoe, Queen's County, September 12th, 1738. He married, in 1783, Julia, daughter of Roger Scully, Esq., of Kilfeacle, County Tipperary. During the troubles of '98, he was obliged to remove to Stradbally, but his ashes repose in the little family graveyard by the old home. At Timogue I read the following on his tomb:—

"Here lieth the remains of Tobias Purcell, Esq, formerly of Timogue, in the Queen's County, but late of Stradbally, in said county, who departed this life the 8th day of December, 1825, aged 87 years.

He left children—1. Joseph, born 9th March, 1784. 2. Elizabeth, born June, 1785; both are buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Dundalk. 3. Fanny, born July 2nd, 1786, at Boyley Lodge, Queen's

County; buried at Timogue. 4. William, born at Boley Lodge, July 10th, 1787; died at Dublin, 8th August, 1844, and was buried in St. George's. He married Mary Hamilton O'Neill, who died at Mount Bailie, January 2nd, 1820, and sleeps with two of her children in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Dundalk. 5. James, third son of Tobias, born August 12th, 1788, at Boley Lodge. He became an officer in the British army, and served on the staff of General Sir de Lacy Evans in the Carlist war of 1835.

Tobias, his father, became a lukewarm Catholic on account of an unfortunate dispute, and all his children, with the exception of this third son, James, and his sister, Maryanne, who lies buried at Monasterevan, became estranged from the Catholic religion. James married for his second wife a Miss Bryan, and dying at Dublin, May 26th, 1859, was buried in Glasnevin. By his second wife he left a daughter, Mary, and a son, James, who is still living, and is the Rev. James Bryan Purcell, Loughmoe Hall, Mount Washington, Myd. America. In his youth, he went to America, with one Doran, a son of a British officer who had served on the same staff with his father in the Carlist war. Their lot was cast among savage tribes of Indians in the far West, where Doran was killed. On the break out of the civil war James Purcell, who was fortunate enough to escape the fate of his comrade, began the study of surgery, and subsequently attached himself in that profession to the army till the close of 1869. In 1870 he became a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in the United States, and married, in 1878, in Baltimore, Mary Anne E. Cowcher, daughter of Edward Cowcher, Esq., of Dartmouth, England, and grand-daughter of Charles Bedford Young, of Baltimore. His eldest son, Tobias Noel Purcell, born 5th October, 1879, at Loughmoe Hall, Mount Washington, is living. 6. Toby, fourth son of Tobias, born at Stradbally, December, 1789; buried at Dundalk. 7. Mary Anne, born at Stradbally, May 20th, 1791; died April 30th, 1864, at Monasterevan, and buried there. 8. Edward, born at Stradbally, 1792; died at Bath, in 1869, and buried there. 9. Alicia, born at Killencoole Castle, January 3rd, 1802; died at Mount Bailie, April 12th, 1819, and is buried at Dundalk.

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION XII.)

Blackfryers, 23rd January, 1615.

ROBERT SHEE,* son of Henry Shee, late of the City of Kilkenny, deceased. He died the 27th September, 1615, and at the time of his death was seized of the moities of one castle, and the lands and tenements of Rathhely, in the Co. Kilkenny, which are held from the King in free and common soccage, and for the annual rent of 10s.; he was also seized of 1 house, 1 garden and 4 acres in Downemogan, which are held from Richard Brenagh, as of his manor of Downemogan in burgage; 1 house in Callen, which is held from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Callen in burgage; and 1 acre in the "Kell's-filde," on which 2d. annual rent is owed to Viscount Mountgarret. Henry Shee is son and heir of the said Robert, and was aged 6 years and 8 months, at the time of his father's death.

(INQUISITION XIII.)

Gowran, 2nd March, 1615.

EDWARD BUTLER¹ of Low Graindige, is seized in fee of the late abbey or monastery of Douske² al' Droiske, and of the church, cemetery, cloisters; 1 orchard and 1 arden, containing among them 2 acres, great measure; the town and land of Graige Duiske al' Douske, old Grange al' Garvock and Cowle-Roe, 30 acres arable, 15 acres pasture, 25 acres boscage, 2 mills and 3 eel weirs, which parcels are, and always were, of Grange Duiske aforesaid; and the town and lands of Rahinedownour al' Rahendonor, containing 14 cottages, 30 acres of arable land, 15 acres of pasture, and 15 acres boscage, great measure, Ballyogane, 2 acres arable and 2 acres boscage,

* Henry Shee, the father of the above Robert Shee, was cousin to Sir Richard Shee, of Uppercourt, Freshford, who died at Bonnetstown, the 10th of August, 1608. He was Mayor of Kilkenny in 1610-11. His last will is dated the 2nd of November, 1612. He probably built the fine Elizabethian house now occupied by Mrs. Meany, High-street, opposite the opening of Walkin-street. He died in 1615. His son, Robert, married his cousin, Dorothy, daughter of Lucas Shee, and the Hon. Ellen Butler, daughter of Viscount Mountgarret. They left a son and heir, Henry, who on the 20th July, 1631 (his father, Robert, was then deceased), leased for the term of 81 years Rathhely, Dunnamagin and Kellsfields, to Robert and Edmond Shee, and one Richard Strange (See Inquisition 9, Jac 1, n 1, p 130, for account of the Shee family).*

great measure, Thekerlevane al' Teaghkyrlevane and Aghclare 10 acres arable, 5 acres pasture, and 5 acres boscase, great measure, which parcel of Aghclare is, and always was, parcel of Thekerlevane al' Teaghkyrlevane aforesaid; Copponaghe 2 acres arable and 2 acres pasture and mountain; Glancoome al' Olawnehowne al' Olawnehowne 10 acres arable, 5 acres pasture, and 15 acres boscase; Moynetylnaune al' Moyneticillary al' Monetalane, and Killyne,³ 10 acres arable, 8 acres pasture, and 2 acres boscase, great measure, which parcel is, and always was, of Monynetylnaune aforesaid; Upper Graindge al' "Wood Grainge" and Acrenemannaghe, nigh Ballycabus, 35 acres arable, 1 acre meadow, 4 acres sub-boscase, and 1 acre of moor, which parcel is, and always was, of Upper Graindge aforesaid; the castle, town and lands of low Graindge al' "Wil. Carraghe's Graindge," containing 11 cottages, 1 mill, 75 acres of land, arable, and 5 acres moor and pasture, great measure; "Old Abbey" al' Shanevanister and Acrenemannaghe, near Gurtiynne, 30 acres arable, 2 acres boscase, 1 mill and 1 eel weir, which parcel is, and always was, of "Old Abbey" aforesaid, Downynge al' Grange of Downynge, containing 56 acres arable, 3 acres pasture, and 1 acre moor, tithes, alterages, oblations, &c., of all the premises and any one parcel thereof; 1 messuage in Callan and 2 tofts in Thomas-town, all of which lately belonged to the said Abbey of Douske; the town and lands of Fertnegeraghe⁴ al' Fertagnegeraghe al' Flertaghegeraghe in the co-aforesaid, containing, by estimate, the site, ambit circuit, and precincts of the late monastery or priory of Fertnegeraghe, 1 chapel in ruins, 1 cemetery, 120 acres of arable lands and 6 acres of moor; also of the rectories and churches of Fertnegeraghe al' Fertagnegeraghe al' Flertagnegeraghe and Donaghmore, which town of Fertnegeraghe and the rectories aforesaid, lately belonged to the said monastery of Fertnegerage, and are parcels of the same possession. The premises are held from the king in chief by knights service, and the separate rents and reservations are contained in some letters patent of the late Queen Elizabeth, of the premises to one James Butler, late of Douske, deceased, amongst others a deed bearing date 8th October, 9th year of the reign of the said late Queen."

(1)—LORD G^ALMOY FAMILY.

Burke, in his "Peerage," says "the antiquity of this family (Butler) is indisputable, but its origin is not so clearly established. The surname, however, admits of no doubt as springing from the *chief butlerage* of Ireland, conferred by Henry II. on Theobald Walter, in 1177, who had accompanied him into that kingdom in 1171. It is no easy matter to trace the original account of families. In Ireland surnames were not in use till after A.D. 1002, when by an imperative law of Brian Borhuma (Boru) all families were obliged to adopt them. "It was Brian that gave out seven monasteries both furniture and cattle and land, and thirty-two *cloicheachs* (round tower belfries) . . . and it was during his time that surnames were first given and territories were allotted to the surnames, and the boundaries of every territory and

cantred were fixed. The Irish, in conforming to Brian's law, adopted surnames, *not* from lands, places and offices, as in other countries, but from family names, which they affixed in most cases to *seigniories* also. Thus the MacMurroughs of Leinster were so called from *Murchadh*, who died in 1070; the MacGillapatricks of Ossory from *Gilla-Phadraig*, lord of Ossory, who was slain in 995; the MacCarthy's from *Carthac*, who was killed in 1045, and so on, whilst the original names without the prefix "Mac" or "O" generally had their rise in some personal distinction or peculiarity. *Brian*, for instance, means *great strength*; *Conall*, *friendship*, &c.

In other countries surnames became the gradual birth of the crusades as heraldry was their immediate result. In those pious warlike expeditions, beginning at the close of the eleventh century (1095), different companies of soldiers, under different commanders and from different countries, in one collected army for a single purpose required distinctive marks, badges, or devices, to enable them in action to know their respective leaders. Such badge, or device, was worn over the armour, that the men might thereby recognize their chieftain and be encouraged to follow him to victory, or, if defeated, rally round his person and die with honour in defending him. Surnames gradually increased on like rules. Sometimes they were taken from the colour of the hair, complexion, peculiarity of dress, or circumstance of birth, and sometimes even lords of seigniories were denominated after the lands which they enjoyed. In addition, surnames were often taken from the offices which particular persons filled or discharged in the courts of princes, so that the name of the office or offices so discharged became the name of person or persons who so discharged them, and accordingly that of their descendants. Such seems to have been the origin of the name *Le Botiler*, or *Butler*, by which the family has been known at least ever since Theobald Walter was made chief butler of Ireland by Henry the Second, in 1177.

In his introduction to the "Life of the Duke of Ormonde," Carte mentions that a distinguished antiquarian, the Rev. John Butler, a beneficed clergyman of Northamptonshire, strongly maintained that the original surname of the family was not *Walter* but *Butler*, and derived the pedigree of the Ormondes from Richard, grandson of Rollo and Duke of Normandy. It is a strong argument in favour of the opinion that *Walter* was the original surname of the family, the fact that all the descendants of Theobald, first Butler, kept it up till the time of Edward the Third (1328), when James, 2nd Earl of Carrick, and 7th Butler, was created *Earl of Ormonde*. In a Plea Roll of 13 Edward II., Edmund, the 6th Butler of Ireland, sets forth his title to certain lands possessed by persons named Bagods, or Bagots, *as descended from the first Theobald Walter*. In a Plea of Edward III., James, first Earl of Ormonde, styles himself *Jacobus Walter Pincerna Hiberniae, i.e., James Walter Butler*, of Ireland.

According to some antiquarians *Walter* was an ancient name given to the chief rulers of the King's forests (comes forestarius) whilst others say it signifies a governor or general of an army. The *chief indented* always

borne in the Butler coat of arms, being an emblem of a chieftain or general in the field gives colour to this last signification attached to Walter, whilst the three cups are an augmentation coat evidently in memory of the services or office of Cup-Bearer or Butler to the King. Whilst no one doubts that the name of Butler arose from the office of Cup-Bearer or Chief Butler, whose duty it was to attend the King, and on the day of his coronation to present him with the first cup of wine, it is put forward that such office was in the family before the time of *Hervey Walter*, the immediate ancestor of Theobald,* who first assumed the name of Le Botiller, or Butler, in Ireland, and that accordingly the family was known as the Butler family long before the time of Henry the Second. I am of opinion, after patient reading, that the matter is involved in obscurity, and that no evidence exists that Herveius Walter, and his ancestors were also called Butillers or Butlers. The father of Herveius Walter named Herveus, probably came over with William the Conqueror, and obtained large grants of land in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lancashire.

Herveius Walter married Maud, eldest daughter of Theobald de Valois, and had issue Theobald, the first Butler of Ireland, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, Roger and Hamon.

James, 9th Earl of Ormonde, having been summoned to London to determine his disputes with the Deputy St. Leger, accidentally died of poison on 17th October, 1546. He left seven sons, namely, Thomas, his successor as 10th Earl, commonly known as Black Thomas; Sir Edmond of Clogrennan, John of Kilcash, Walter, James, Edward, and Pierce.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth Sir Edmond and his brothers, Pierce and Edward, involved themselves in the dissensions of the Geraldines and joined the standard of Sir James Fitzmaurice, who assumed the leadership in 1568 on the imprisonment of Earl Gerald and his brother, John Fitzgerald. Sir Edmond of Clogrennan was driven to this refractory course by the conduct of Sir Peter Carew, a Devonshire knight, who set up a false claim to one-half of the kingdom of Cork or South Munster, and the barony of Idrone, in Carlow, in which some of Sir Edmond's lands were situate, and allowed to be seized by Carew, whose hollow title was accepted by the corrupt administration of the time. Through the influence of his brother, Black Thomas, Sir Edmond was pardoned although detained a prisoner at Limerick for some time by the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney. James Butler, his brother, and fifth son of James, the 9th Earl, got as his portion Duiske Abbey and the lands and possessions attached thereto. In the "Patent and Close Rolls" we find the following:—

"The Queen to Sir Henry Sydney and the Lord Chancellor directing

* In addition to the Butlership, Theobald, the first Butler, had a gift from King Henry of the *prisée of wines*, whereby he had two tuns of wine out of every ship laden with 18 tuns of same coming into any trading port of Ireland. King John confirmed this grant on payment of 40s. for every two hogsheads, and in 1810 it was bought up by the Parliament from Walter, Marquis of Ormonde, for the sum of £216,000.

letters patent to be passed to James Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, of the late Abbey of Duiske, in the County of Kilkenny, with the lands and possessions thereunto belonging, together with the reversion of the rents of the late monastery or priory of Ferneggeragh in the same county, amounting to the yearly value of £12 13s. 4d. ; and of a townland called Shanevaneder parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Duiske.—*Pat. and Clos. Rolls, January 15th, 1566.* He married Margaret, daughter of James Tobin, of Cumpsenagh (Comcy), and had an only son, James, who on the recommendation of Lord Deputy Sydney, got a fee-farm grant of the monastery and lands of Duiske and other hereditament, on the 10th August, 1567. The Patent and Close Rolls make mention of this grant as follows :—"The Queen to Sir Henry Sydney, Lord Deputy and the Lord Chancellor, lamenting the death of James Butler, and directing letters patent of the premises in the preceding article mentioned to be passed to his son, James Butler, August 10th, 1567."

This latter James Butler, junior, died without issue, and Duiske Abbey, and his other possessions, accordingly reverted to his eldest uncle, or Thomas Duff, 10th Earl of Ormonde. Black Thomas married, first, Elizabeth, only daughter of Thomas Lord Berkley, who died without issue, and was buried in the chapel of St. Paul's, Westminster. He married, secondly, Elizabeth, only daughter of John, second Lord Sheffield, and had by her, first, John, who died an infant in 1584, and second, Thomas, who was Sheriff of the County Tipperary, and dying in January, 1605, was buried in the Church of Carrick. Third, Elizabeth, married, first, to her cousin, Theobald Lord Tulleophelim, and secondly, to Sir Richard Preston, Baron Dingwall in Scotland, and Earl of Desmond in Ireland. Black Thomas married, thirdly, Helena, widow of John Lord Poer, but by her had no issue. Thus it appears that he left no surviving legitimate male child to inherit his title and vast fortunes and possessions. He had, however, two illegitimate sons, Pierce and John, on the first of whom he bestowed, by a deed of conveyance in 1597, "Duiske Abbey and all its lands and possessions."—(*Kilkenny Archæolog. Soc. 1868-9, p. 68*). He was known as "Piers Butler of the Abbey," and was the immediate ancestor of the Lords Galmoy. He married Catherine, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Fleming, Lord Slane, and dying in 1603 left two sons, Sir Edward and Sir Richard of Knocktopher.

On the 2nd April, 1618, Sir Edward Butler received a grant of the Abbey of Duiske with several other lands in Kilkenny, Wexford, and Carlow, which were erected into the manor of Graigue Duiske with power to hold a Thursday market and two fairs on the feasts of St. Barnabus and Sts. Simon and Jude. Sir Edward resided at the old Abbey, and at Low Grange, in the County Kilkenny, and in 1646, May 16th, was created Viscount Galmoy. Sir Edward was also by patent made Baron of Low Grange, Barrowmount, and Balliogan.

He married Anne, seventh daughter of Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret, by whom he had two sons, Pierce and Thomas, and two daughters. On the break out of the Civil War of 1641-2, Sir Edward,

who was not then Viscount Galmoy, took the Catholic side, and was one of the Temporal Peers who sat in the General Assembly of the Confederates, which met at Kilkenny in the early part of 1646. During the troubles, which, at that period, so agitated the social surface, he seems to have avoided those inhuman excesses, which are more or less inseparable from the heat and excitement of great military struggles. His moderation, however laudable in this respect viewed in another light, leaves him open to the suspicion of being a "disguised Ormondist." In the above assembly of 1646, he pleaded the treaty of the "Peace Party," which left wholly untouched the restoration of Church rights and the freedom of a shackled people—objects which alone influenced the outbreak of hostilities, and for which alone the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, very justly considered the war should be upheld. In common with many others of his type, he lost his property on the triumph of the Parliamentarians. He died about 1653, and, under the Act of Settlement, of 1662, in consideration of his services to the exiled Royalists, Duiske Abbey and lands were restored by Charles the Second, to his grandson, Edward, 2nd Viscount Galmoy. At the building of the present Catholic Church of Graigue, in 1813, Lord Galmoy's monument was found amongst the rubbish, and inserted in the outer wall of the vestry. It is surmounted with three shields, charged with the armorial bearings of the Butler family, and the motto, "non fortiorquam justus,"—"Not more brave than just." Underneath is the following inscription:—

D.O.M.

Edwardus Butler eques auratus

Illmus ac Nobilis primus vice Comes de Galmoye. Dominus de Low Grange, Barrowmont, Balliogan, &c.

Vir generis splendore integritate vitæ morum suavitate, prudentia, liberalitate, hospitalitate, veræ, fidei zelo aliisq' viri vere nobilis ornamentis conspicuus, Reip, in qua publica recte sepe administravit munera, amans et utilis copiosæ prolis optimus parens, sibi uxori suæ nobilæ, matronæ Annæ Butler liberis ac posteris unde bene et splendide viverent providit, ubi cum illo defuncti in Domino quiescerunt sepulchrum hoc posuit.

Bene illis precare viator

et te mortalem ac moriturum cogita.

Translation—"To God, most excellent, most mighty. Edward Butler, knight. The most illustrious and most noble, first Viscount of Galmoy, Lord of Low Grange, Barrowmount, Balliogan, &c. A man conspicuous by the splendour of his race, the integrity of his life, the suavity of his manners; by his prudence, liberality, hospitality, zeal for the true faith, and other accomplishments of a truly noble man. Also in the state in which he well and frequently filled public offices; the loving, useful, and most excellent parent of a numerous progeny, he provided for himself and his wife, the most noble matron, Anne Butler, his children, and posterity, the ample and splendid means of living; he made this sepulchre, where

they (may) rest, having died with him in the Lord. Traveller, duly pray for them, and reflect that thou art mortal, and soon to die." There is still in use a chalice, presented by Sir Edward's wife, Anne Butler, to the parish of Graigue, with the following:—

"Nobma, Domina D. Anna Butler, Hunc Calicem Parochiæ de Graigue, reliquit 1636. Orate pro ea et posteris ejus." The most noble Lady, Lady Anne Butler, left this chalice to the Parish of Graigue, 1636. Pray for her and her posterity."

In one of the walls of the Abbey, is inserted a cross-legged effigy, a description of ancient sculpture frequent in England; but not more than six or seven such have as yet been discovered in Ireland.

The late Mr. Prim thus alludes to Graigue effigy.—"The figure, which is very rudely executed, is larger than life, and represents a knight clad in a complete suit of mail, over which a surcoat, fitting closely around the throat, is worn; the right hand grasps the sword-hilt, while the scabbard is held by the left; the left leg is thrown over the right, and the entire attitude gives the idea of one starting forward, prompt for action, and in the act of drawing the sword. A broad belt attached by curiously-contrived straps, to the scabbard, and buckled in front over the hips, sustains the sword. A fracture extends across the waist of the figure; and from the deficiency of the lower portion of the slab, towards the feet, the spurs are not visible to assist in fixing the date. The effigy has not been represented with a shield, so that heraldry does not, any more than tradition, serve to indicate the family to which this monument belonged; but, from the character of the armour, it may be assigned to the early part or middle of the thirteenth century. It should be observed, that the hood or chaperon of mail, conforms to the globular shape of the head." (Trans. Kilk. Archæolog. Soc., vol. 2, p. 64, 1852.) In the porch of one of the doors of Graigue chapel, is apparently base of a way-side cross, erected during her lifetime by Lady Anne Butler, to the memory of her father, Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret. It is thus noticed by the Rev. James Hughes, in the Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. 1, 3rd series, 1868, p. 71-2. "All that now remains of this votive cross, is the battered square plinth—the cross itself having been long since detached and lost. On one of the sides of the plinth is sculptured the arms borne by Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde, without any difference for the Gal-moy branch. The plinth has a broad bevel at top, sloping into the foot of the shaft of the cross; and on three sides of this bevel is cut, in raised Roman capitals, the following inscription:—

1st side	2nd side	3rd side
... Domina	ilia Edmundi	
Anna Butlera	Butleri Domini	in A.D. 16.
	Vice comitis Mountgar	Ret—

which may read thus:— . . . Domina Anna Butler filia Edmundi Butleri Vicecomitis Mountgarret in A.D. 16.

Translation:— . . . "Lady Anna Butler, daughter of Edmund

Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, in A.D. 16—." Sir Edward Butler, as before mentioned, left two sons, Pierce and Thomas. Thomas, the younger, married Catherine, daughter of Geoffrey Fanning, of Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary, by whom he had an only daughter, Anne, born in 1662, and afterwards married to William Coke, of Painstown, who was Governor of the Co. Carlow, under King James the Second. Thomas died in 1667. Pierce, of Barrowmount, the elder son, was a captain of Horse in the army of King Charles the First, and remained faithful to the Royal cause, till his fall at the battle of Worcester. Lodge says that he was taken prisoner at the battle of Lampston, and was killed, after safe quarter given by Captain William Bolton in 1650. Pierce had married, in 1626, Margaret, second daughter to Nicholas Viscount Netterville, and left twelve children. Having deceased before his father, he was only known as Pierce of Barrowmount, and his eldest son, Edward, accordingly succeeded his grandfather, Sir Edward, as second Viscount Galmoy, in 1653.

Besides Edward, his heir, Pierce also left issue:—2. Nicholas, died unmarried (cir.) 1653. 3. Richard, married Alicia, daughter of Edward Wolley, Lord Bishop of Clonfert, and died S.P. (cir.) 1678. 4. James, died unmarried. 5. Edmond, of Killoshulan, County Kilkenny. He also left issue seven daughters, four of whom married, viz.:—1. Jane, married to Walter Murray, of Rathvilly, County Carlow. 2. Mary, married, first, to Mr. Lewis, of Ballyogan, and second, to John Tobin, of Compsey. 3. ———, married to Harvey Morres, of Castlemorres. 4. Elinor, married to William Grace of Ballylinch. Edward, the eldest, who succeeded his grandfather as second Viscount Galmoy, took his seat in the House of Peers of Ireland, by his proxy, the Earl of Kildare, after he had been restored to his estates, in 1661, by a decree of the Court of Claims, dated 25th March, 1653. He married Elinor, daughter of Sir Nicholas White of Leixlip, Co. Kildare, and dying, before 1667, left issue:—1. Pierce, his heir. 2. Richard. Pierce, 3rd Viscount, was created L.L.D. of the University of Oxford, 6th August, 1677, by James 1st, Duke of Ormonde. He espoused the cause of James the Second, who made him his privy counsellor, in 1686 Lord Lieutenant of the Co. Kilkenny, and Colonel of the 2nd Regiment of horse in the Irish army. In Gowran and Thomastown, he headed the Burgess rolls, and was first on the Charter granted to Old Leighlin. He fought at the Boyne (1690), and, in conjunction with the French auxiliaries, gallantly covered the retreat of the broken masses of the Irish infantry, in the direction of Duleek and Naul. He also fought at Aughrim (12th July, 1691), where the prowess of the Irish, both infantry and cavalry, so astonished St. Ruth, that in a moment of assured victory, he exclaimed, as he flung his hat enthusiastically in the air, "*le jour est a nous mes enfants*" (the day is ours, my boys.) Just as the beams of hope were brightest on the martial countenance of one of France's ablest and most chivalrous generals, a cannon ball blew off his head, and a soldier's voice above the din of battle, was stilled, as the lifeless trunk of St. Ruth lay on the slopes of Kilcomadan. The Dutch general—Ginkell, was thereupon victorious, and Lord Galmoy was taken prisoner. Subsequently,

having been exchanged, he was one of the contracting parties, on behalf of the Irish, who signed the Treaty of Limerick, 3rd October, 1691. This was the last act of Lord Galmoy on Irish soil, for the hopeless cause he had espoused. The Revolutionists were not slow in attainting him for his fidelity to King James, and his determination to follow his fortunes in exile. In the outlawries of 1691, &c., he was accordingly attainted on six inquisitions in Dublin, Westmeath, Wexford, Kilkenny, Tyrone, and King's County. His forfeitures comprised about 10,000 acres plantation measure, in the County Kilkenny, and about 5,000 acres of like measure in Bantry Barony, County Wexford. He embarked for France, and in 1692, on the re-arrangement of the Irish troops, the "fierce fugitives" of Limerick, he was made colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Horse. King James, at the time, was residing on a pension from Louis XIV., at the palace of St. Germain-en-laye. He was the last royal occupant of this favourite chateau of the French kings, from the time of Francis the First, who built it in 1515, on the site of an older one erected by Charles the Fifth after the middle of the fourteenth century. King James must have had a cheerless stay thereat. The park of St. Germain, with its 9,000 acres and immense forest trees, the beautiful prospect of the Seine valley—distant Paris and its environs, the *chateau neuf* of Gabrielle d'Estrees, all a "blending of all beauties," in panoramic view from his chamber window—what charm after all could they have for a faithless monarch, whose incapacity and blunderings had left his Irish subjects weltering in their blood, with homes and "chiefless castles breathing stern farewells?" The contrast would have moved to tears another soul, but James was cold and dead to all but his own interest. He visited the heroes of Limerick at Brest, and would have given anything for an interview with Mountcashel, whom he sent with his brigade into exile after the defeat at Newtown-Butler, and who was then serving in Italy. But all this seeming devotion and regret were the mere castings of a royal dependent watching a last chance for his waning fortunes. He still conjured the hope that some bright achievement of the Irish exiles in the French service would secure the gratitude of Louis, and gain him that needed assistance for the recovery of his throne, which his Majesty now seemed disinclined to advance.

An invasion of England, even if supported by Louis, was the last thing which should have possessed the minds of the Irish exiles; for, as John Mitchel remarks, they had enough of *Righ Seamus* at the Boyne water. But they had a little more of him. On the 17th April, 1693, he issued his famous Declaration at St. Germain's, promising the English people a "free pardon," the confirmation of all laws passed during the usurpation and presented to him by the Houses of Parliament, the defence of the Established Church, and the maintenance of the Act of Settlement in Ireland. This was enough for the Irish exiles who had lost their superb mansions and extensive estates for this royal Stuart. Naturally, it produced just indignation and discontent among the Irish regiments serving on the frontiers of Germany and Italy, and in the Netherlands.

Lord Galmoy served with his regiment on the coasts of Normandy, and, in 1693, shared in the siege of Roses. About the same time his compatriots of the Boyne, Aughrim, and Limerick—Berwick, Sarsfield, etc.—were having their red cup of gratified revenge against King William and his foreign allies on the banks of the river Landen. Sarsfield fell, but it was a happy moment, for “he could see” before his fall “the standards of England swept along by the *tide of the headlong flight* or trailing in the muddy waters of the *Gette*—he could see the scarlet ranks that he had once hurled back from the ramparts of Limerick, now rent and riven, fast falling in their wild flight, while there was sent pealing after them the vengeful shout, *Remember Limerick*.” Galmoy was created brigadier in 1694, and attached to the army of Germany. In 1695 he was attached to the army of the Moselle, under the Marquis of Harcourt, and in 1698, on the reduction of the Irish forces, his dismounted dragoons were incorporated with the remnant of Charlemont’s infantry and formed the Galmoy regiment of infantry. After serving in Italy in 1701-2, he passed into Spain, and was made Lieutenant-General by Philip V. He greatly signalized himself at the battle of Cassanoin, Italy, in 1705, where the Imperialists under Prince Eugene of Savoy were defeated by the French, commanded by Vendome. After the “Peace of Utrecht,” 1713, he took part in the reduction of Barcelona by the Duke of Berwick the year following, which was his last exploit in the “War of Succession.” He died at Paris, June 18th, 1740, in his 89th year. He ranks high amongst the most chivalrous Irish soldiers who clung to King James the Second in his exile and won laurels in foreign service.

His son, by his wife the daughter of Toby Mathew, of Thomastown, County Tipperary, was a Colonel of Foot in King James’s army, and having also passed into France, was slain in 1709, at the battle of Malplaquet. He left no issue, and the claimants to the title of Galmoy, successively to the time of the Revolution were all officers in French service.

Richard, his brother, went to France with him after the treaty of Limerick and was an officer in the bodyguard of King James II., and died at St. Germain (cir.), 19th January, 1725, at the age of 65 years. He married Lucy Esmond Kavanagh, and had issue by her four sons, viz.:—1. James Francis Richard; 2. James Richard; 3. James Edward; 4. Francis Piers. James Francis was born at St. Germain, 26th October, 1692. He was a captain in the Irish Brigade, and assumed the title of Galmoy on the death of his uncle, Piers, third Viscount, and was so called in France till his death. He married Louise D’Hynast, and died (cir.) 1770, without issue. James Richard, second son, was born at St. Germain, 7th May, 1696, and was a colonel in the Irish Brigade. He married Mary Fitzgerald, and died (cir.) 1756-7, without issue male. James Edward, third son, was born at St. Germain, September 5th, 1697, and died without male issue. Francis Piers, fourth son was born at St. Germain, 6th October, 1699; was a captain in the Irish Brigade, and married, in 1745, Catherine Julie de Vallory. He had a son by her, born before the marriage, and

he accordingly died in 1746 without legitimate male issue. Pierce Antoine Louis Butler having been acknowledged by his parents on their marriage, and thereby, or perhaps by the law of France, legitimated, he assumed the title of Galmoy on the decease of James, fourth Viscount, and continued it to his death in 1826. Edmond Butler, of Killoshulan, fifth son of Peter, of Barrowmount, and youngest brother of Edward, second Viscount Galmoy, held the rank of major in the army of James II., and was slain at the battle of Aughrim in 1691. He married Catherine Crispe, an English lady, by whom he had a son, Pierce, of Mustard's Garden, who was a major in the service of King James II., and had the benefit of the articles in the capitulation of Limerick. He married ——— Domville, daughter of Sir Robert Hartpole, of Shrute, Queen's County, by whom he had—1. Edmond; 2. William, of Bayswell; 3. Richard, Alderman, of Kilkenny, &c. He died (cir.) 1716, and was succeeded in his estate by Edmond, who was also of Urlingford and Newtown, Queen's County. Edmond married Anne Skellern, by whom he had issue—1. Pierce, of Dublin; 2. Francis; 3. Edward, M.D.; 5. William of Wilton.

Pierce, of Dublin, a barrister at law, married Mary, daughter and sole heir of Theobald Mandeville, of Ballydine, County Tipperary, by whom he had an only son, Edmond Theobald Mandeville Butler. On the death of James Francis Richard Butler, commonly called the fourth Viscount Galmoy in France, the right of succession devolved on the last-mentioned Pierce, as next heir male of Edward, first Viscount, but he not having been aware of the illegitimacy of Pierce Antoine Louis Butler, who was generally thought the fifth Viscount, he did not claim it. Having died (cir.) 1801, he was succeeded by the above Edmond Theobald Mandeville Butler, County Tipperary, by whom also the title was unclaimed, he being unaware of his right to the succession. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Garrett Neville, of Marymount, County Kilkenny, by whom he had—1. Pierce Theobald; 2. Garrett; 3. William; 4. Tobias. He died (cir.) 1815, and was succeeded in his estate by Pierce Theobald, who by like reasons of his father and grandfather did not assert his claim to the title of Galmoy.

He died unmarried about August 19th, 1824, and was succeeded in his estate by his next brother Garrett, who filed a petition in claim of his right to the title as the "eldest male heir of the body of Sir Edward Butler, 1st Viscount Galmoy," in 1827-8. The petitioner claimed that as he did not derive his descent through Pierce, the 3rd Viscount, who was outlawed for high treason, his right of succession should not be debarred or effected by the "Record of Outlawry," existing against the said Viscount, and even if it did effect petitioner as he was indicted of high treason with Lords Dunsany and Strabane. The petition of memorialist was referred by his Majesty to his Attorney General in England, and thereupon it was referred to his Majesty, that his Attorney General "should personally inspect the original records to enable him to report fully and effectually, and to advise his Majesty on the proper course to be pursued in that regard," &c.

Finally the law officers of the crown summed up their opinion as

follows :—" Upon the whole of this case we are humbly of opinion that the said Garrett Butler the claimant of said title of Viscount Galmoy, has well proved his right to same in case said attainder (stat. 9 William III., c. 5, against Pierce, 3rd Viscount) were out of the way, and that his Majesty may if he shall be graciously pleased so to do, recommend the proper measures to be taken, to reverse the attainder created by the said Act of William the Third, in order that said title, honour, and dignity of Viscount of Galmoy, of the Kingdom of Ireland, may be revived in the person of the petitioner, the said Garrett Butler, the more-so as such attainder arose from the acts of Pierce, the third Viscount, who was not the lineal ancestor of the said claimant, he having as before stated, shewn his right to the said title through the uncle of the said Pierce."

All which is humbly submitted to your Excellency, as the report of your Excellency's obedient and very humble servants,

H. JOY.
JOHN DOHERTY.

Dublin, 19th day of June, 1828.

I beg to express my sincere thanks to William Butler, Esq., J.P., Wilton, for the above attested pedigree of the Galmoy Family.

(2)—DOUSKE.

Edward Butler, of Low Grange, was seized in fee of the Abbey of Douske, as mentioned in the above Inquisition. The present town of Graiguenamanagh, was in the early Anglo-Norman times, known by the name of Duiske, from its situation on the conflux of the Duiske, (Black-water) rivulet and Barrow. Graiguenamanagh means, according to Cardinal Moran (Ossor. Archæolog. Trans., vol. 2, p. 206), "Grange of the Monks," but the "village of the Monks" seems the more correct translation, according to "O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary."

Archdale says :—"Some monks of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley, in Wiltshire, seated themselves in the year 1202, at Loughmeran, near Kilkenny, then at Athamult (Athermolt), and lastly at the Vale of St. Savour, otherwise Duiske, now called Graiguenamanagh, where a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was founded for them A.D. 1212, by William Marescall (Marshall) the elder, *Earl of Pembroke*, who came into Ireland in 1207" (Archdall's Monast. Hib. edited by Cardinal Moran, &c., vol. 2, p. 308). The distinguished editors mention the following curious passage from a Bodleian MS. relative to the first foundation of this Abbey :—"A.D. 1204, Depositus est R. Abbas Stanlegh, a Capitulo Cisterciense eo quod duxerit conventum in Hiberniam absque licentia Capituli—Eodem anno Electus est Conventus novus in Stanlegh in Wilts, cum Abbate proprio scilicet venerabili v'ro Radulpho, 10 Kalendis Augusti et in Hiberniam missus in provincia Osseriensi ad locum qui vocatur Sancti Salvatoris quem eis dedit bonæ memoriæ Vir Wilhelmus Marescallus Comes de Pembroke cum aliis terris p. urimis."

Hugh Rufus, the first Anglo-Norman Bishop of Ossory (1202-18)

granted to the Abbey of Duiske the village of Stathmarkestdivan, with its churches, "reserving yearly to the mother church of Ossory twenty shillings in lieu of all services and exactions whatever." In 1225 William Marshall, junior, confirmed to this abbey all the lands and appurtenances bestowed on it by his father, the founder of Dowyskir and Athermilt, with 11 carucates of other land, Tullachany, Olundaff, Liscrithan, near Kilkenny, &c. In 1227 the Abbey *de Valle Dei*, called in Cistercian annals *Glandy*, and in official records *Killenny*, daughter of Jerpoint was, after much contention, united to Duiske, and the union was afterwards confirmed by King Henry the Third. St. John, Bishop of Ferns, who died in 1243, made a grant to this abbey of all the land of Killacy, "reserving to himself and his successors the yearly rent of ten shillings." In 1331 Sir William Bermingham took up his summer residence in the wood belonging to the abbey. He was a nobleman of great bravery and exceedingly popular. Sir Anthony Lucey was selected at the time by King Edward the Third, and sent over a justiciary, that by his sternness he might curb the power and arrogance of the Anglo-Irish lords. He summoned a Parliament in Dublin and adjourned it to Kilkenny, but on both occasions his summons was disregarded by non-attendance. Sir Anthony immediately set out for Munster with a strong force, and at Limerick seized Maurice Fitz-Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, and carried him a prisoner to Dublin. The earl, however, was more fortunate in his subsequent release, after an imprisonment of eighteen months, than was Sir William Bermingham. This latter with his son were both confined in the keep of Dublin Castle, which thereby received the name of the *Bermingham Tower*, and in the following year Sir William was hanged. The popular excitement and indignation which followed led to Sir Anthony's recall.

Sir William's tragic end and character are thus given by Olynn, "1332 . . . Item eodem anno in festo Pii Pape die Sabbati Dublinie suspenditur dominus Willelmus de Brimegham miles strenuus et bellicosus, miles audax et imperteritus" (Annls. Ed. by Rev. R. Butler, p. 24).—"Also, in the same year, 1332, on Saturday, the festival of Pope Pius, Lord William de Brimegham (Bermingham) was hanged at Dublin. He was a brave and warlike soldier; a soldier daring and undaunted."

Archdall mentions that Eustace Lord Le Poer, in 1331, married the daughter of John de Bermingham, Earl of Louth, at the house of the above Sir William Bermingham, whilst residing in the wood of Duiske. It was this Lord John who commanded the English army at the ever memorable battle of Faughard,* within two miles of Dundalk, where

* Lodge says that Bruce was killed by one Maupas, a burgess of Dundalk, who entered his camp disguised as a fool, and struck out his brains with a leaden plummet. History records that Lord John Birmingham, who as victor, was created Earl of Louth, cut Bruce's body in pieces, for exhibition in the country places and sent the head to Edward the Second. A strong tradition, however, exists that the remains were rescued from the foregoing "dishonour" and interred in the Church-yard of Faughard, where Bruce's grave is still shown by the peasantry.

Edward Bruce was slain and his army defeated, on the 14th October, 1318.

In 1356, we find David Cornwalshe, Abbot of Duiske, obtaining his pardon from King Edward the Third, by payment of forty shillings, for divers offences; amongst others for having entertained at his monastery with "bread, drink, fish, clothes, &c.," the Irish "felons" who invaded his Majesty's territories in Carlow, Dublin, Kildare and Wexford, wasting them with fire and sword, and killing one Edmund Treherne, Sheriff of Carlow. In 1380 Parliament renewed with regard to this abbey the shameful law repealed by Sir John Wogan, at Kilkenny, in 1309, excluding Irish monks from religious houses within the pale. In 1501 Charles O'Kavanagh was elected Abbot. He was one of the Olan M'Murrough of the ancient royal house of Leinster, and was appointed Vicar-General of Leighlin, during the absence of Bishop Thomas Halser, an Englishman, at the Council of Lateran (1515-16). He made presents to the abbey, one of which was a richly gilt silver cross, adorned with precious stones, and at the suppression, March 18th, 1537, was granted a pension of £10 as last Abbot. The Abbot of Duiske was a baron of Parliament, and paid annually to the Bishop £4 7s. 6d. for his temporals (Archdall, vol. 11, p. 311).

The abbey lands of Duiske, or Graigenamanagh, were purchased in the Court of Claims in 1703 by James Agar, ancestor of the Clifden family. For a detailed description of the original plan of the abbey I must refer my readers to Bishop Comerford's "Graig-na-managh and St. Mullins" (p. 13), in which very deserving mention is made of the laudable exertions of Mr. Patrick O'Leary in tracing out the foundations of what was once an extensive and impressive pile. The following from Trotter's "Pedestrial Tour" (id. p. 12) gives a fair idea of its elegance and ancient architectural finish:—

"This celebrated abbey now struck our view. I cannot describe how nobly venerable it looked. The aisles and arches afford beautiful specimens of the Gothic. The windows were thought remarkably handsome. I do not except the celebrated Abbey of Tintern, in Monmouthshire, when I say that nothing could be found more venerable and beautifully interesting in the empire than Graig-na-managh Abbey."

I hereby append Dr. O'Donovan's letter on Graig, which I have copied from the second volume "Ordnance Survey Letters," County Kilkenny (14 d., 21 and 14 e. 1), deposited in the Royal Irish Academy:—
 "Of the parish of Graig.—This parish is situated on the south-eastern extremity of the barony of Gowran, and is bounded on the north by the parishes of Powerstown and Ullard, on the east by the river Barrow, which separates it from the county of Carlow, on the south by the Rower and Clonemary, and on the west by the parish of Kilphane. This parish is called *Graig-na-manach* in the Irish language, which means *Graigue of the Monks*; but no authority has yet turned up to prove the meaning of the word *Graig*, or to show whether it is of ancient Irish or Anglo-Norman origin. O'Reilly explains it a small *manor* or *village*, but this is purely conjectural. I never met the word in any ancient Irish MSS., nor as entering into the names of places outside

the English Pale. It does not occur in any county in Ulster, and it seldom, if ever, enters into the names of places in Munster. We must therefore leave it unexplained until some authority, English or Irish, will if ever turn up to put its meaning beyond controversy. In the meantime, my opinion is that *Graig* and *Grange* are of Anglo-Norman origin in Ireland, and that their significations should be looked for through the medium of the Anglo-Norman documents and dialect. It would appear from the history of the erection of this abbey, as preserved by Ware, Archdall, etc., that *Graig* was not the original name of this place, but *Duisk*, and if this be true it is highly probable that *Graig* was a name given by the English, who erected a monastery here in the 13th century. The Abbey of *Graig* is now nearly destroyed, and its site is said to be occupied by the R.O. chapel; only one gable and parts of the side walls of one wing of it now remain. The gable contains three tall windows about three feet in breadth, of which the middle one is pointed, and the other two round-headed. On the top of this gable is a small belfry having four curvilinearly pointed windows or apertures to give egress to the sound of the bell. It contains at present a small bell belonging to the modern chapel. There is nothing else of interest in this parish but the ruins of a church in the townland of Old Graigue, and the sites of churches in the townlands of Ooolroe and Tigh-Keerlevan, a short distance to the north of the latter, of which there is a well called *Tobar Eibhlíne*, said to be 'holy' (though its name does not sound verily holy). Its name is locally pronounced *Tober Eileen* (the *ei* like *ei* long in the German). Over the town of Graigue to the south is situated the lofty hill, called in the Irish *Cnoc Breannaill*, and in English, more correctly, Brandon Hill. This, certainly, received its name from St. Brendan, celebrated in Irish hagiology for his seven years navigation in the western ocean, and yet I could not find any monument on or near the hill bearing his name, nor tradition of such. His name is pronounced in Connaught, Leinster and Munster as if written *Brainoll* (which affords an instance of the interchange of liquids above referred to in treating of the origin of the name Ullard); nor did I ever visit a spot where his true Irish name is preserved except his own pure island of *Inis Gluair*, where it is correctly pronounced *Breannann*. As one goes from Thomastown to Graigue, when he arrives at the high grounds over Graigue, he enjoys a most agreeable view of the vale of the Barrow, backed by the romantic range of the Carlow mountains—i.e., Mount Leinster to the north, the *Black Stairs* in the middle, and Brandon Hill, in the County of Kilkenny, to the south, which towers so much over the town of Graigue that the natives think it much higher than Mount Leinster. The following Irish saying preserves the names of these pinnacles:—

Stuadh laighean agus stuadh Leithghlinn
 An da stuadh is airde an Eirinn
 Da mbeidheadh cruicín Breannaillair
 Stuadh Leithghlinn—

Which is as much as to say in English, that if the cap or cone of

Brandon Hill were put on the pinnacle of Leighlin, which is the name of the southern shoulder of Mount Leinster, then the pinnacle (peak) of Mount Leinster and the pinnacle of Leighlin would be the two highest in Ireland—

The peak of Leinster and the peak of Leighlin
Would be the highest in the isle of Erin
if Brandon's cap were on the peak of Leighlin.

I doubt, however, if the *stuadh* or higher *cacumen* (apex-vertex) of Mount Leinster is as high as *Lugnaquilla*, or that peak in the County Kerry called after the noble chieftan (F.M.) *Mac Gilly Cuddy*—(*Carran Tuohill*). Mount Leinster or *Stuadh Laighean* is certainly the *Suidh Laighean* or *Sessi's Laginensium*, mentioned by the writer of the life of St. Maidoc, as is obvious from its contiguity to the Church of Shambogh (in the County of Wexford), which that writer places at its foot. On the range of mountain extending southwards from the peak of the Black Stair's mountains, are several *carns* of stones apparently placed there as landmarks, perhaps to mark the boundary line between two territories in the ancient Hy-Kinsellagh. At first sight of them I was inclined to suppose that they marked the boundary between Hy-Kinsellagh and the ancient Ossory, but I have since seen evidences to convince me that the ancient Ossory never extended even as far eastward as the Barrow, and that the parishes of the Rower, Graigue, Ullard, Powerstown, Grange-Silvy, Kilmac-Cahill and Shank Hill, now in the diocese of Leighlin, did *ancientlie* *belonge* to the *territorie* of Hy-Drone in Hy-Kinsellagh.”—(J.O.D.)

This last part of Dr. O'Donovan's beautiful letter is most important in deciding a disputed point with regard to the eastern boundary of the ancient kingdom of Ossory. I remember very well how warmly the late Mr. Hogan (whose historical and antiquarian researches have placed Kilkenny men under an obligation of lasting gratitude) used to contend that ancient Ossory, as founded by King Ængus about the middle of the first century, after his defeating the Munster men in the battle of *Magh-Reighna*, extending from the Suir to the Barrow, and was so called from the two Irish words meaning the “Kingdom between the rivers.

(3)—WOOD-GRANGE AND KILLYNE.

The words *Killeen*, *Cill*, *Keel*, all modifications of the word *Kill*, are generally understood as having reference either to a church (*Cill*) or a wood (*coill*). It is worthy of remark, however, that many places in Ireland are designated by *Cill-Killeen* or *Keel*, and yet have no traces or traditions of a church or churches having been ever attached to them. Near Omagh, in the County Tyrone, there is bare desolate sand-hill surrounded by a bog called Drumnakilly, *i.e.*, the ridge of the church or wood where sepulchral urns and calcined human bones have been discovered, but retains, nevertheless, no memory or tradition of a primitive church or christian burial-ground. Killibeg, in the County

of Fermanagh, has its "Giants Graves" and Dallan, but no signs or tradition of a wood or old church. In such cases the meaning of the words *Cill-Killeen*, &c., must be borrowed from mere conjecture. The evidences of urns, graves, and human bones connected with them, suggest the idea of Pagan cemeteries, or make them the depositories of the remains of unbaptised infants, which may account for the dread with which the peasantry are wont to abhor and shun them in the night time. Those remarks will dispose of the supposition in the sub-joined letter of one of Dr. O'Donovan's fellow-labourers of the Ordnance Survey, that the above Killyne, or Killeen, mentioned in the Inquisition, had its name from a burial-ground adjoining, which he admits was only of about "40 years standing." The following is the letter :—

"I beg to call your attention to the remains of an old building at the letter O on trace No. 6, *Grange-Silvin* (Wood-Grange). It is said to be the ruins of an old monastery, for which I have no other authority than the tradition existing about it in the country, which is that previous to the building of the Abbey of Graigue, the monks chose this as their first site, but owing to some spell or witchcraft that operated against them they were unable to proceed. It is said that whatever they built in the day was thrown down at night. They then changed their intentions and removed to Graigue, where they founded the present abbey. I have asked Mr. Borrough for information on the subject, but he could give me nothing further than a repetition of the tradition connected with it. It is my opinion that it was not a monastery, but one of those *Galmoy* castles so numerous in this part of the country, and that when the house (now in ruins) called Brook-hill House was building, the Castle was thrown down for the purpose of using the material in the building of the former. There is but a small portion of this building remaining, but quite sufficient to confirm me in the opinion that it was a distinct building from Brown-hill. The small grave-yard at about eight or ten chains east of this had its origin in the whim of some of the Gore family being anxious to have himself buried here, erected a small vault, and enclosed the small piece of ground, marked on trace, as a grave-yard, in which a few only of the servants of the family were interred. The fault is erroneously considered by country people to be the remains of a church. It is about 18 by 13 feet from out to out, with a small Gothic window on the north side and a door on the east side. South of this and immediately adjoining, there is a piece of land containing about ten or twelve acres under the denomination of *Killeen* which, I think, takes its name from the circumstance of this small grave-yard adjoining it, if not I can find no other reason that will agree with the meaning of the word *Killeen*, which is a small church or grave-yard. Still it is improbable that it should take its name from a grave-yard not, I believe, of more than 40 years standing, as a name given at that period would more likely have an English than an Irish idiom. Mr. Burroughs says that Mount Loftus was formerly called Mount Eason. Mr. Burroughs requests that you will make the following virtues, said to be possessed by the water of

the well called in Irish *Iska Malasha*,* the subject of inquiry by the branch of the Survey with which it is connected, as well as to have all the traditions collected about this *Malasha*, as he says there are several 'wells' dedicated to him through various parts of Ireland. His reason for being so anxious about it is that there is a great resemblance between the mode of trial of its virtues and that of the red water of the Africans. The well is near Old Leighlin. I think it is in Mr. Wynne's work. Copy of a note of its virtues given me by Mr. B. (Burroughs). 'Well near Old Leighlin called in Irish *Iska Malasha*.' A curious tradition exists as to some peculiar virtue the water of this well has for discovering thieves. The mode of trial is this:—A glass of water is handed to the suspicious individual. If he drinks it having sworn falsely, his mouth, tradition says, will change its place and open under his ear, and so remain while he lives. If, frightened by superstition, he refuses to drink he is considered the guilty person. (We must receive the word 'superstition' as used here by a Protestant member of the Survey). In the ordeal, according to the custom of the times, the refusal to drink by the accused was accepted by the people, not as the result of fear infused by superstition, but in religious testimony of his guilt, in virtue of the name and power of the saint under whose invocation the trial was offered. Such ordeals are evidences of the religious and appalling horror which our worthy forefathers of the early church had of the terrible crime of perjury—(W.H.)"

Mr. Burroughs says that he is of opinion that the orthography of *Kilmacaile* should be *Kilmichael*, which would signify Michael's Church, although, he says, common usage, as well as the books of the diocese, all spell it Kilmacahill. He also says that the parish name Shank-hill is spelled in some of the documents *St. Kill*, but this, he says, is wrong, it should be Shankil, which means "John's Church."

This is at best perfect nonsense, for, according to O'Donovan, all the Shank-Hills in Ireland are called in Irish *Sen-Cill*, that is, the *vetus cella* or *ecclesia*—the old cell or church—W. H.

(4)—FERTNEGERAGHE.

Fertnageragh, or Ferta as it is commonly called, is situate in the barony of Galmoy and about one mile and a-half from Johnstown, to which parish it belongs. The Annals of the Four Masters record a battle at Fearta in A.D. 241, in which Eochaidh Taebhfada (of the long side) son of Oilioll Olum was slain. In 836 the annalists mention

* *Iska Malasha*—*Molaise* was the Irish name for Laserian or Lasrean, *Molaise*, my Laisre, the *mo* being a prefix for endearment. Though St. Laserian, of Leighlin, was not usually called *Molaise* in order not to confound him with St. *Molaise*, who founded the monastery of Devenish, in Lough Erne, County of Fermanagh, the fact that Laserian's well, near the site of the old Cathedral of Leighlin, still retains the name of 'St. Molaise's Well,' amongst the peasantry is proof that locally, at least, the illustrious Laserian was called *Molaise*, which expresses more fully the filial love with which his spiritual children invoked his name and revered his memory.

a victory gained by the foreigners at Fearta. There are several places in Ireland of the name, such as Fearta-Fear-Feig, on the Boyne, near Slane, so that it is impossible to identify the precise place with the foregoing events. The Danes, however, made incursions into Ossory in the middle of the ninth century, and probably plundered before them as far as Ferta, where an unsuccessful hosting of the Ossory men sought to check them. The Danes having gained the battle established themselves in the locality, which they seem to have held for 30 years, till Cearbhall, King of Ossory, defeated them and banished them from the territory. "The killing of the foreigners at Ferta-na-g-Caireach (Fertnageragh) by Cearbhall, so that forty heads were left to him, and that he banished them from the territory"—(F.M. A.D. 861). In 1156, Murtach O'Lochlainn, King of North Ireland, made an incursion into Leinster. He plundered and burned the churches of Durrow, Aghmacart, Oolcashin and Fertnageragh. The chief master, Eochy O'Quinn, of the laa, with perhaps others of the clergy, scholars, books, church plate, &c., were destroyed in the round tower in which they had taken refuge.

The action of the fire on the round tower at this period remained visible to a great height from the door upwards, till the crack was cemented by the Board of Works when repairing it as a national monument some years ago.

We now come to the ecclesiastical history of Ferta. The origin of the name is obscure. O'Donovan supposes it to mean the "graves of the sheep," from a great mortality of sheep that once occurred here, but "when" he does not mention, nor does he say whether he found such amongst historical facts, or gathered it from local tradition.

"O'Brien's Irish Dictionary" supplies other meanings for *Feart* besides *grave*, such as *virtue*, *miracle*, *country*, *land*. "O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary," edited by O'Donovan himself, gives like meanings to *Feart*, with the additional one of a *fair green*. *Feart-na-geragh* may, therefore, signify the land, country, or fair-green of the sheep, rather than the grave of the sheep, and it is a locality, even to the present, remarkable for producing a superior quality of mutton.

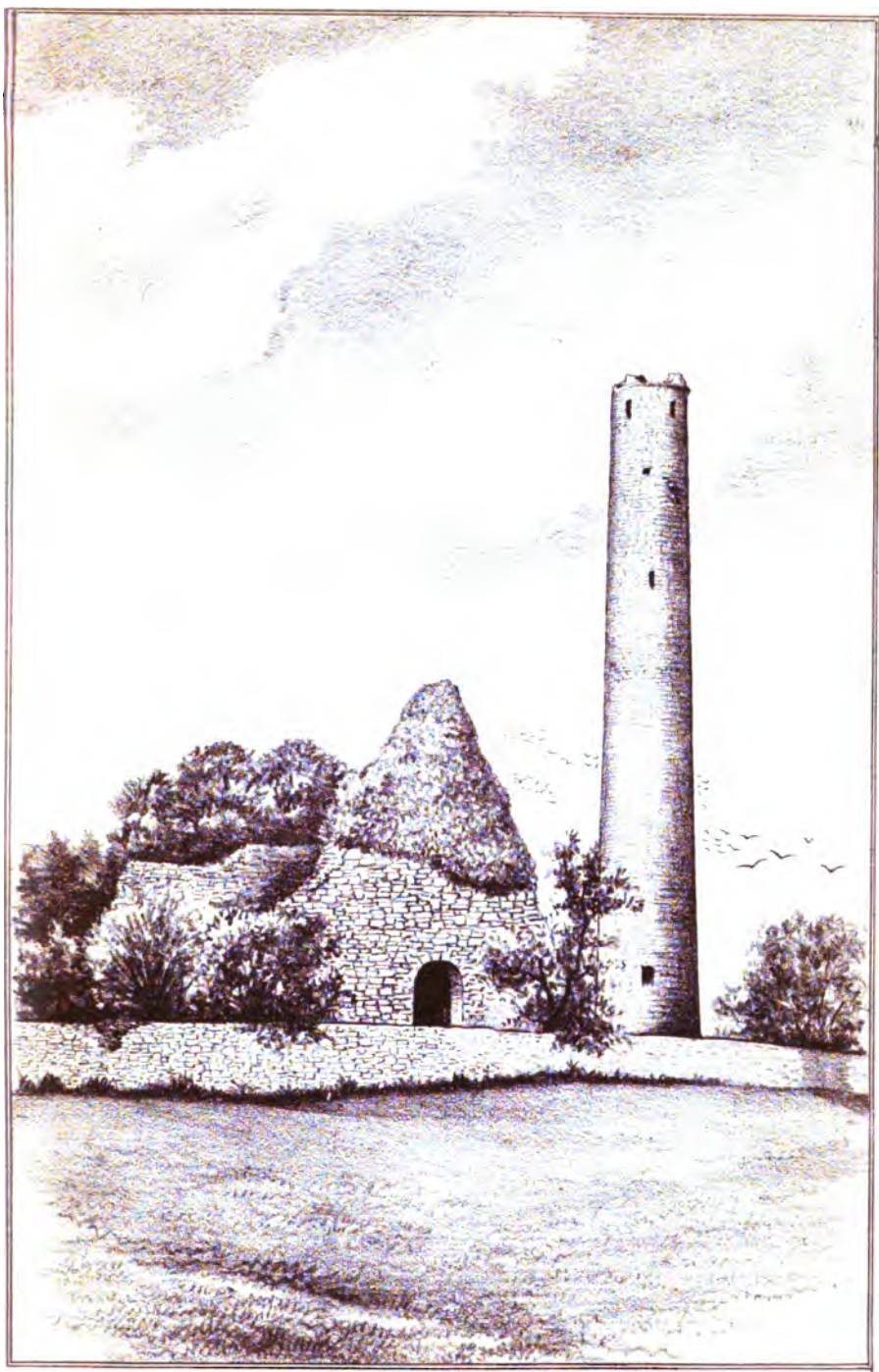
Archdall says a priory, under the invocation of St. Ciaran, was founded here in the 13th century, by the family of Blanchfield, for canons regular of St. Augustine, A.D. 1396. The prior held the churches of Ferikeragh and Donaghmore, in the diocese of Ossory.

In 1566 the townlands of Fertnegeragh, with the site, &c., of the priory, and the lands of Donaghmore, in the County of Kilkenny, were held by Sir Edward Butler, of Lowgrange, in the said county, with divers other lands at the twentieth part of a knight's fee. This priory paid annually to the Bishop, 11s. 7d. for temporalities, and £2 for proxies. On the 8th of October, and 9th of Queen Elizabeth, this monastery, with appurtenances thereof, one stang of land, five cottages, and 101 acres of land in the town and lands of Fertnageragh, with the rectory of the same, was granted for ever in capite to James Butler, junior, at the yearly rent of £12 13s. 3d.

The ruins consist of the round tower already mentioned and the old

church of the monastery—the former has nine windows—about 100 feet high and 49 feet in circumference. It was divided into eight stories and the door opening on the first floor is 10 or 12 feet from the ground. The wall at the door is over three feet thick. The upper story has four windows each having an angular top formed by two stones. This tower stands at the west side of the church and is undoubtedly one of the finest of its kind in Ireland. The people ascribed its building and that of the church to St. Kieran, whose Pattern (Pattern) was held here in former years on the 5th March—there is also a tradition that there was once here a large town with 140 wine taverns—the old church was used as a place of Protestant worship till the building of the present Protestant church of Johnstown in 1799. This latter has the beautiful east window of ancient Ferta and also the exquisitely carved doorway in pointed arch and vine leaf tracery. The present R. C. Church of Johnstown has the west window of Ferta which is in the flamboyant style—the old baptismal font ornamented with heads, tudor roses, &c., and a very ancient cross, so rudely carved after the most primitive ideas of christianity that one is inclined to ascribe it to a date anterior to St. Patrick. I have lately got it securely fixed in a niche in the west gable of the church, and supporting it an elegant escalop holy water stone, presented by Major Hely, of Foulks court. The major states that the tradition in his family was that it belonged to the old church within his demesne, and convenient to the fine old Anglo-Norman Castle of Foulks court. To return, Fertagh old church is a complete wreck, more from Vandalism than time. The angle stones have been extracted from the masonry and the nave turned into a ball-alley. This is a desecration which should not be, but often Vandals are afraid to injure the ball-alley lest the youths should make them repent it, and in this way the preservation in some way atones for the desecration. The north transept is somewhat perfect, and contains an effigial tomb of the Fitzpatricks, lords of Upper Ossory. It is thus noticed in the “Survey Letters” County Kilkenny, page 124 :—“Part of Fitzpatrick’s Church appears 150 years older than the other. In the middle of it are two tombs covering one grave, and bearing effigies of an Irish chief and his lady in full relief. The chief dressed in military costume, or rather armour, having the *Bairread*, or pointed cap, on his head, the *Sgabal*, or Pelisse, on his neck and shoulders, and a jacket of mail reaching to his knees with gauntlets, his feet resting on a crouched dog, whose head is now broken off, and an inscription from head to foot on right margin of the flag. The lady is in full costume, with full drapery all over except the face and the tips of the feet, which appear covered with shoes, small and neat; the head-dress forms several semi-circles on the forehead, and ends in two pinnacles at the sides, but flat in the middle. It is popularly called “Killpatrick’s Tomb.” The female figure was broken across the middle over fifty years ago, some say by a drunkard, others by a madman.

The inscription on this tomb cannot be deciphered. I have made some fruitless attempts to do so, and on the occasion of our excursion



FEARTA ROUND TOWER, CO. KILKENNY.



to the place in connection with the Kilkenny meeting of Antiquarians, in 1890, it baffled also some better experts.

Father Shearman in his "*Loca Patriciana*," p. 378, n. 1, attempts to solve it as follows:—"Hic jacet quondam Humatus Dns. Ossirie Johes M Killy Fadryk et Dns. Bernards eis filis quorum anibis, pper Des."

The sides of the tomb have figures of the apostles and saints, but no date on the monument. There is also an inscription on the pillow which is illegible. There is a well on Mr. Ringwood's land convenient called *Tobar a Phuicin*, i.e., the little Pukas (or the hood-winked), at which St. Kieran was in the habit of watching his cow.

Boher Kierawn, which in ancient times was said to have extended from the tower to Callan, is now only about a mile in length. It is very narrow, and is intersected by the high road leading to Cullowhill and Durrow, a little below Johnstown. It is traceable southwards until it reaches the road leading to Ballyspellan Spa, where it ceases to be traceable, except by some of the peasantry, who still retain the memory of its direction and fences.

About half a mile west of the round tower is the Mota-na-fearta, or Fearta moat. There are in fact two moats within what may be considered a large elliptical rath. The diameter of the north mound measures from east to west, 18 yards, and from north to south, 15 yards. The south one has corresponding diameters of 34 yards and 16 respectively. The higher moat rises to a height varying from 10 to 22 feet. It seems worth the experiment to excavate it and see whether it is chambered, or was the "grave of the sheep," the meaning traditionally given to Fert-na-geragh. About half a mile south-west of the tower is a circular inclosure, on a farm belonging to Mrs. Rochford, of Donoughmore. It was probably the farm-yard or grange of the monastery, and gave the name of Grange-fearta to the townland in which it is situate. It might also have been used as a coin or tithes yard. Convenient to Ferta is Rathoscar, in a townland of the same name. This rath is about 32 yards in diameter, and only its name could give it a significance. There is on the west side a strong stone wall about five feet high in some places, which looks as if it had been intended for a square or curtain of an Anglo-Norman keep. "Osgar, the bravest of the Finean heroes, was son of Ossian, son of Finn MacCool, and it is an interesting coincidence to find Rath Ossin, Rath Osgar, and Suidhe Finn, or the seat of Finn, in the same neighbourhood. Suidhe Finn, with a chair-like seat, near the top, was a large mound of earth and stones on the hill immediately over Rath Osgar to the south, but was levelled some years ago.—("Survey Letters, Kilkenny," p. 147.)

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION XIV.)

Blackfryers, 6th July, 1618.

PAUL STRANGE¹, late of Waterford, was seized in fee of the town of Portnahelly, in the County of Kilkenny, containing 3 acres, great measure, and 14 acres, small measure, in the town of Aglish. He held the aforesaid town of Portnahelly from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Grenagh, for the annual rent of 2s. 6d. and the aforesaid 14 acres from the aforesaid Earl by suite of courtes. He was also seized of the town and lands of Ballicaghswat, in the County of Kilkenny, containing 3 acres, great measure, and Knocklegan, 3 other acres of like measure; Ballynemony, 2 acres; Coulsilley, 2 acres; Balliloge, 6 acres; Graing, 5 acres; Cloneoshelane, 3 acres; Ballinrilly, 4 acres; Cullentragh, 2 acres; Russelstowne, 3 acres; and [] 1 acre; and he had held the premises from the King *in capite* by Knight's service. The aforesaid Paul being so seized of the premises made a written enfeofment of the premises on the 14th of October, 1617, amongst other to the use of his son, Peter Strange, as more plainly appears by the aforesaid charter, the tenor whereof follows in the original:—The aforesaid Paul made his last will, the tenor of which also is set forth in the original, dated 2nd of October, 1617, and he died 22nd November, 1617. The aforesaid Peter Strange is son and heir of the said Paul, and was 39 years of age, and married before the death of his father aforesaid."

(1)—THE STRANGE FAMILY.

This name is of Norman origin. After the Norman invasion several off-shoots of the family were settled in different parts of England, such as Berkshire, Rutlandshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire, &c. The Le Strange, lord of Blackmere, seems to have been the most powerful, the members of which, male and female, were connected by marriage with some of the highest nobility of England. John de Grey, brother of the Duke of Kent, an Ambassador of King Edward III. to the Roman Court, and his ally in the wars with France, married Eleanor, daughter of John Lord Strange, of Blackmere. In the time of King Richard II. we find Richard Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, married to Ankaret, sister of John Fitzjohn le Strange, of Blackmere. At what precise time the family settled in Ireland I cannot say. In 1558 Thomas Le Strange, of Athlone, was appointed a commissioner to execute martial law in the County Westmeath. He received the honour of knighthood, and when the Queen summoned Sir Richard Bingham, Governor of Connaught, to attend and serve under "Cousin Leycester" in the Lower Countries (1587), he was

appointed to supply Bingham's place during his absence. The family became numerous in Waterford, but at what precise time the first of them settled there I have not been able to ascertain.

In the time of Henry VIII, (1542), Robert Strange, or Stronge, a merchant, of Waterford, obtained a decree in Chancery against Thomas Butler, of Ross, and the Soverign Council and Commons of Ross, for damages "in respect of a quantity of Spanish wine taken by means of a false cocket in Butler's name, out of the ship "Salamander" of Brest, consigned to Ross." In 1573 we find Richard Strange, of Waterford, most likely son of the above Robert, petitioning the Right Worshipful Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, for a "dedimus protestatem" to examine witnesses (on account of their distances from court) regarding certain interrogatories with reference to his manor of Dromdowney, in the County of Kilkenny, and the sundry chief rents, etc., belonging thereto. He also held the manor of Dunkitt in the Barony of Ida, and in 1585 we find him plaintiff in a suit instituted in the Court of Chancery against Francis Lovell, of Knocktopher. The plaintiff alleged that James Brenagh (Walsh), of Cowlestown, held his lands of same from complainant as of his manor of Dunkitt "by knight's service, that is to say, by the service of two shillings as scutage runs." That James died, leaving a son, Robert Brenagh, aged six years, by reason of whose minority, and the tenure of knight's service, the plaintiff claimed to have all the lands holden of him during said Robert's minority, and also to have wardship of his body, but was disturbed in his possession by the defendant. Lovell, defendant, put in an appearance, and maintained that the lands in question were held of the Earl of Ormonde by fealty and escuage, as of his manor of Knocktopher, which service, at the hands of James Brenagh, was the Earl's inheritance, and on account of which the Earl, on James's death, assigned the wardship, lands and body of his son Robert, a minor, and granted them over to defendant during the minority. The court decreed in favour of plaintiff and 40s. costs.

In 1559, Peter Stronge, was M.P. for Waterford City. The above Richard Strange left a son Edward, of Dunkitt. He held the lands of Flemmingstown, Ardbeg, Grogan, Ballydavid, Rogerstown, Ballyfin, Gaulstown, Ballybrassel, Moneen, Farnock, etc. He held also Waddingstown from the Bishop of Ossory, as of his Lordship's manor of Rathkyran; Edward died 1st June, 1621, leaving four sons and two daughters. viz.:—Richard, his heir; Thomas, Peter, John, Anastatia and Margaret.

Richard Strange, the eldest and successor, was M.P. for Waterford City in 1634. Paul Strange, of Portnahelly, mentioned in the above Inquisition, was descended from a junior branch of the Drumdowney or Dunkitt house. He left, as mentioned, a son Peter, who probably forfeited his estates for taking an active part in the civil war of 1641-2. Richard, of Dunkitt, seems also to have suffered in the same cause. Amongst the forfeiting proprietors, under the Cromwellian settlement, we accordingly find the names of Richard Strange, Peter Strange, Richard Strange, all of the Barony of Ida, County Kilkenny. Amongst

those who received Connaught certificates of transplantation appear the names of Paul Strange and Richard Strange.

The deed mentioned in the above inquisition, as perfected by Paul Strange, on the 14th October, 1617, enumerates, amongst others, his possessions in Portnahelly, Ballycoghswast, Knocklegan, Ballyloge, and le Grandge, in the County Kilkenny, and adds:—"The intent, purpose and true meaninge of the deede is, and was at the time of pfecting thereof, that the said feoffes, and their heirs, and the survivor of them, and his heirs, shall stand and be seized of all and singular the pmisses of every pte and pcell of them to the use of the said Paul Strange for and during his naturalle life, and after his desease to Peter Peter Strange, son of Paul Strange, for and during his naturalle life, Richard the remainder to Richard Strange, son to the said Peter Paul Strange, and the heirs, males, of his body. The remainder to Thomas Paul Strange, and the heirs, males, of his body. The remainder to Thomas Strange, and the heirs, males, of his body. Nicholas The remainder to Nicholas Strange, and the heirs, males, of his body. James The remainder to James Strange, and the heirs, Robert males, of his body. The remainder to Robert Strange, and the heirs, males, of his body. The remainder to the heirs, males, of the boddy of the said Peter Strange. The remainder to the heirs of Richard Strange, of ———, in the County

of Kilkenny, for ever, provided always that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Paul Strange, by any act executed or to be executed, during his naturall life, or by his last Will and Testament, to dispose of the pmisses and pte and pcell of them, such as he shall think expedient, and to chardge them, and every such of them as he shall be pleased with, all such somes of money as he shall think mete, notwithstanding, and of the former Paul Strange being present at the sealinge and delivery hereof, as his dede by the within named Paul Strange, to the within named Lawrence Strange and Walter Wailsh, for and in the name of themselves and the co feoffees, within named, as also to the within named Attorney, Robert Leonard, those whose names are, and were, written, John Morgan, Nicholas Strange, Richard Comerford being present when Patrick Day, tenant for yeares of the town and lands of Ballycagsous and Knocklegan, within mentioned, did atturn and become tenant to Lawrence Strange and Walter Wailsh, in the name of them and the co-feoffes within named, in deliveringe sixpence in name of atturnment, those whose names are under written; John Morgan, Nicholas Strange, Richard Comerford, being present when James Bolger, tenant for yeares of the townes and lands of Ballybog and the Graindge, within mentioned, did atturn and become tenant to Walter Wailsh, in the name of them and the co-feoffees within named, in deliveringe sixpence in name of atturnment, those whose names are under written, John Morgan, Nicholas Strange, Richard Comerford, being pnt (present) at the delivery of every, by a clodd of earth, by the within named Attorney, Robert Leonard, to the within named Attorney, William Dobbin, one of the feoffees, in the house in Trinitie Pish (parish) wherein Ralph Ture dwelleth at present, etc."

INQUISITIONS.

(INQUISITION XV.)

Gaurane (Gowran), 6th October, 1618.

DAVID BLANCHFIELD,* of Howlingstown, in the County of Kilkenny, was seized of the fee in the town and fields of Howlingstown, 2 acres great measure, a parcel of land called "Gib's land," 2 acres and the parcel of land called "Bishop's land," 2 small enclosures. The aforesaid David so seized made a grant in fee of the premises to Thomas Denn, of Grenan, per chart, the tenor whereof follows in the original."

INQUISITION XVI.

ib' (Gowran) same day (6th Oct., 1618.)

OLIVER GRACE, late of Kilrindowney, was seized in fee of the town and lands of Kilrindowney, in the county Kilkenny, containing 1 acre, great measure [] 1 acre, the moieties of the towns and lands of Rathsnageannie and Ballylackin, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. He died at Kilrindowney, 6th April, 1609. He held the premises from the King *in capite* by knight's service. Edmund Grace is son and heir of the said Oliver, and was aged 24 years at the time of his father's death and married. Immediately after the death of the said Oliver, Edmund, aforesaid, entered into possession of the premises. Ellen Grace al' [] is seized of the third part of the tenements, and has taken the profits of the said third part. Edmund himself, together with Walter Forstall, of Forstallstowne, and Redmund Grace, of Bollinarry, by a deed dated 3rd May, 1611, made a grant in fee to David Barron al' Fitzgerald, of Ballnebarney, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. Afterwards, *scil.*, 19th March, 1613, the aforesaid Edmund Grace, Walter Forstall, and Redmond Grace made another deed of enfeoffment of the aforesaid town and lands of Ballinarry to the aforesaid David Barron and his heirs, the tenor whereof follows in the original. The aforesaid Edmund Grace, together with Walter Forstall and Redmond Grace, by deed bearing date 14th May, 1611, feoffed Helias Archer, of Bowlincomyn, in the town and lands of Rossnewle, the tenor whereof follows in the original."

* For account of the Blanchfield family see Inquisition 3 Eliz. p. 52, n. 1.

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF

INQUISITION XVII.

Blackfryers, 13th January, 1618.



PATRICK SHORTALL,¹ late of Rathardmore,² in the County Kilkenny, was seized in fee of the manor of Jowellstowne, in the County aforesaid, with appurtenances; and of the vill of Rathardmore, White's-rath, Warren's-rath, and St. Martin's, being in the parish of St. Martin's, in the county aforesaid, within the demesne lands of the manor of Jowellstowne, containing 8 acres arable moor and meadow, 1 idle mill, 1 fish weir on the river Nore, and 1 fair to be held on St. Martin's day within the manor aforesaid. The premises are held from the Earl of Ormond, as of his manor of Gowran in socage. The aforesaid Patrick was also seized of the rents and services of the town and lands of Tullagh Breccan al' Devistowne, which are held as of the manor of Jowellstowne; of 20s. rent issuing out of the town and lands of Ouldtowne of Gereponte; 1 castle, 10 messuages, 1 orchard, 8 acres arable moor, meadow, pasture, and boscase in Kilblein, which are held from Oliver Waton and Oliver Shortall, for an annual rent; 2 messuages, 2 gardens, and 1 acre of land, arable, in Gawran, which are held from the aforesaid earl by fealty; 1 quarter of land in Upperclaragh, containing 2 arable acres, moor, meadow, and pasture, which are held as of the manor of Upperclaragh aforesaid; of and in the manor of Dowingarvan, 3 acres arable moor, meadow, and pasture, which are held from the king *in capite*; 2 parts of Graigneskerie al' Kilballyee, $\frac{1}{3}$ third of Shanneballyduffe, 3 parts of two-third part of Aghnelacke and the parcel called Knockanebuttoge, "in Farren O'Rian" containing four acres arable, moor, meadow, boscase, mountain, and pasture, which are held from the king. The aforesaid Patrick Shortall, being so seized of the premises when living by his charter of enfeoffment bearing date, 27th August, 1586, enfeoffed Galfrid Rothe FitzDavid, merchant, Irishtown, Kilkenny, and Patrick Fynn, Vicar of Donmore, in the premises for the use of the said Patrick during his life, and after his death for the use of Thomas Shortall, son and heir of the said Patrick, the tenor of which enfeoffment followeth in the original. The aforesaid Patrick Flynn died. The aforesaid Galfrid Roth, survived him, and was seized in fee of the premises specified in the aforesaid enfeoffment. He died so seized. David Roth, at present of Rosse, in the County of Wexford, is son and heir of the same Galfrid, and was of full age at the time of the said Galfrid's death. The aforesaid Patrick Shortall died 12th June, 1591. Thomas Shortall is his son and heir, and was 32 years of age and unmarried."

(2)—RATHARDMORE.

Rathardmore or Rathenmore Castle was situate about half-a-mile to the south of the old church of St. Martin's. It stood near a fort which doubtless gave the name *Rathardmore* to the locality or townland, but

¹See Inquisition IX, p. 150, n. 3, for Shortall Family.

both have long since disappeared. *Teampull Martain* or church of St. Martin, was the burial place of the Shortalls, lords of Rathemore. It was 20 feet wide, but the length cannot be well known as the gables of both ends have been destroyed. Tradition says it belonged to the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's Church. In the early part of the present century mass was said within the ruins and stations were carried on at St. Martin's Well, situate in a bog 200 yards north-east on the 11th of November. In the choir of the church are two tombs of the Shortalls with the following inscriptions:—(1)—*Hic jacent Ricardus Shortall quondam Dns. de Rathemore qui obiit Ano. Di. m^occcc^o, 84, et Elicia Purcell uxor egus quae obiit xxiii die mensis Decembris m^occccclxii.* (2)—*Hic jacent Patricius Shortall filius et heres Rci. Shortall nuper de Rathemore generosi qui obiit xxiii die mensis Maii Anno Di m^occcc 92, et Helena Den uxor ejus q. obiit xir^o die mensis Martii, Anno Dni. m^occccxxv^o quorum aiab. ppciet. Deus. Amen.* The Shortalls were dispossessed by Cromwell, and their principal castles besides Rathemore were—Lyrath, near Sir Wheeler Cuffe's house; Rathduff or Blackrath and Rathgarvan, now called Olifden; also Clara or Clarach, i.e., the castle of the flat or level, which is still standing.

(INQUISITION XVIII.)

(ib') same day.

JOHNN ROCHFORD¹ late of Killary, in the County Kilkenny, was seized of the fee of the town and fields of Killarye, containing 6 acres of land, which are held from Oliver Shortall, knight, as of his manor of Bawneonogh, by fealty, the annual rent of 4s. and by suite of courte; Carrigin 5 acres, which are held from the aforesaid Oliver; 6 messuages and 2 enclosures called Brownescroft, and Scrammagh, containing 20 acres small measure, 6 stanges and a certain croft in Ologhnane, in the county aforesaid, all which are held from the aforesaid Oliver. The aforesaid John Rochford being so seized of the premises, enfeofed thereof Thomas Shortall, of Rathardmore in the county aforesaid, for the use of the said John's last will, which he afterwards declared in the words which follow in the original. He died at Killarry, on the last day of March, 1616. John Rochford is son and heir of the said John, and was fourteen years of age at his father's death, and unmarried. The aforesaid John Rochford, senior, was also seized of 1 acre small measure, within the adjacent manor of Castledough, beside the river Nore, which is held from the king *in capite* by knight's service. Elizabeth Shortall, wife of the said John, senior, and 6 daughters of the said John, viz.—Catherine, Elizabeth, Ellicia, Ellen, Maria, and Ellinor are now living in good health and unmarried."

(1)—THE FAMILY OF ROCHFORD.

The family of Rochford appears to be of Norman origin. It is a form of *de Roche* or *de Rupe*, and the original members in their deeds and grants styled themselves *De Rupeforte* i. e., De Rochford. It is likely enough that the first of the name came with William the Conqueror to England, and established himself there after the Battle of Hastings, in 1066. Whether De Rochfort and De Rupe or De Roche were different families (which does not seem to be likely), or whether the original founder of the name came from Roche, in the department of Upper Savoy, or from Rocheforte, eighteen miles from La Rochelle, I cannot at present say. The De Rupes or Roches are complimented by Dr. O'Brennan in his *Antiquities* p. 157, n. b., in so far that he traces their descent from Corolus Magnus (Charlemagne) Charles the Great, (800—814), whose name and genius are brilliantly coupled with the revival of the Western Empire. Whether a like origin attaches or not to the de Rochfortes, it is certain they came to Ireland, soon after the Invasion, for in the 27th, Henry the third (1243), we find Sir Richard and John de Rochforte, Lords of Adare and Oroom, in Limerick. In 1300, Henry Rochfort surrendered to the King (Edward I.,) the manors of Maynaud, Rathcoffy and Belgrene, in the Co. Kildare. In 1302, Sir Maurice Rochford was Lord Justice of Ireland, according to Lodge. This must be an error, for Sir J. Wogan was Lord Justice, in Ireland, in 1295, and continued so to end of the Scottish wars against Baliol, William Wallace and the Bruces. Even at his last departure for the scene of action in 1303, he appointed as his deputy during his absence, William De Ross, Prior of Kilmainham, so that in no sense was Sir Maurice Rochford, Lord Justice of Ireland, in 1302. Even I find that on the 23rd February, 1302, King Edward the First, directed his writ dated at Morpeth, to Geoffrey de Geynvill, requiring him and John Wogan, Lord Justice of Ireland, to convene and treat with the Irish magnates to gain their assistance for his Majesty in his intended expeditions against the Scots. Amongst the Barons to whom writs were directed for that purpose appear the names of Maurice de Rochford, David de Rochford, Henry Fitz-Henry de Rochfort, Henry Fitz-Simon de Rochfort, John Fitz-Hugh de Rochfort, and Laurence de Rochford. Sir John Wogan, after his arrival in Ireland, as Lord Justice, in 1295, having by his moderation and conciliatory policy healed the dissensions which raged between the Geraldines and De Burgos, held a Parliament at Kilkenny, in which King John's division of the country into Shire ground or counties underwent revision. The Roll of this Parliament contains twenty seven names, that of Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, being first, and Maurice de Rochfort the twenty-sixth.

Clynn, under the date 1336, mentions that John de Rocheford was knighted at Roscrea, on Monday, the feast of SS. Fabian and Sebastian, by James Le Botiler (James Butler, second Earl of Carrick, and first Ear of Ormonde, d—1337). Also under 1337 that Maurice de Rochefort was consecrated Bishop of Limerick, at Limerick, on Passion

Sunday, the 8th ides of April. Under 1345 he likewise mentions the death of Gerald Rochford, about the time of Easter. Gerald Rochford, son of Sir William Rochford of Kill, was Constable of the Castle of Ferns with a fee of £20 a year, and was summoned as a baron to attend the Parliament held in Dublin the 13th of Edward the Third (1339). He died in 1349, carried away probably by the terrible Black Death. He had an elder brother, Edmond, whose descendants settled at Kilbride, in the County Meath, and subsequently became Viscounts Bellfield (1737). At what time the family settled in Kilkenny I cannot say. It seems probable that it was a junior of the Kilbride house that settled at Killary, Co. Kilkenny, and was grandfather of the above John, who entailed his estates in remainder on John Rochford, of Kilbride, and his heirs. The property of Killaree was confiscated on account of the part taken by John Rochford, his heir and successor, in the civil disturbance of 1641-2. Killary or Kilaree is in the barony of Oranagh, and parish of Odagh, and contains 656 odd statute acres. This proves that an acre great measure meant an indefinite number of our present acres ranging from 60 to 120. The above John Rochford, senior, held the town and lands of Killary, containing according to the Inquisition, six acres, which six must correspond to the present statute measure, 656. Dying in 1616 he left by his wife Elizabeth Shortal, (1) John, his heir, (2) James, (3) Richard, (4) Donnell or Daniel, (5) Alexander, (6) Oliver.

INQUISITION XIX.

(ib) Same day.

“**E**LLEN BUTLER, late of Rahyne, in the Co. Kilkenny, was seized in fee of and in the moiety of Rahyne* containing 5 acres great measure. Being so seized of the premises she was married to James Fitz-Oliver Branagh al' Walsh. The aforesaid James and Ellen had issue, Edmond Brenagh al' Walsh, and afterwards the aforesaid Ellen died 7th February, 1603. The aforesaid James held the lands aforesaid during his life, and died the 15th September, 1610. The aforesaid Edmund Brenagh, was 30 years of age at the time of his father's death, and was married. The aforesaid Edmund made a mortgage of the aforesaid lands to one Thomas Den, of Grennan, for £80 as more plainly appears by the charter of the said mortgage, the tenor of which charter is set forth in the original. The premises were held from the king in capite by knight's service.”

* There is a Raheen in the parishes of Tullaroan, Rosbercon, Fiddown, and Dunnamaggin. The above *Raheen* or *Rahyne* must have been in Fiddown, and identical with the present Raheen, which measures 584 statute acres, a number which corresponds, as has been already shown, with the 5 acres *great measure* mentioned above.

INQUISITION XX.

(ib.) same day (Blackfryers, 13th January, 1618.)

HENRY COMERFORD,¹ of Ballymaca,² in the County Kilkenny, lately deceased, was seized as of fee of the hamlet called Cloghelister, in the 'burgagery' of Arlestowne al' Erlystowne, containing 60 acres small measure; and he held the aforesaid hamlet from the late Queen Elizabeth, *in capite* by knight's service. So seized, he, by his deed bearing date 15 January, 1558, gave the premises to one William Crainsborough burgess of Kilkenny, for the use of the said William, by payment thence annually to the same Henry, for 16 years, to be reckoned from the feast of Easter of the aforesaid year, 1d., and afterwards 30s. to be paid annually at the feasts of St. Michael and Easter. The aforesaid William being so seized, by his deed bearing date 28 November, 1590, demised the premises to one Thomas Archer Fitz-Walter, of the city of Kilkenny, Alderman, lately deceased, for the term of 66 years, the aforesaid Thomas paying thence annually 30s. The aforesaid Thomas Archer was seized of 25 acres small measure, in Erlestowne al' Erlestowne, commonly called 'Newtown Erley,' viz., 20 acres called 'Sarceland' al' Oharchisland, and 5 acres called 'The Oromocke,' which are held from William Sweetman, as of his manor of Erley, in socage, for a certain head rent; and by suite of court, 4 acres small measure, parcel of Garriphillybyne in the 'burgage' of Erlestowne, which he had from William Fitzgarrott, for certain rents and by suite of court; the village of Bathes-rathe, on the lands of Henry Whitestowne, in the barony of Kells, which are held from Viscount Mountgarret, as of his manor of [] and likewise of the lands called Gortsoggrit, Bellaghsoreinate, and other parcels in holdings of Ballygeragh al' Sheepstowne, which are parcels of Beathesarth, and are held from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Knocktofer, and altogether they contain 60 acres, small measure; meadow, pasture, boscase, subboscase, and moor—6 acres arable in 'Henry Whitestowne' which he had from James Fanynge, and the premises are held from the aforesaid Viscount Mountgarrett as of his manor of Kenles (Kells); 20½ arable and meadow in Killy, which he had in mortgage from James Howlyn, and the premises are held from the aforesaid Viscount; 2 messuages, 2 gardens, and half-acre of land in Opone al' Knoctofer, in the County Kilkenny, and of the moiety part of 'the Graige' in 'bargagery,' 49½ acres arable land, 9 acres meadow, pasture, and moor, and 3 acres boscase small measure which are held from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Knocktofer, in burgage tenure and by suite of court; 13 messuages, 1

¹ Henry Comerford—For notice of the Comerford family see Inquisition 4 Elizabeth, p. 60.

² Ballymack (Desart) containing 374 statute acres, and Ballymack (Flood of Farmley) containing 200 statute acres, are both in the barony of Shillelogher and parish of Burnchurch near Danesfort. There are no vestiges of any castles as far as I know existing at present in either of these Ballymacks, nor is there, I believe, any tradition of where the Comerford castle or mansion once stood.

orchard, 9 gardens, 40 acres of arable land and 2 acres meadow in the burgagery of Thomastown, which are held in tenure burgagery from Thomas Denn, and the heirs of Richard Archdeacon a'l M'Ody, co-partners of the manor of Thomastown aforesaid; as of his manor aforesaid, now by partition called the manor of Grenan, and the manor of Dangan; of the use of the manor, town and lands of Rathcowle and Carrigin, containing one carucate of land which he had in mortgage from John Oantwell, which are held from the Earl of Ormonde; of the town of Tullaghbryn which he had in mortgage from the aforesaid John Oantwell, which is parcel of the manor of Rathcowle, containing a half carucate of land, and is held from the said Earl; 2 tofts, 1 park, and 1 acre arable small measure in Ballyyago al' Balligiag, in Ogenty, in Co. Kilkenny, which are held from the heirs of Richard Archdekin al' McCoda, as of the manor of Kilmurry. The aforesaid Thomas Archer made a fee grant of the premises to William Crainsbrough, Philip Crainsbrough, and Edmund Archer by deed dated 2nd October, 1595, for the use by last will of the aforesaid Thomas, the tenor of which deed followeth in the original. The aforesaid Thomas Archer Fitz Walter died on the 14th January, 1617. Johanna, Leticia, Margaret, and Katherine, and Rose Archer are his daughters and co-heirs, and were of full age at the time of their father's death, and the aforesaid Johanna, Leticia, Margaret, and Katherine were married before the death of their father."

INQUISITION XXI.

The Sessions House, 8 Mar., 1618.

"**J**OHN ARCHER¹, late of Corbedstoune, in the County Kilkenny, deceased, was seised on the day he died as of the fee of the town, lands and tenements of Mothell² al' Mohill and Inchbride, in the county aforesaid, containing 5 acres arable, meadow, pasture, and boscase, great country measure; and he held those from the King being; in free and common socage by fealty only—of the town, lands, and tenements of Corbedstoune, containing 1 acre arable, meadow, pasture, and boscase great measure; of the rectory of Mothell al' Mohill, and of the alterages, oblations, obventions, and spiritual profits appertaining thereto, and he held those from the King in free and common socage; 26s. 8d. annual rent issuing out of the aforesaid rectory; the moieties of the town, lands, and tenements of Ballyrancke, with appurtenances, containing 2 acres of land arable, meadow, pasture, boscase and sub-boscase great measure, and those he held from Lord Dingwall³ and Elizabeth, his wife, as of the manor of Downemore in socage by suite of courte; the moieties of the town, lands, and tenements of John-Rothestowne and Rathmonane, containing 3 acres of land arable, meadow, pasture, and boscase great measure, and he held those from Edmond Purcell, as of the manor of

Drombereh al' Dromerrin in socage by suite of courte; the moieties of the town, lands, and tenements of Byraghes, containing 1 acre arable, meadow and pasture great measure, and he held this from Edmund Blanchvill as of his manor of Kilmadywocke in socage by suite of courte; the moieties of the town, lands, and tenements of Lissclevane, containing 2 acres arable, meadow, pasture, and boscage big measure, and he held those as of the manor of Mothell aforesaid; in socage by suite of court; all which do appear from a record by *letters patent* of the said King James under the Great Seal of Ireland, bearing date 8 February in the 10th year of the reign of the said King. The aforesaid John Archer closed his last day on 16 October, 1617. Walter Archer is son and heir of the said John, and was 40 years of age, and married to Ellinora Cantwell, his wife, at the time of his aforesaid father's death."

THE FAMILY OF ARCHER.

Like most of the families or individuals who settled in Ireland at or soon after the Invasion, the pedigree of Le Archer is involved in obscurity. That they were settled in England at a very early date, admits of no doubt, and from the fact that they filled distinguished offices closely connected with the King's person, so early as Henry the First, leaves a suspicion that they came with William the Conqueror into that kingdom in 1066. The surname *Le Archer* appears derived from the privilege of carrying the King's Bow through all the forests of the kingdom. It appears to have been confined to the Umberslade family in the county of Warrick, whose immediate ancestor was tutor to Henry the First. At what precise time an offshoot of the Umberslade Archers was planted in Ireland, I am unable to say; but it is certain that in the reign of Edward the Third, members of the name held responsible positions in Kilkenny. In the 18th Edward III. (1345) Walter Archer was Portreve of Kilkenny, followed by John Archer in the same office, and also by Adam Archer, who was Portreve in 1350. This Walter was grandson, it is supposed, of Nicholas Le Archer, who attended in the Welsh wars of Edward the First, a.d. 1286, held extensive possessions in Stoke, Gloucestershire, from the King *in capite* by providing an *Archer*, i.e., a man with bowe and arrowe, to march in the King's army against the Welsh. Just contemporaneous with Walter, John, and Adam, of Kilkenny, we find in 1342, John Le Archer, Prior of Kilmainham, near Dublin, and also in the high office of Lord Chancellor. Whether superimbed with the martial spirit of his race, or out of perfect conformity to the usage of the age, he championed the Archbishop of Dublin, Alexander Bicknor, in open court to decide by combat his suit for the Church of Dunboyne, but a peaceful settlement of the litigation was effected without bodily hurt to their respective proxies. About this time also we find Prior Archer performing a very important service on behalf of his fellow-countrymen. King Edward the Third, long jealous of the power of the Anglo-Irish lords, awaited only a favourable opportunity of checking or completely

overthrowing their ascendancy. His matured plans for that purpose were confided to his Lord Deputy, Sir John Morris, whose rigorous execution of them by the resumption of all lands, liberties, manors, and jurisdictions granted by his Majesty or his predecessor, was supplemented by still more galling measures, which were adopted to replace Irishmen and Anglo-Irish in offices of trust, by Englishmen, deriving livings solely out of England.

Methods so arbitrary and glaring did not fail to unmask the King's design and excite the suspicion and indignation of the Anglo-Irish nobles. Maurice Fitz-Thomas, the First Earl of Desmond, and several other lords held a convention at Kilkenny in which they inveighed bitterly against the fraud, peculation, maladministration, and divers other grievances and misdemeanours of English officials. They also set forth their rights in a spirited remonstrance, which they entrusted to Prior Archer and Thomas Wogan for presentation to his Majesty. The remonstrants were successful, resumed lands were restored, the King became suddenly repentant and conciliatory—he was on the verge of a long and active war with France. In 1347 Prior Archer was appointed Lord Deputy, and in 1349, a second time Lord Chancellor, in which year he died, on the 3rd April.

From this period to the Williamite confiscations the Archer name bore proud prominence, and flourished in Kilkenny even after the blight of Cromwell himself. A number of inquisitions touching on the vast properties of the Archers have been kindly sent me by the Rev. M. Moloney, P.P., Kilbride and Barndarrig, archdiocese of Dublin, which afford proof, as he says, that "the Archer family had been of great note in the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Wexford, Dublin, and Meath, as may easily be gathered from the public records of Ireland."

In the list of portreves, sovereigns, mayor, sheriffs, etc., of the City of Kilkenny, from 1345 to 1620, the name of Archer appears in 67 places—in other words filling in their adopted city the highest and most responsible offices during a period of 275 years.

In 1528 Walter Archer Fitzjohn was Portreve of Kilkenny. He may be identical with Walter Archer who was appointed to the office of *Escheator*¹ of the County of Kilkenny "to hold during pleasure, faithfully to answer for the farms and issues of the county and the

¹ *Escheator*.—The *Escheats* of lands contributed to the King's ordinary revenue as a source of income. An *Escheat* determined a vassal's tenure, or in other words dissolved the bond between a lord and his tenant. This happened in one or both of two ways, namely, *extinction of blood*, i.e., failure of heir, or by *corruption of blood*, i.e., by the commission of a crime which amounted to treason or felony, whereby the blood was supposed to be *tainted* or *stained*, and every inheritable quality removed or blotted out. In the one case there were no heirs to inherit to whom alone the *feudal* grant was to extend as a condition of its subsistence or prolongation; in the other case the *vassal* or *tenant*, by the commission of a heinous crime, gave proof that he was no longer to be trusted as a *faithful subject* nor relied on as a *vassal*. In such case he forfeited his *fee* which was bestowed on him under the tacit or implied condition that he should not turn *traitor* or become a *felon*. It is needless to say how far this *corruption of blood* could be used as an engine of plunder and confiscation in the hands of such a king or queen as Henry the Eighth or Elizabeth.

cross."¹ In 1542 and 1544 we find him *Sovereign of Kilkenny*. In 1558 we find him, together with the Earl of Ormonde, John, Bishop of Ossory, and others, receiving a Royal Commission to muster the inhabitants of the county of Kilkenny, and to "cause them to be assessed and arrayed according to the quality of their goods and chattels to horses and arms of light cavalry, horsemen, and footmen." In 1568 we find him again *Sovereign of Kilkenny*. In 1575 he closed his years, and was buried in the south transept, St. Mary's, Kilkenny. Over 20 years ago when making some improvements within the church the workmen hit upon an altar tomb in the transept aforesaid, and about a few inches under the flagging.

When a clearance was made it was found to rest on the original floor of the church at a depth of three feet. The top slab was missing, but one of the supporters bore the following inscription in *relievo* :—

Hic jacent Walterus Archer filius Joh'is quond, burgen ville Kilkennie, q' obiit p'mo die Decebris, A.D., 1575, et Johana Hacket uxor ejusde, Walteri q' obiit 16 die Septembris, A.D., 1565, quoru alab' propiciet' De' Ame.'

Translation—"Here lie Walter Archer Fitzjohn, a Burgess of the town of Kilkenny, who died the first day of December, A.D., 1575, and Johana Hacket, his (Walter's) wife, who died the 16th day of September, A.D., 1565, on whose souls God be merciful. Amen."

John, the father of this Walter, was sovereign of Kilkenny in 1499. During his time a dispute about meares or boundaries of their respective territories as is supposed brought about an armed conflict between Pierce, afterwards 8th Earl of Ormonde, and Turlough O'Brien, Earl of Thomond. The precise place where the battle was fought is not, I believe, identified, but after an obstinate resistance Ormonde was defeated and put to flight, "leaving many slain, of whom the Sovereign of Kilkenny, for so at that time the city magistrate was called."

Mr. Burtchaell in his valuable work, "Kilkenny Members," p. 10, thinks Walter Fitzjohn was a different person from Walter who was sovereign of Kilkenny in 1542, etc., and who had by his wife Marion Coursey, six sons and four daughters, viz. :—(1) Walter, (2) John of Corbetstown, mentioned in the above Inquisition, (3) Thomas, (4) Peter, (5) Robert, (6) David, Constable of the castle of Gowran. The daughters were (1) Catherine, (2) Mary, (3) Alison, (4) Anstice. John of Corbetstown died the 16th October, 1617, seized of the rectory of Mothell or Mohill. He left by his wife Honora Sheth, daughter of Robert Sheth, M.P. for Kilkenny, 1585, three sons and three daughters, viz. :—(1) Walter of Corbetstown, (2) Robert, (3) James, (1)—daughter married to George St. Leger, (2)—daughter to Edmund Ryan, (3) Joan married to Richard FitzEdward Rothe. Walter, the eldest son, had a grant under the Commission for defective Titles, 8th September, 1638, for his manor of Mothell, Corbettstown, etc. He was Mayor of Kilkenny in 1625—1627—1643. He married Ellinor,

¹ *Cross*.—The present county of Tipperary was known up to the time of James the First as the county and cross of Tipperary—the latter meaning the *Ecclesiastical* portion.

daughter of John Cantwell, of Cantwell's court, by whom he had a son, Thomas, killed at Drogheda, and a daughter Catherine. He lost his estates by forfeiture under the Cromwellians, for his own and son's part in the war of 1642.

The following list of the Archer name may prove interesting:—

- 13th Edward III. William Archer, Escheator of Ireland.
 1289. John Archer of Kilmanadok in Tipperary.
 1292. Thomas of Nanarath, Tipperary.
 1294. John Fitzdavid le Archer in Tipperary.
 1345. John Archer, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, Kilmainham, Chancellor of Ireland.
 1345. Walter and John Archer, Portreeves of Kilkenny.
 1350. Adam Archer, Do.
 1356. David Archer, Do.
 1366. David, Sovereign.
 1377. David, Do.

4th October, 1371. A deed by which Geoffrey Fforstall granted to Gregory Fitzjohn Archer, all the lands and tenements, which he held by the feoffment of said Geoffrey in the burgage of Kilkenny, which descended to said Gregory after the death of his father, John, remainder to his heirs male, remainder to ——— son of Adam Archer, and his heirs for ever.

1385. Roger Archer of Waterford—his son Andrew.

1390. Walter Archer, Portreeve of Kilkenny.

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| 1429. Wm. Archer, Sovereign. | 1597. Thomas Archer. |
| 1434. William, Do. | 1601. Patrick Do. |
| 1447. Elias, Do. | 1603. Martin Do. |
| 1464. William, Do. | 1611. Thomas, Mayor. |
| 1467. Walter, Do. | — John, Coroner. |
| 1468. Walter, Do. | 1612. Edmund, Coroner. |
| 1498. Peter, Do. | 1613. Edmund, Sheriff. |
| — John, Do. | 1616. Murt, Do. |
| 1499. John, Sovereign. | — Edmond, Coroner. |
| 1503. Patrick, Do. | 1617. Andrew, Do. |
| 1508. Patrick, Do. | 1621. Walter, Mayor, died in office. |
| 1518. Patrick, Do. | 1627. Walter, Sheriff. |
| 1520. Peter, Do. | 1628. Henry, Mayor. |
| 1541. Walter, Do. | 1634. Thomas, Do. |
| 1544. Do. Do. | 1635. Peter, Sheriff. |
| 1590. Walter, Do. | |
| 1593. John Archer Fitzwilliam | |

One of the most notable men of the Archer family was the Rev. James Archer, Jesuit. He was a most ardent lover of his country, and during the war of Elizabeth braved many dangers in defending it. At the conference which took place between Owny O'Moore, Prince of Leix, and the Earl of Ormonde (Black Thomas) at Corranduffe, between Ballyragget and Castlecomer, Father James Archer was present on

Moore's side, and was probably the occasion of Ormonde's capture. The very best idea of the services rendered to his religion and country by Father Archer is gathered from the hate entertained towards him by the Queen's minions, and the opprobrious epithets they were wont to call him.

Thus Sir George Carew, President of Munster, describing the above parley between O'Moore and Ormonde, says:—"After an hower and more was idly spent and nothing concluded, wee and others did pray his lordship to depart. But hee, desirous to see that *infamous Jesuit, Archer*, did cause him to be sent for. As soone as hee came the Earle and hee fell into an argument wherein he called Archer traytor, and reprooved him for sending, under the pretext of religion, her Majestie's subjects into rebellion" (Pac. Hib., p. 44, Ed. Dub., 1810).

The loud words of Ormonde were soon quieted in the woods of O'Moore. In his second report to Mountjoy, Carew adds:—

" . . . My Lord Ormonde in his taking received no hurt ; but his hatt, George sword and dagger were taken from him. . . . They sett him on a hackney, and that night carried him into Leix, six miles from the place he was taken. The traytor Archer was his bed-fellow (not likely). Owney McRory useth him well. All this I know by a letter from him to his lady, wherein he praieth her that no forces may be drawn down where he is, for fear, as he sayeth, of beeing killed. This treacherie was plotted by that priest Archer, and of the conspiracie there was no more but Owny McRory, Shane Oge M'Gilpatricke, my lord of Upperosserie's nephew, Callogh McWalter, brother's sonne to Hugh Boy McCallogh, and four bonnaghes" (hired soldiers). Ormonde remained a prisoner from the 9th April, A D. 1600, till the 12th June, following, and Ledwick states he delivered 16 hostages for the payment of £3,000, in case he should seek retaliation,

Father Archer and Lord President Carew were destined to meet again before the castle of Dunboy, in Bear Island, on the west coast of Cork. Carew's army amounted to 3,000, and was subsequently strengthened by the forces of Sir Charles Wilmot. Donnel O'Sullivan Beare, acting on the advice of a Jesuit, Father Dominic Collins, and some Spaniards, hastened to fortify the castle. The *Barbican*, or outer defence, being a wall 16 feet high, they faced it with sods, intermixed with wood and faggots, to the thickness of 23 or 24 feet to resist the cannon. It was unfortunate, however, that this defence was idle work, for coming in close proximity to the castle which reared high above it, Carew was able to direct effectively his battery against the latter, and regard the earth-works as undeserving of notice. The defence of the castle was entrusted to Richard Mageogan, who had with him the aforementioned Father Collins, who, before his becoming a religious, had been an officer in the French service. The little garrison only numbered less than 150 men, some Spaniards included, yet such were the natural difficulties of approach over crags and straits and bog, that the place was considered impregnable and beyond the reach of military pioneers. O'Sullivan, Captain Tyrell, and Father Archer, lay encamped at some distance

determined to harass the besiegers by sudden and unforeseen attacks. In attempting to prevent their landing, 28, including 2 officers, were slain, and Captain Tirrell, with 12 others wounded. "There were," says he, "only two prisoners taken and presently hanged, whereof a servant of James Archer, the infamous Jesuit, was one and with him his master's sword and portace. And if the Jesuit himself had not been a light-footed priest, hee had fallen into our hands, and yet as nimble as hee was, hee escaped with much difficultie, and besides him great numbers of them would have passed the edge of the sword had not they had a boggie wood at hand wherein they were sheltered"—(Pac. Hib., p. 550).

On the 6th of June, 1602, the ordnance began to play on Dunboy Castle. There were in the fort only a few guns to reply to the incessant roar which was kept up with an incessant vigour till the castle was shattered to fragments, and the trenches of the assailants drawn close to it. On the 15th day Oarew, the Earl of Thomond, and Sir Charles Wilmot, with a guard of foot, rode for recreation by the sea-side. A gunner in the fort having espied them fixed a piece upon them. Just as he was observed by the loitering party, Thomond and Wilmot, afrighted, rushed their horses forward. The aim was good, but late—the bullet grazed by their heels and did no more hurt than cover them with earth. On the 17th the assault was made. Never during a long day were turret after turret, and curtain after curtain of the Barbican, defended with such heroism and bravery by a handful of men against overwhelming numbers. Pike in hand the brave defenders fought their assailants inch after inch, as superior numbers forced them into their last stronghold, the narrow passage to which on the east side was for an hour and a half "disputed with great obstinance on either side. "The enemy," adds Oarew, "still making good defence, and beating with shot and stones upon us from the stairs, and likewise from that part of the castle which stood from the top of the vault and from under the vault, both with pieces and by their throwing down stones, iron bullets, and other annoyances wherewith many of our men were slain and wounded, and wee oppressing them in all those places by all means wee might, and still attempting to get up to the top of the vault by the ruines of the breach which was maintayned by the enemy as we were divers times forced down again."

At this moment the state of the garrison was more than desperate. About 40 made a sortie to escape, but were cut down except eight, who attempted to save themselves by swimming the sea, and were subsequently killed by Captain Harvey in the waters. From the top of the vault three more leaped, but only to fall on the points of the pikes directed to receive them. MacLoughlin O'Moore was one of these. He was known as the "Notable Rebel," and he it was who first laid hands on the Earl of Ormonde and pulled him from the saddle on the day of "Corranduffe" already alluded to. The gallant Mageoghan was mortally wounded, and was subsequently found endeavouring in his last agonies to fire a quantity of gunpowder in an under vault that he might bury his enemies with himself in the ruin. Of the 143 heroic

defenders not one escaped, but they left to Bear Island and Dunboy a military renown not inferior to that given by the Crusaders and Hospitallers to the walls of Jerusalem and the plains of Syria.

"The whole number of the ward," says Carew, "consisted of one hundred and fortie three selected fighting men, being the best choice of all their forces, of which no one man escaped, but were either slaine, executed, or buried in the ruins, and so obstinate and resolved a defence *has not bin seene within this kingdome.*"

Fifty-eight of the prisoners taken were executed in the Market place. About 15 more, amongst whom were Father Dominick Collins and Thomas Taylor, an Englishman, were reserved in order to induce them to become traitors, and move Captain Tyrrel "to doe some acceptable service" in order to ransom them. The Captain, notwithstanding how much he desired the redemption of the "brave remnant" especially of Father Collins and Taylor, was nevertheless firm. The "honor" of the man and "cause" of country would permit him only to offer a money ransom. He indignantly spurned the "propounded stratagem" of Carew, "*in the effecting whereof he should obtain pardon and libertie for himselfe and his dependants,*" declaring he could never betray the Catholic cause nor prove false to the King of Spain. Dunboy Castle was accordingly blown up with gunpowder. Thomas Taylor, who succeeded the wounded MacGeoghaa in command of the garrison, was hanged in chains near the north gate of the city of Cork. Father Dominick Collins, "in whom no penitence appeared for *his detestable treasons*, nor yet would endeavour to merite his life either by discovering the rebels' intentions (which was in his power), or by the doing of *some service* that might deserve favour," was carried to his native town of Youghal and hanged also. Father Archer made his escape to Spain and interested himself in raising funds for the Irish Seminary at Salamanca, of which he was a pupil in early life. Subsequently he returned to England, and in disguise was the frequent guest of Hugh O'Neill at Chelsea and Kingston.

In 1603 we find one Atkinson, a spy who was employed in Elizabeth's reign by Cecil and Carew to assassinate Tyrone, deposing that he had often seen and knew well this "traitorous priest, Archer . . . and of all priests that ever were is held for the most bloody and treacherous . . . and is grown to be so absolute powerful in holding the greatest lords in awfull obedience as none dare or will gainsay him." He also deposed, "Archer is in stature somewhat tall, black, and his visage long and thin; born in Kilkenny." O'Sullivan Beare, in *His. Cath. Ibern.*, p. 205, says that Father Archer first aided O'Neill, then the O'Moore, and finally the O'Sullivan, with his zeal, counsel and support against the heretics, and the English, believing him to be possessed of the miraculous powers of walking on the sea with dry feet, flying through the air, &c., called him not Archer, but *Archfiend* (Archidiabolum). A memoir of Father Archer, from a pen of a distinguished Jesuit, and one of our most gifted historians, will in a short time be issued from the press. I need not say how welcome and acceptable such

a biographical sketch will be to Kilkenny men, and if the foregoing remarks aid its circulation, the worthy author will gain something and the public much. That John Archer, of Corbedstown, was one of the city of Kilkenny Archers, admits of no doubt. On the 15th October, 1588, we find them perfecting a deed whereby he granted certain lands and premises Lislelevan, Rothstown, Rathmonan, &c., to Walter Lawles and James Archer Fitz. [], merchant of same i.e., of Kilkenny city. In an Inquisition of the time of Charles I., dated "le Blackfriars," 22nd September, 1636, we find him called John Archer Fitzwalter.

In the civil war of 1641-2 the Archer family suffered on the Catholic side. In the General Assembly of Confederates which met at Kilkenny, on the 10th January, 1647, Walter and Patrick Archer sat as Commoners. The consequent forfeitures under Cromwell followed. In Kells barony, Thomas Archer; Gowran barony, Henry Archer; Fassadinan barony, Walter Fitzjohn; Oranagh barony, Kathleen Archer, al Grace; Ballyfrunk, Kilkenny Liberties, Henry Archer, Esq, John Archer, Henry Archer, Thomas Archer, Nicholas Archer, Thomas Archer, Esq., Michael Archer, Esq., Mr. Thomas Archer, Mr. Henry Archer, Robert Archer, Michael Archer, and Edward Archer.

In 1654 we find Mary Archer presenting a petition for her aged father, Thomas, over 60 years of age, praying that he might be excused from Transplantation into Connaught, as it would infallibly endanger his life. He was merely dispensed for two months. The above Walter Fitzjohn, of the barony of Fassadinan, is the same as he mentioned in the Inquisition (21), the son and heir of John, of Corbedstown. What became of him after the forfeiture of his lands I can't say; likely he died beyond the Shannon. I should not close this meagre notice of the Archer family without pious mention of the faithful constancy of Walter Archer.

He was a citizen of Kilkenny, and titled *armiger*, (Esq). The Dominican Convent at Kilkenny was restored by the piety of the citizens immediately after the death of Queen Elizabeth as they vainly hoped that James the First would secure the free exercise of public worship, and restore the ancient faith as Queen Mary had done. Mountjoy, on whom was conferred the title of Lord Lieutenant, soon convinced the Catholics of their error and simplicity and one of his victims was Walter Archer, Esq., who, because he refused to profane (tear down I suppose) the reconstructed convent of the Dominicans, was cast into prison, and subsequently after enduring a long confinement he died in exile in 1604. There was a Lake Archer, Abbot of Holy Cross, County Tipperary. He was Vicar-General of the Cistercian Order, which survived in Ireland despite the suppressing edicts of Queen Elizabeth. He was not of course recognized as Abbot by the Crown, and hence we find him described in the regal visitation of 1615, to be seen in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, as "Sir Lucas Archer, Titular Abbott of the Holy Crosse, and the Pope's Vicar-Generall of the Diocese of Ossory, Archdeacon of the same dwelling at Kilkenny."

(2)—MOTHEL AL MOHILL.

The ruined church of Mothel stands within a few minutes walk of the far-famed cave of Dunmore, an interesting description of which may be read in Banim's "Crohore." The wall, portions of which remain, shows that it was built mostly of thin flags, and measured 48 feet in length and over 19 in width. The west gable had a pointed arch doorway, 7ft. 4in. high by 5ft. 2in. wide, built of thin chipped stones—the arch being rudely constructed. This door has been closed up over 50 years for the purpose of a ball alley. The popular exercise of hand-ball during this period brought together on Sundays and holidays great crowds of youths from all the neighbouring districts, and any who returned home without having seen the Cave of Dunmore was sure to be jeered at as a booby, and was made the week's sport of his companions. On the other hand he that was best able to describe the scenes about the cave, the fairy floor, the tall pillar within the cave, and the stream beyond which no life returns, was treated as an observant, intelligent lad, worthy of raising his voice above his fellows, and of being listened to with respectful attention. I only hope that a like recital of the traditions, history, legends, &c., of all our phenomenal and antiquarian localities may one day revive their past glories and forgotten memories, and scout from the market that baneful light literature which threatens to deform the youthful disposition, even whilst being shaped in the mould of Christian and Catholic education. To return. There is no reference of historical worth connected with Mothel old church, nor is there any tomb of note in the attached burial ground.

(3)—LORD DINGWALL—SIR RICHARD PRESTON.

He was married to Elizabeth, only surviving child of Black Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde. She was first married to her cousin—German Theobald Butler, of Ologrennan, near Carlow, who was created Viscount Tulleophelim, in the County Carlow, by King James I., in 1604. He died in 1613, and was buried in St. Canice's Church, Kilkenny, leaving no male issue. King James was most anxious that the Viscountess, his widow, should marry Sir Richard Preston, his favourite, and having by his influence effected the union, Sir Richard, who was Baron Dingwall in Scotland, was created, on 6th June, 1614, Earl of Desmond in Ireland. As Black Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormonde, died without legitimate male issue, and Viscount Tulleophelim died also without such, the Ormonde estates should, in consequence, by right have fallen to the representative of John Butler, of Kilcash, who was brother to Black Thomas. Sir Walter Butler, son of this John of Kilcash, was accordingly the rightful heir to the property, but King James constituted himself arbitrator in the dispute; and Ormonde refusing to submit, his estates were seized and himself confined to the fleet, where, during eight years, he was most inhumanly treated, having often suffered the want of the common necessities of life. 'Tis this unjust seizure of the

Ormonde estates that finds John Archer in the foregoing Inquisition holding his lands specified from *Lord Dingwall and Elizabeth, his wife, as of the Manor of Dunmore*, one of the favourite manors of the Ormondes.

INQUISITION XXII.

Le Blackfryers, 6 [], 1618.

LIZABETH, late Queen, was seised of the fee in right of her "crown of the town and fields of Legan, Blackrath, and Ballilinch; and by her letters patent bearing date, Dublin, 8th March, 5th year of her reign, granted in perpetuity "the premises to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, his heirs and assigns; as by said letters patent doth appear more plainly. The "aforesaid Earl being so seised of the premises by his feoffment bearing "date 2nd June, 1563, granted the town and lands of Legan, Blackrath, and Ballilinch, to Oliver Grace,¹ late of Ballilinch, for an annual "rent of £8 0s. 8d., as doth more plainly appear by the charter aforesaid, the tenor whereof followeth in the origin. The aforesaid Oliver "Grace by virtue of the feoffment aforesaid was seised of the town and "lands of Ballilinch containing 8 acres great measure, Legan containing "5 acres, and Blackrath containing 5 acres of the aforesaid measure; he "was likewise seised of the town and lands of Killebrey, containing 3 "acres big measure, Agheviller (now in the possession of John Grace) "containing 2 acres of the measure aforesaid and held from the Earl "of Ormonde aforesaid, as of his manor of Knocktopher. The aforesaid "Oliver Grace being so seised of the premises by his charter of feoffment, dated 24th April, 9th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth "aforesaid, granted the premises to one Thomas Grace, rector of Collin, "Philip Waton, of Watonsgrove, and Geoffery Cantwell, of Ballilinch, "the tenor of which feoffment followeth in the origin. The aforesaid "Oliver Grace died. The aforesaid Thomas Grace and Philip Waton "also died; the said Geoffery Cantwell survived them and was seised "of the premises. Being so seised he died 26 [], 1595. When "Cantwell, son and heir of the aforesaid Geoffery was 40 years of age "at the time of his father's death, and was seized of the premises for "the use aforesaid. He died in the year 1604. Edmond Cantwell of "Cloghscreggie, son and heir of the aforesaid William, was 25 years of "age at the time of his father's death and was seised of the premises "for the use aforesaid. Gerrald Grace, son and heir of the aforesaid "Oliver, died 4th March, 1618. The aforesaid Oliver Grace died 1st "January, 1615. The premises were held from the king in capite by "knight's service. The aforesaid Gerrald Grace was seised of the fee "of a parcel of land called 'Moorhouse,' containing 2 acres great "measure, and so seised he died. Oliver Grace is son and heir of the "aforesaid Gerrald. The premises last mentioned were held from the "king in free and common soccage by fealty only."

"Fortune, the great Commandress of the world,
Hath divers ways to enrich her followers."
Chapman.

(1)—THE GRACE FAMILY.

Whether the reader of Irish History will ever bring himself to believe that the fusion of the Anglo-Norman settlers in this country with the native Irish, was to the latter any more a blessing than the perpetual broils which distracted them before the arrival of the former, I do not know. One fact, however, is certain, to wit, that the needy mailed warriors of the Welsh borders established themselves in Ireland, firmly, sword in hand, and indeed *marvellously*, their first landing having been so contemptible, yet productive of results which no prophet could have dreamt of. My concern, however, is not to treat of the English settlement just now, but to trace as far as possible, the origin, rise and fall (if fall there was) of the individuals who swarmed into this country in the trains of Strongbow and King Henry the Second, and divided and parcelled, and devoured her like a pack of hungry wolves, fresh from their lair upon a carcass. The Norman conquest breathing the turbulence of Norweigan piracy which characterized the descendants of Rolf, had taught the Saxons the meaning of imposing a French dynasty and nobility upon England. What England had been taught in this way, she, after a hundred years essayed to teach Ireland and that in as perfect and similar a manner as she had herself learned from the Victor of Hastings. The adventurers who undertook the virtuous exertion were most of them men of the highest military talents—indeed it is almost certain from the courage, tact and tenacity with which they prosecuted their *achievement* that they possessed abilities which would have secured them success, and won them elevation in any different undertaking whatever. The power or dignified position gained by ability may be lost, obscured or crushed altogether from sight by the withering frown of fortune, or the crucial trial of state revolutions, but the memory of him who first built it will live and refresh with revolving ages. And it is the preservation of this very memory of great ancestral achievements that becomes the veritable source from which springs the "pride of blood," which "amidst the desolation of fortune and the prostration of power, stands upright, firm upon its basis; and as it required centuries to build it up, so is its duration in proportion to the slowness of its structure." It is thus that the antiquity of the Grace family has been so permanently established and a fadeless light shed upon the name. The first founder is said to have sprung from the princes of Tuscany, and his descendants to have passed into Normandy, and, subsequently, settled in England about the middle of the eleventh century, or the time of Edward the Confessor. Otho, the recognised founder from this period, was styled "baron," and his son Walter Fitz Otho was castellan of Windsor and warden of the King's forests in Berkshire.

"The high honours and brilliant achievements of his descendants," says Sheffield Grace, "are reflected on the founder, and *Otho* or *Other* must always be illustrious as the common ancestor of the noble houses

of Windsor, Earl of Plymouth; Carew, Earl of Totnees, and Carew, Baronet; Grace, Baron of Courtstown (Tullaroan), and Grace, Baronet; Fitz-Maurice, Marquis of Landsdowne, and Earl of Kerry; Gerrard, Earl of Macclesfield, and Gerrard, Barcnet; Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth and Cromartie; and Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare. "He is thus the stem of a tree," adds S. Grace, "which during more than a thousand years, has borne its honors high, and spread them branchingly in society." Walter Fitz-Otho married Gladys, a princess of North Wales, and his third son, Gerald Fitz-Walter, of Windsor, became Chamberlain to King Henry the First, and got a grant of the manor of Moulesford, in Berkshire. He married Nesta, the daughter of Rhys ap-Twyder (Tewdor), Prince of South Wales, and received with her as her dowery the extensive manor of Carew. Nesta's character is strangely overlooked by the author of the "Grace Family," yet *first* mistress *then* wife, in high circles never roused much the virtuous indignation of Anglo-Norman or English rulers, from Nesta's own time to that of Arabella Churchill. The fact, however, is that Nesta as mistress and wife established a close relationship between the leaders of the Invasion and English allies of MacMurrough. Whilst mistress of Henry the First she had a son, Henry, the father of Meyler and Robert Fitz-Henry, the former being Chief Governor of Ireland in the reign of King John, and founder of the Priory of Great Conall, on the banks of the Liffey, in 1202. As wife (some say mistress) of Stephen of Cardigan, she bore Robert Fitz-Stephen, who was the first of the Invaders who set foot upon Irish soil at Bannow, and received the lordship of Wexford, from MacMurrough, in 1169, in recompense of the successful assault of the town and garrison. Subsequently as wife of the above Gerald Fitz-Walter, of Windsor, Nesta had William, Lord of Carew and Moulesford, father of Raymond Fitz-William, surnamed *Le Gros*, or the corpulent, which being corrupted into *Le Gras*, subsequently became "Grace," the Anglicised form preserved to the present day.

In the Anglo-Norman expedition to Ireland, Raymond *le Gros* followed Fitz-Stephen as precursor of Strongbow. Landing at Dundonnell, near Waterford, in May, 1170, he was joined by Hervey de Montemarisco (Mountmaurice), Strongbow's paternal uncle, and having constructed a temporary fort on the rocky promontory they successfully resisted and defeated a Dano-Irish force which marched from Waterford to dislodge them. O'Rian, chief of Idrone, was amongst the slain. About seventy of the citizens were made prisoners, and in response to a proffered ransom Raymond and Mountmaurice had their limbs broken, and hurled them from the steep. "This atrocity," says Haverty, "was a fitting prelude to the English wars in Ireland; but most historians vindicate Raymond *le Gros* from the stigma which it cast upon the English arms."

Indeed, in my opinion, it is puerile to excuse any of the excesses coupled with the Invasion, or to pretend for one moment that any atrocity, villainy, or treachery was too much for any of the first invaders. One and all, they meant conquest, and they meant it with or without honour, and by the sword. Hurling the broken-limbed prisoners from

the beetling precipice of Dundolf was not more inhuman nor more against the usages of warfare than Raymond's subsequent conduct after the arrival of Strongbow. The latter, after the capture and carnage of Waterford, hastened to Dublin along the Wicklow mountains.

Whilst he and his royal guide, MacMurrough, on their arrival were negotiating with St. Lawrence O'Toole—Raymond with Milo de Cogan secretly withdrew, and having effected an unexpected entrance into the city, left St. Lawrence to behold on his return the ghastly dead heaps of the unprepared citizens. "We may conceive the horror with which St. Lawrence, hastening back to the city, found its streets filled with carnage. He exposed his life in the midst of the massacre, endeavouring to appease the fury of the soldiers, and subsequently he had the bodies of the slain collected for decent burial." After the first landing of a handful of needy knights the success of the Invasion became very soon a stern reality. King Henry, however, had by-and-by domestic troubles in Normandy, and at home the blood of St. Thomas A'Becket, was still clotted on his reputation. He summoned Strongbow from Ireland to aid him against his rebellious sons, and quell the insurrectionary spirit of the Norman and Gascon nobility. In the absence of Strongbow, his uncle, Meantmaurice, who mortally hated Raymond *le Gros*, excited disunion in the Anglo-Norman ranks by his bitterness towards Raymond, but the soldiers insisted on having the latter get the command, and the former displaced.

Raymond, on getting at the head of the army, marched into Offaly against the O'Dempseys, who had shortly before defeated Strongbow with the loss of several knights and his son-in-law, Robert de Quincy, on whom he had bestowed a large portion of Wexford, in consideration of his marriage. Raymond's progress through Offaly and Munster to Lismore was one red track of blood, devastation, and pitiless plunder. He defeated MacCarthy, of Cork, and presented to Strongbow 4,000 head of cattle as a trophy. He also made known to Strongbow his matrimonial expectations and ambition. He, in fact, demanded as the reward of his martial prowess the hand of his sister, Basilia de Clare, and the civil and military command as constable and standard bearer of the province of Leinster. Strongbow refused, Raymond recrossed to the Welsh border. Strongbow was made to repent, for he was completely defeated and his army cut to pieces soon after in 1174, by Donnell More O'Brien, of Limerick, just at the town of Thurles. Canon Moore, of J. M.stown, once pointed out to me on our passing the way, the site of the battle and the field I think he stated was called in Irish, *Lug-an-Fuileach*, that is the bloody hollow (*Lug-an-Fuileach*). Strongbow then fled back promising to comply with all his demands. Raymond on his part as promptly replied by his presence bringing with him 30 knights of his own kindred, 100 cavalry, and 300 archers. At Wexford the marriage ceremony between him and Basilia de Clare was performed. Raymond was now, as brother-in-law of Strongbow's, in a fairer way than ever of slipping his "dogs of war" and sating their hunger and

rapacity. He captured Limerick and soon again defeated Donnell O'Brien, near Cashel, and that so crushingly that complete submission on the part of the Irish princes followed, and a treaty between Kings Roderick O'Connor of Ireland and Henry the Second of England, was ratified in the Council of Windsor (1175).

Raymond *Le Gros*, at the invitation of Dermot McCarthy, King of Cork, next marched his army into Desmond, and overthrew Dermot's rebellious son, Cormac. For this service the reinstated father rewarded Raymond with a large district round Lixnaw, in Kerry, which he settled on Maurice Fitz-Raymond, who became the founder of the Fitz-Maurice family, a line in late years represented by the Marquis of Lansdowne and Earl of Kerry. Whilst Raymond was at Limerick, his head-quarters, Strongbow died, in 1176, at Dublin, of an ulcer in his foot, "a visitation attributed to SS. Bridget, Columbkille, and other saints, whose churches he had destroyed; and it is said he thought he saw St. Bridget killing him." (F.M., date 1176). Raymond, of course, could not be absent from the burial in Trinity, now Christ's Church, of his brother-in-law and late leader, but how he was to manage with Limerick, which cost him so dearly to capture from King O'Brien, caused him not a little anxiety. He thought he could insure himself of the city on his return by a piece of mockery, which consisted in sending for Donnell O'Brien and making him a king's baron with free charge of Limerick. O'Brien by this time had fully known all about the insincerity of the invaders, and no sooner had Raymond crossed the Shannon than he reduced the town to a charred ruin, swearing it should never again be the "nest of the foreigner." The lurid flames mounting high above roofs and pinnacles broadened in dismal gaze behind the tramping army of Raymond. A return was beyond possibility, as O'Brien had destroyed the bridge as a precautionary measure, and nothing remained for Raymond but to continue his route. He vowed, of course, revenge within himself. Natural enough that he should have so—at all events whilst he was in sight of the Shannon, sheeted with the glaring sparks of a city "which he had taken such pains to fortify and to supply with stores of every kind"—yet now fired at once in four quarters by Rebel O'Brien. After Strongbow's burial Raymond was elected Chief Governor by the Council, pending, of course the Royal pleasure. This appointment by the Council has been greatly enhanced by the author of the "Grace Family"; for he says: "In 1176 Raymond Le Gross was appointed sole Viceroy of Ireland, which high office he had previously held in conjunction with Earl Strongbow."

The latter part of this statement is incorrect, to wit that Raymond was joint governor with Strongbow. Strongbow was the great friend of Raymond and stood between him and the implacable jealousy of his own uncle, Mountmaurice. Strongbow's appointment as Lord Deputy enabled him to curb his uncle's enmity, and from the official records it appears that he so sided, at one time at least, with Raymond, that he recommended him to the king for the office of Lord Deputy. Henry,

however, implicitly relied on Strongbow's own energy for the direction of affairs and only granted him to make Raymond his *assistant* not his *colleague*, in the official execution of them. And after Strongbow's death the appointment of Raymond as *SOLE VICEROY*, was, as is stated above, an act of the Council pending the Royal pleasure, which act was at once cancelled by Henry, with "reminder" to the Council itself that its action in his absence could not "lull asleep his jealous and vigilant policy." In fact he conferred the government of Ireland on William Fitz-Andelm de Burgo, whose conciliatory policy was anything but pleasing to the English colony.

Raymond with good prudence hastened to meet the new Viceroy and surrendered to him at Wexford the *insignia* of his temporary authority. It is said by some that Fitz-Andelm seeing the pageantry of Raymond and his brilliant knights, vowed that he would put a check to his pride and disperse his shields, and that from such expression might be gleaned thus early the very ill-feeling which the British Government subsequently and so frequently exhibited towards the descendants of Raymond and the house of Geraldine. From the appointment of Fitz-Andelm de Burgo as Justiciary, Raymond's name disappears from historical notice. The "where" or "when" he died is unknown. Archdall's *Monasticon*, p. 695, states that he was interred in the abbey of Molana, Island of Darinis, on the Black Water River, where it disgorges into the Bay of Youghal. It is thought he died about 1184, but there is no authority to sustain it. It is certain that he died before 1201, for in that year his wife Basilia granted to the abbey of St. Thomas in Dublin, certain lands for the "health of the souls of Earl Gilbert, her father; Richard, (Strongbow), her brother; and her husband, Raymond." It is also worthy of remark that in the archives of this abbey was an entry that "Raymond Fitzwilliam and his wife Basilia, daughter of Earl Gilbert, directed their bodies to be buried in this abbey." This throws a distinct doubt on Archdall's assertion that Raymond was buried at Molana, since his wife who survived him is found making a *sufrage* grant to St. Thomas's Abbey, and must have been aware and clearly a consenting party to the entry in the archives, that her husband and herself be interred there. Cambrensis calls him "the notable and chiefest pillar of Ireland," and he and Hollingshed thus describe him:—"Raymond was large bodied and broad set, of more than middle stature, his hair yellow and coloured, his eyes large, grey and round, his nose somewhat high, and his countenance well coloured; he was pleasant and merry, and though heavy in body yet active; he had special care of his men and soldiers, and watched many whole nights ranging and walking abroad in the camp; he was wise, modest, and wary, nothing delicate in his fare nor curious in his apparel, could bear all weathers, hot or cold, and endure any toils; was patient and self-commanding as a Governor, wise and circumspect, and albeit a very valiant captain, and a noble soldier; yet in all martial affairs he passed in wisdom and excelled in all things appertaining to a valiant captain." Raymond was the idol of the army, and from the foregoing description it is evident he possessed one of those qualities which should necessarily endear him to his soldiers. That quality was

an ever-readiness to share all dangers and privations with his men, and at all times to defend the camp. But there was an additional reason why the soldiers clamoured for Raymond as their captain, when Strongbow's refusal to him of the hand of Basilia had sent him back to the Welsh marches. This was that he understood his men and knew their passions. They were hungry for pillage and he took care to glut them, thirsty for devastation and blood, and he gave them to drink—their swords knew no scabbards, and he let them flesh them. He accordingly secured their unrivalled popularity, because in all their "exploits" he was more their companion than commander. The possessions acquired by Raymond were very extensive, owing to his marriage with Basilia, the sister of Strongbow. On the death of King Dermot MacMurrough, his son-in-law, Strongbow, by right of contract, and of his wife, Eva, daughter of Dermot, succeeded to the principality of Leinster. It was in the former right that he became really Dermot's successor, who promised him the succession, with his daughter in marriage, if by force of arms he should restore him to his throne. It was *in right* of his wife, Eva, however, that he was Dermot's acknowledged successor in the eyes of the Irish. From such splendid acquisition and inheritance Earl Richard de Clare could well afford to enrich his subordinates. His brother-in-law and favourite, Raymond le Gros, accordingly came in for princely grants. Maurice Regan, the proto-English historian, mentions that he got with Basilia de Clare, his wife, Fethard, Odrone (Idrone), and Glascarrig.

"The Earl gave to him Fethard
In marriage with his sister,
Then he gave him Odrone,
In full inheritance,
And Glascarrig likewise
Upon the sea towards the East."

Idrone is situate in the County Carlow, and Fethard and Glascarrig are both in the County Wexford. To protect these territories Raymond chose a central position beside the Slaney, where he erected the strong castle of Enniscorthy. Here a town grew up, the massive keep on a commanding position reared above it, heedless of the wreck of centuries till shattered by the guns of Cromwell. About the beginning of the 14th century Hollingshed mentions that Sir Gilbert Sutton, Steward of Wexford, "was slain by the Irish near the town of Hamon le Gras, which Hamon bore himself right valiantly in that fight and escaped through his great manhood." A darker fate awaited Hamon. He was on the side of Sir Edmond Butler, 1st Earl of Carrick and Lord Justice, when Edward Bruce met them in 1315 at Arscoll, near Athy. The Justiciary was defeated and Hamon le Gras was found amongst the slain. (See poetic elegy in Grace's Memoirs).

In addition to the above grants in the counties of Carlow and Wexford, Raymond Le Gros received from Strongbow, the lordly district known as "Grace's Country" in the County Kilkenny. This vast

stretch of territory comprehended the three Western Baronies of the County, viz., Shillelogher, Crannagh and Galmoy. The Munster river on the west, and the Nore on the east, formed the side boundaries between which it stretched from the Liberties of Kilkenny, on the South, to the borders of the Queen's County. It is computed that the superficial extent of the tract of land was about 80,000 acres, and a "considerable portion of it still continues to commemorate its former lords, not only in its general but in its particular denominations." The notice of "Grace's Country" its Castles and "Barons of Courtstown" will appear according to order under a subsequent Inquisition towards the close of the reign of James I. At present the above Inquisition only demands notice of the Ballylinch branch. Other branches in Wexford and Carlow, commanded influence, but to deal to any extent with the family offshoots except those immediately connected with Kilkenny, or introduced into the Inquisitions is beyond my purpose—except in an accidental or general way. I may meantime mention that William Le Gros was Governor of Carlow, in 1268, and the same name, probably William Le Gros, junior, was appointed Governor also, in 1275. They were deputies of the Earl of Norfolk, who, by the marriage of Hugh le Bigod with Maud, daughter (eldest) of William Earl Marshall, became Earl Marshall of England and Lord of the Palatinate of Carlow in Ireland. The name of Grace held its own in Carlow for many centuries, and in the charter of James the Second creating Carlow a borough the names of Oliver Grace, Esq., and John Grace, Gent., appear amongst the 24 free burgesses. Oliver Grace, of Ballylinch and Leagan, near Thomastown, was second son of John Grace (*crios iaraan*) the *iron-belted*, 13th Baron of Courtstown, Tullaroan. He was made a *Knight of the Shire* in 1559, and his uncle, Oliver Grace, was Abbot of Jerpoint, and as such a Peer of Parliament. On the suppression of the Abbey, and after his surrender of it in 1539-40, he received a pension of £10. Sir Oliver, known by the *sobriquet* *Ciallmhar* or the *Wise*, received also Carney, in the County Tipperary, for which county he was M.P. in the notorious Parliament of the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth, (1559-60), which passed the still more notorious, indeed infamous, statute known as the "Statute of Uniformity." In 1563 he was appointed a Commissioner of array, with the Earl of Ormonde and Viscount Mountgarrett, for the county Kilkenny. The year of his death is unknown, certain it is that the date given in the above Inquisition, *i.e.*, 1st January, 1615, is erroneous, for the inscription on the tomb of his widow in Jerpoint Abbey gives the date of her death 11th December, 1605. The inscription is as follows:—*Hic Jacet certa spe resurgendi domina Maria Fitzgerald nobilis simi Geraldii Fitzgerald militis, quondam baronis de Decies tilia, et Vidua clarissimi Oliverii Grace militis quondam Domini de Legan, Ballylinch et Carney; Cui peperit Geraldum Grace nunc dominum de Legan et qui hoc monumentum fieri fecit.*

Stirpe Geraldina fuit haec exorta Maria
Nobilis hospitio, moribus atque domo:
Larga parens miseris pietati dedita summo
Grata Deo summum clauserat illa diem."

Translation—"Here lies in the sure hope of resurrection Lady Mary Fitzgerald, daughter of the late most noble Gerald Fitzgerald, Knight and Baron of Decies, and widow of the late most illustrious Oliver Grace, Knight; Lord of Legan, Ballylinch and Carney; to whom she bore Gerald Grace, present Lord of Legan, &c., who had this monument erected. (Lady) Mary descended from the House of Geraldine, was distinguished for her hospitality—virtues and domestic (qualities). A bountiful parent to the poor, and of exemplary piety, she closed her last day most acceptable to God. She died 11th day of December, 1605.

In the "Memoir of the Grace Family," "Commemorative Inscriptions," p. 29, the translation is rendered as follows:—

"Mary descended from a princely line,
The great, the ancient house of Geraldine;
Of noble soul, of hospitable mind,
And only equalled by the spouse she join'd;
A bounteous parent to the child distress'd,
With pure religion glowing in her breast;
She praised the Lord, then closed her dying eyes,
And borne by angels sought the exalted skies."

She was the daughter of Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, 3rd lord of Decies, by his wife, Ellice, daughter of Pierce, 8th Earl of Ormonde, and sister of Sir Maurice Fitzgerald, who was made Viscount Decies in 1569. On the tomb of Sir Oliver, her husband, is the following:—

"Hic jacet Oliverius Grace miles quondam Dominus de Leagan, Carney, &c., ex antiquissima nobilissimaque familia Graciae orum scilicet de Courtstown oriundus. Pace belloque conspicuus et plurimis virtutibus animi corporisque dotibus imprimis spectatus. Domina Maria Fitzgerald ob memoriam mariti sui hoc monumentum posuit.

Vivit post funera virtus
Si generis fama aut virtus aut gratia formae
Si doctrina micit splendida praeter opes
Si decor armorum sit maximus inter honores;
Omnibus ille fuit dives in orbe bonis.
Dotibus his raris haud clarior extitit alter
Sed nunc virtutis dona beatus habet."

Translation—"Here lies Oliver Grace, Knight, Lord of Leagan, Carney, &c., a descendant of the most ancient and most noble family of the Graces. In peace and war he was eminently distinguished, and was signally endowed with very many mental virtues and exquisite personal accomplishments. Lady Mary Fitzgerald erected this monument in memory of her husband. Virtue survives death. If the fame of ancestry, or virtue, or gracefulness of person and learning surpass in splendour all riches; if the renown of arms be the greatest of honours, he was bountifully enriched here with all those goods. No brighter ornament of those rare qualities survives him, and now in blessedness he enjoys the reward of virtue."

The translation runs thus in "Con. Ins. Grace Family," p. 29—

"Virtue survives death.
If noble race, if virtue, form divine,
If heavenly science earthly wealth outshine,
If deeds of arms superior honours claim,
All these endowments dignified his name;
All these and more which nature could bestow
What greater blessings can be wish'd below?
These Heaven rewards; and thus the hero won
A wreath of glory for the race he run."

Sir Oliver's services to the crown were rewarded by Queen Elizabeth. Her Majesty granted him in 1563, the site, estates, and livings of the dissolved Priory of St. John, near Nenagh, to be held by *homage and fealty only*, with remainder to his male issue. This grant of a once rich convent gave Sir Oliver broad possessions in Tipperary, Kilkenny, and King's Counties. It is supposed he died about 1580.

Sir Oliver was succeeded by his son and heir, Gerald Grace, called *Marcauch* or the horseman. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Hartpole, of Shrute Castle, Queen's County. He died the 4th March, 1618, and was buried in Jerpoint Abbey. His wife Margaret died in eleven months after him, and was buried in the same grave with her husband. The following is the inscription on the monument:—

"Hic jacent corpora Geraldí Grace de Ballylinch, &c., armiger qui obiit IV^o die Martii anno Domini M.DC.XVIII et Margarettae Hartpole uxoris ejus quæ obiit XI die Februarii anno Domini M.DC.XIX.

Stemate præclaro præclarus et ipse Geraldé
Matre Geraldina belligerogue patre ;
Siccine morte jaces homini dilecte deoque
Heu ! flos virtutum Siccine magne jaces !
Corpus habet tellus Animus supra astra volavit ;
Sponsum et ad astra suum sponsa secuta tua est.
Alter in alterius gremio requiescit uterque ;
Ante thronum æterni fulget uterque Dei."

Translation—"Here lie the remains of Gerald Grace, Esq., of Ballylinch, &c., who died the 4th day of March, A.D. 1618, and of Margaret Hartpole, his wife, who died the 11th day of February, A.D. 1619. Gerald of noble lineage, noble also thyself—thy mother a Geraldine, and thy sire of martial renown, is it thus thou, beloved by man and God, liest *still* in death. Alas ! Virtue's matured flower is it thus thou reposest. Earth has thy body—thy soul has winged it on high. On high also thy spouse has followed her spouse. Here reclining on each other's bosom both repose, but each is a bright star above, before the throne of God Eternal."

In "Trans. of Inscriptions," Mem. of the Grace Family," p. 30, the translation of the stanzas runs as follows:—

"Gerald descended from a noble line,
Whose generous deeds still dignify thy name,
Thou, by thy mother, born a Geraldine,
Of Sire distinguished in the field of fame,
Beloved of Heaven and earth ! is such thy doom,
Must virtue's flower thus seek the silent tomb ?
No, no—thy spirit flew to realms of light ;
Thy mortal relics only slumber here,
Thy consort, too, repairs with joyous flight
To join her consort in the heavenly sphere.
Here each with each in mingling dust reclines ;
Yet each with Christ a spotless angel shines."

Ancestral recollections often gain applause for worthlessness, and so it seems to me has the indented marble spoken of this Gerald, who left behind him nothing worthy of notice, except his presentation to King James the First of "Hawks which killed for him the game aloft in the region of the air and the shaggy dogs of sable hue which slew the ravenous wolf." He was succeeded by his son, Oliver Grace, called *Stevaugh*, or the handsome, who married Margaret, 6th daughter of

Edmund, 2nd Viscount Mountgarret. He died 27th August, 1626, and was buried in Jerpoint. His wife, Margaret, had a third of the estates assigned to her for her dowery during her lifetime. Gerald Grace, his son and heir, was a minor at the time of his father's death. He was a follower of his uncle, Lord Mountgarret, in the civil war of 1641-2, and was killed in the engagement which took place at Kilrush, between the Viscount and Ormonde, when the former endeavoured to cut short the latter at Mageney, on his return from Carlow and Athy to Dublin, (15th April, 1642). The sad fall of Gerald in this battle is thus commemorated in the poem given *post finem* in the "Mems. of the Grace Family," p. 9—

I

"Mourn for thy chieftain, Ballylinch ! the field—
 The battle field, where met the young and brave—
 That sun which shone o'er many a broken shield
 Gleamed o'er thy youthful Gerald's soldier-grave.
 There, by his kinsman, bold Mountgarret's side,
 While o'er the crimson'd plain high waved their crests,
 There, as a soldier loves to die, he died ;
 There, where a soldier loves to rest, he rests.
 Oh ! weep for him, and let the minstrel strains,
 To other times his worth and valour tell—
 Kilrush ! Kilrush ! accursed be thy plains,
 Where the bright star of Grace's lineage fell !
 But tranquilly the youthful warrior sleeps,
 And on his grave the lark has built her nest ;
 While o'er the hero's head the willow weeps,
 And many a floweret blooms above his breast.

II

But when the battle vainly fought was o'er,
 And the bright sun had drunk the hero's blood,
 When his heart beat with youthful hope no more,
 Its life-stream mingled with the passing flood,
 The democratic despot seized the land
 Of him who, fighting for his country, fell—
 'Tis melancholy that the spoiler's hand
 Can touch the temple where the free should dwell !"


The estates of the Ballylinch Graces in Kilkenny, King's and Queen's County, and Tipperary, to the amount of 17,000 acres, and sixteen church livings or rectories were seized by Oliver Cromwell and divided amongst his soldiers. Nor did the Act of Settlement on the Restoration make any amends ; on the contrary it confirmed Cromwell's captains in their grants. Ballylinch, Leagan, Rathduth, Killerney, Fussamactda, Grace's Court, Thomastown and Aughaviller were allotted to Captains Joyner and Rogers. Joyner was cook to King Charles, but they became bad friends, and to secure the estates, Joyner had a conveyance of them made to his brother-in-law, Col. Redmonds, who gave Ballylinch and Legan to his daughter, Lady Ikerrin, and the rest to his second daughter married to Sir John Meade. Gerald Grace, whose property was thus confiscated for his defence of, and death in the Catholic cause, was married to Ellen, daughter of Edmond Butler, 3rd Lord Dunboyne.

She was first married to James Butler, eldest son of Pierce Butler, of Lismalin and Clonamichlon, in the County Tipperary. James lived at Fenor, about half a mile from Urlingford, left of the high road leading to Cashel and Thurles. There is a wing or end of Fenor Castle still standing, and its height, thickness of walls, vaults, &c., show it to have been a castle of superb proportions, well intended for haughty display and bold defiance. It is nevertheless insignificant compared with Clonmichlon castle, either as a ruin or in the traces of its original dimensions. Clonmichlon is situate in the level plain at the base of the Slievardagh or Kilcooley hills, and faithfully represented one of the great keeps of feudalism as it existed in its original power and growth. James Butler, of Fenor, died in 1638, and his wife Ellen, eldest daughter of Edmond, Lord Dunboyne, afterwards married the above Gerald Grace, of Ballylinch and Legan and Carney Castle. Their son and representative William Grace, was designated William of Ballylinch, in memory of his ancestral home which was now passed away into the hands of Cromwellians. He married Ellinor, sister of Edward Butler, 2nd Viscount Galmoy, and resided at Barrowmount. He died in 1669, and was buried in Jerpoint. His son Oliver Grace, settled at Gracefield, Queen's County, and he and his descendants are interred in the Grace Mausoleum, at Arles. Ballylinch Castle was originally a strong square building to which was added in course of time, a castellated mansion of large dimensions, the eastern side of which was taken down for building purposes. Legan Castle was also a square keep—very well built, the upper portion of which fell some years ago."

INQUISITIONS.

INQUISITION XXIII.

'ib (Blackfryers), 22nd May, 1618.

" **LUKE BLAKE**,¹ late of New Ross, in the County Wexford, for a length of time before his death was seised of the fee of the house, site, ambit, and precincts of the late monastery of "Rossbarkan"² in the County of Kilkenny, and of 1 messuage, 1 garden, 29 acres of arable land, 2 acres meadow, 2 acres underwood, and 6 acres pasturage, with appurtenances in "Rossbarkan," parcels possessed by the monastery aforesaid. The aforesaid Luke being so seized of the premises, made a grant in fee thereof to one William Reogho, of Kilkenny, and William Kearyn, chaplain of same, their heirs and assigns, by his chart bearing date, 3rd March, 1574, for the certain uses specified in the said feoffment, the tenor whereof followeth in the origin. The aforesaid Luke died. Johanna Sheth (Shee), wife

of the said Luke, survived him. Mark Blake was son and heir of the said Luke. The aforesaid Johanna received the profits of the premises. The aforesaid Mark Blake died 20th July, 1604. Luke Blake is son and heir of the said Mark, and was 7 years of age at the time of his father's death, and unmarried. The premises are held from the king *in capite* by knight's service. The aforesaid Johanna Sheth is still living in the *enjoyment* of good health.

(1)—LUKE BLAKE.

It is not easy to say exactly what is the origin of the name *Blake*. In O'Flaherty's "West Connaught" by Hardiman, the editor according to O'Hart (Ir. Pedg. p. 416) says that all the Blakes of the west of Ireland sprung from one Richard Caddle, surnamed *Niger* or *Black*, who was sheriff of Connaught at the close of the reign of King Edward the first (1306). By common usage the surname *Black* was adopted instead of *Caddle* and in process of time became *Blacke*. Others as O'Hart states derive *Blacke* from *Blathmac*, a younger brother of Niall Caille, who was monarch of Ireland in A.D. 851, and, who, unfortunately for his country and fortunately for the Danes, was accidentally drowned in the Callan river.

Burke in his peerage will not admit *Blake* to be in any way of Irish extraction. He says that the founder of the family was one Richard Blake, a soldier of fortune, who accompanied Prince John to Ireland in 1185, and settled in Galway, where he obtained considerable grants of land. From a younger son of this soldier descended the Blake family of Ardfry, Co. Galway. It is favourable to Burke's opinion that the Blake family came originally from England to find the numerous offshoots of it existing in several shires from very early dates. Thus in 1620, the name is found in Cornwall, and is mentioned in W. Camden's and St. George's "Visitation of Cornwall," p. 12. Blake of *Twisell*, is mentioned in Rev. J. Raine's "History and Antiquities of North Durham." The name appears in W. Berry's Pedigrees of Families in the County of Hants (Hampshire) and branches also are found planted in Northamptonshire, Sussex, Wilts, Norfolk and at Danesbury, in Herts. The Right Honorable Sir Richard Blake, of Ardfry, was a member of the Privy Council in the time of Charles the First; Knight of the Shire for Galway in 1639, and according to Burke, "Speaker of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny, in 1648." I must remark, however, that in the list of the Commoners of the General Assembly of 1647, as given by Ledwich (Antq. p. 423), it is the name of *Francis Blake*, of Galway, that appears, and in the list compiled by Cardinal Moran (Ossor. Archæolog. Soc. vol. 2, p. 337), we have the names Francis Blake of Galway, Alderman, and Robert Blake, of Galway. Burke must accordingly have confounded the above Sir Richard with Francis or Robert Blake, listed among the Commoners of the General Assembly. John D'Alton, in his "King James's Army List," p. 602, affirms that "Sir Richard Blake, the founder of the

family of Ardfry," was Speaker of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny, but neither he nor Burke cites any authority for it, and I have not seen Sir Richard's name at all in connection with the said Assembly. Of the Blakes of New Ross I find the above Luke was son of John Blake, of New Ross. He left by his wife Joan Shee, (1) Manus, who died 20th July, 1604; (2) Robert, who died S. P. Manus left a son, Luke, married to Anne Bolger, and this latter having died S.P. on the 21st November, 1623, he was succeeded in the estates by his brother John.

(2)—ROSBERCON.

Rosbercon monastery was built on the river Barrow opposite New Ross. Archdall says that the families of Grace and Walsh founded a monastery here dedicated to the Assumption of the B.V.M., where Friars Preachers were first introduced in 1267. At the suppression Mathew Fleming, the last Prior, surrendered the house, church, cemetery, lands, and a fishing weir. The learned editors of Archdall's *Monasticon*, vol. 2., p. 346, mention a MS. in Trinity College Library, Dublin, from which it appears that a Catholic widow named Helena White, of New Ross, held, by virtue of a dispensation obtained from Dermotus MacCraghe, Bishop of Cloyne and Cork, half the rectory of Bayleyayn, in the Diocese of Ferns and the vicarage of Rosbercon in the Diocese of Ossory.

The Abbey Church consisted of chancel and tower, with nave and aisles supported on either side with massive stone pillars sustaining four gothic arches. The late Very Rev. Canon Moore, P.P., in his *Parochial Papers* (Oss. Arch. Soc., vol. 1, p. 23-40), says—"Rosbercon formerly was possessed of an Abbey of the Dominican Order built by the families of Grace and Walsh Not a vestige of it now remains. It was totally destroyed in the early part of the present century by a vandal named Lamphire, who used the stones of it to build a store on the river side nearly a quarter of a mile north-west of Rosbercon. He was afterwards caught smuggling and had to give up all his property to pay the fine." Olynn mentions (*Annals*, p. 19) that in 1328 William Fitz-John Rupe (Roche) with other malefactors, relations and men, were slain after having been dragged from the *Place of the Preachers at Bargy*. For what cause they were slain does not appear, nor by whom. Precisely at this time there existed a favourable opportunity for the Irish enemies in South Kilkenny and elsewhere to be revenged on their foreign plunderers. The de Rupes or Roches were such, having settled at the earliest period of the Invasion in the neighbouring district of the Roar. The opportunity for lawlessness and bloodshed arose from the quarrel between Maurice Fitz-Thomas Fitzgerald, afterwards 1st Earl of Desmond (1330), and Lord Arnold Le Poer. Fitzgerald had on his side his kinsmen, the Butlers, and also the Birminghams, victors of *Faughard* and slayers of the ill-fated Edward Bruce. Poer was assisted by the powerful de Burgoes of Ulster and Connaught, the descendants

of the famous Red Earl, Richard de Burgo, and the two houses of MacWilliam. The prowess of the Geraldine was irresistible. Poer had to fly to England. His son, Peter Poer, of Dunoyle, Co. Waterford, with twelve others of his name, were cut down in the first conflict in the month of April, 1328, whilst Fitzgerald in the fight lost his son John. John, the son of Benedict le Poer, Lord of Rathcormac and Kilmeaden, county Waterford, was soon after slain by the Cantitons or Condons. The Geraldines so wasted the lands of Lord Poer and soaked them with blood, that the Government became alarmed and ordered the defence of the chief towns.

The Geraldines and their confederates on hearing this protested that they meant only vengeance on their enemies, the Poers; and Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainham, the justiciary, summoned a council at Kilkenny, to consider the aspect of affairs, and effect a reconciliation. Peace was not, however, fully restored by him till the following year, 1329, when the Geraldines celebrated the result of their exploits with a sumptuous banquet during the lenten time in the Church of St. Patrick, Dublin. It was during this disturbance that the de Rupes were dragged from the sanctuary of the Dominicans at Bargy, and slain either by the Geraldine faction for their adherence to the Poers or *vice versa*, or else by the native Irish, who generally had their *foray* when the great Lords of the Pale happened to indulge in mutual animosities, either for personal "honour," or, as was more frequently the case, from their thirst for personal aggrandisement. It is singular that O'Donovan places the "Bargy" here mentioned by Olynn, as in the south of the county Wexford. There are no extant accounts of any convent of preachers ever established at Bargy of Wexford, and the de Rupes as above mentioned, were settled down in the neighbourhood of Bargy or Rosbercon, of Kilkenny. Rosbercon means the *wood* or *plain* of Ibercon—*Hy-Bairrche* or *Hy-Barrach*.

In O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary by O'Donovan, *Ros* marked with an acute accent means a *grove* or *wood*, but *Ros* without the accent means a plain. The tribe of *Ui-Bairrche* sprung from *Daire Barrach*, the second son of Cathair More, who was monarch of Ireland, in A.D. 122. According to Irish genealogists, he had three wives and thirty sons, but only ten of them find a place in his will. To each of those he bequeathed a portion of his patrimony and wealth. His second son, *Daire Barrach*, he mentions thus:—


"My Valour, my martial impetuosity,
To my fierce, vigorous Daire;
The darling of the Assembly,
Shall every steadfast son of the tribes of thy loins be
O'Daire with boldness.
Sit on the frontier of Tuath Laighean (N. Leinster)
Thou shalt harass the lands of Deas Ghabhair
(Hy-kinsellagh according to the E.M.);
Receive not price for thy protection
Thy old father
Cathair the head of the province

Gives thee his benediction,
That thou shouldst be a powerful champion
Over the green Gailians . . . *My Valor.*

The tribe of *Ui-Bairrche* possessed the barony of Slieve Margy, Queen's County, and other tracts between Idrone and Ballaghmoon, and had within their district, the *Gleann Uis'en*, or the locality of Killeshin. The tribe took the name of MacGorman or O'Gorman, and spread into several places—Mullaghmast, Cloncurry, Killossy, and three branches established themselves at Naas, in the County Kildare. It was, of course, after the passing of the law commanding the adoption of surnames by Brian Borohime that the tribe of Dairre adopted the name of MacGorman from *Gorm*, one of the descendants, which means *noble, excellent, or illustrious*. St Diarmad, the founder of Killeshin Church, was the 6th in the descent from *Dairre*. After the English had come over, the tribe was, of course, treated as the Irish enemy, and as such was doomed for eradication. Walter de Riddlesford, an English Baron, got all the territory around Carlow, and the tribe lands of the O'Gormans were cleared of their old owners, who became fugitives in Tipperary, and other places in Munster and Ulster even, and in course of time received a settlement from O'Brien, in West Thomond, in the territory of Ibrikan, where for four hundred years they held firm the "supporters of poets and feeders of the poor." It was from this tribe of *Ui-Bairrche* extensively spread throughout Leinster, especially in the counties of Carlow, Queen's, Kildare, Wexford, and Kilkenny, that *Rosbercon* on the river Barrow, opposite Ross, had its name.

INQUISITION XXIV.

ib. (Blackfryers,) same day (21st May, 1619.)

"ILLIAM DATON,¹ late of Kilmadally, in the county of Kilkenny, deceased, was seized as of the fee of the town and fields of Kilmadally, containing 6½ acres, great measure; Ballenemetagh, 3 acres, of the measure aforesaid; Jamestowne, 2 acres; Donlinge, 1½ acres; Lissegain, 1 acre; Tobbernebrone, 1 acre; and White Church, 7 acres, of the measure aforesaid—1 acre in Feddowne, called "The Bracke Acre"; 1 other acre in Feddowne, called "Ballihallon"; and 1 acre likewise there, called "Knockannevelle"; 1 acre of the measure aforesaid in Garrerush; and also 1 acre in Gortehobberrefane. The aforesaid William being so seized of the premises, died the 10th November, 1591. Edmond Daton is his son and heir, 25 years of age, and married. The premises of Kilmadally, Ballenemetagh, Jamestowne, Donlinge, Lissegain, Tobbernebrone, Whitechurch and Garrerush, were held from the King *in capite* by Knight's service; the premises in Feddowne are held from the Earl of Ormonde as of his manor of Grenagh."

(1)—THE D'ALTON FAMILY.

It is as useless to speculate on the origin of the name D'Alton as it is on the origin of numerous others of those Norman settlers who found comfortable homes in England after the battle of Hastings (1066). The tradition generally received is, that Walter D'Alton, who secretly married the daughter of the French King, Louis the Seventh, or Louis "the Younger," was the immediate ancestor of the family as established in England and Ireland. It is said that he had to fly from the French monarch's displeasure, and that coming to England he subsequently passed over to Ireland with Henry the Second, at the time of the Invasion. But, if we ask who was this Walter D'Alton, why was he called Walter or why D'Alton, we get no reply, except one drawn from imagination, or founded on the usual supposition, that being a Norman he must have been of the fierce pirate family of Rolf, or a follower of his in his fell swoop upon Neustria. Thus, it appears, as I have before noted, that no satisfactory account can be given of the origin of many Anglo-Norman names, and if such ever be discovered it must come to hand from the future student, who will make himself acquainted with the pre-historic manners, customs, and traditions of the warlike Northern hordes who overran Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The above Walter D'Alton, who is said to have come to Ireland with Henry the Second, acquired extensive possessions in Westmeath under Hugh de Lacy. It is a notorious fact in Irish history that King Henry the Second on his landing at Waterford, made all protestations to the Irish chieftains that he only meant to protect them from the aggressions of his countrymen, who had already obtained a mastery over them under Strongbow, Raymond le Gros, Fitzstephen, Fitzgerald, and Harvey Mountmaurice.

After about six months stay King Henry threw off the mask, and made some important grants which but too plainly indicated his intention. The Kingdom of Meath he granted to Hugh de Lacy, without any consultation with O'Rourke, the native prince. De Lacy had stipulated to hold Meath as the king's vassal by the service of 50 *knight's fees* but to his peaceful or comfortable *palatinate*; O'Rourke seemed, of course, the great obstacle. He was accordingly invited by De Lacy to a conference, and having foolishly agreed to meet him unarmed he was foully and treacherously slain by De Lacy and his attendant knights on the Hill of Ward. His remains were conveyed to Dublin, and his head spiked on the gate of the fortress, whilst his trunk dangled on a gibbet at the north side of the city to overawe the inhabitants. After having thus disposed of O'Rourke, De Lacy divided Meath amongst his followers, who became his *Barons*, he being their *Lord Palatine*, with as full powers by virtue of the Royal Charter as were ever exercised by O'Rourke or his predecessors over the native Irish as kings of that territory.

The Walter D'Alton above-named was one of De Lacy's principal

followers or dependants, and was accordingly provided for by a large tract in Westmeath, where he fixed his chief seat or castle at Mount D'Alton in the present barony of Rathconrath.

The annals of the F.M. make first mention of the D'Altons under the date 1328, as follows:—"MacGeoghegan gave a great overthrow to the English in which 3,500 of the English, together with the D'Altons and the son of the vain-glorious knight, were slain." This sanguinary battle, which resulted in such tremendous loss to the English, was fought near Mullingar on the 9th August, the eve of the Feast of St. Lawrence. William MacGeoghegan, chief of *Kinel Fiacha*, a territory of Westmeath, comprehending the present baronies of Moycashel and Rathconrath, commanded the Irish clans. The English forces, the Petits, Tuites, D'Altons, Delamers, Tyrrells, &c., were led by Sir Thomas Butler, 3rd son of Theobald, 4th Butler and ancestor of the Barons of Dunboyne. Lord Thomas was slain with about 140 other noblemen and leaders, and the victorious MacGeoghegan was known by the *soubriquet* of "Gallda" or "foreigner" till his death in 1332, for his having so signally defeated the English army.

In 1373, the English were again defeated by the McGeoghegans of *Kinel Fiacha*, William D'Alton and the Sheriff of Meath being among the slain. In 1386, the McGeoghegans were in turn vanquished by the D'Altons, on which occasion the *Annals* record that William D'Alton, and his son slew Niall MacGeoghegan, chief elect of his sept, and Manus, son of Hugh MacDermot. In 1398, the McGeoghegans renewed the quarrel, when Maurice Dalton was defeated and slain by Murtagh Oge McGeoghegan and his ally, Bryan O' Connor, of Offaly. The first notice of the D'Altons having sided with the Irish enemy, appears under the date 1414, in the reign of Henry V. Sir John Stanley was viceroy, "a man who gave neither toleration nor termon (Sanctuary) to ecclesiastics, laymen, or literary men, but all with whom he came in contact he subjected to cold hardship and famine." Sir John, in the execution of his cruelties and merciless exactions, had the misfortune to plunder Niall O'Higgins, of Westmeath, who chanced to be a poetic satirist. Niall lampooned Sir John so severely that he died in five weeks under the smart of the poet's venom, and "rhymed to death like Stanley" became a trite saying, and made plunderers fear the miracles of the muses. Henry D'Alton, lord of D'Alton's country, espoused the cause of the bard. He attacked the Tuites and royal minions, and carried off a large prey of cattle from which he gave to the O'Higgins a cow in lieu of each cow of which they had been robbed, and escorted them into Connaught, beyond the reach of further molestation. In 1450, the McGeoghegans were again in arms, and the lords of the Pale were powerless against their depredations. They burned several towns, including Rathmore and Killucan, and with a great force of cavalry determined to meet the Duke of York at Mullingar, and risk a battle against the king's standard. The Duke at the head of the English army thought it better to make peace by suffering the MacGeoghegans to retain all their spoils, provided they would cease from further annoyance.

A promise of such import extracted from the warlike McGeoghegans was not likely to last. In 1452 we accordingly find them in arms with their old enemies, the D'Altons, opposed in strong force. The battle was fought at Cruach Aball, now Nogheval, barony of Kilkenny West, county Westmeath. Victory declared for the D'Altons and Nugents, and Fergal Roe McGeoghegan, one of the most famous commanders of his time, was killed by the son of the Baron of Delvin (Nugent) and the sons of Pierce D'Alton. His head they carried to Trim and Dublin for exhibition, but it was returned and buried with the body at Durrow of St. Columbkille, King's County. The long years of bloody strife and tumult carried on between the McGeoghegans and D'Altons, seem not to have reduced the possessions of the latter. In the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, we find them holding extensive tracts of land—in fact, still maintaining with firm grasp the ancient inheritances. Thus extensively holding, we find—

Gerald Dalton, of Moyvoughilly and Drolanstown.

Redmund Dalton, of Nogheval.

Hubert Dalton, of Ohurchtown and Olonown.

John and Theobald Dalton of Largh.

Richard Dalton, of Mollenmeighan and Lackamarten.

Fulbocke Dalton, of Balrath.

Gerald Dalton, of Ballynacarrow.

Edmund Dalton, of Miltown.

Maurice Dalton, of Ballintue, &c., &c.

In 1627, Edward Dalton, of Miltown, made a grant *in trust* of the castle, town, and lands of Miltown, containing, 1 castle, 1 water mill, and 1 carucate of land; of Painstown, 1 castle and 1 carucate; of Carney, 1 cartron; and of Loghanascrahoge, 1 cartron to John Dalton, of Dundonnell; Richard Dalton, of Killinbroke; Richard Nugent, cf Maynooth; and James Nugent, of Annagh, and their heirs. This John Dalton, of Dundonnell, died in July, 1636. He was the great-great-grandfather of John D'Alton, Barrister, Author of the "History" and of the "Archbishops" of Dublin, of "King James's Army List," &c. In a "Funeral Entry" in the Office of Arms, Dublin, he is described as son and heir of Herbert Dalton, son and heir of Henry Dalton, son and heir of Henry Dalton, eldest son of Edmund, eldest son of Henry, eldest son of John (all of Dundonnell), eldest of Pierce D'Alton, of Ballymore, eldest son of another Pierce, and who is said to have died of the plague in 1467.

The said John, who deceased in 1636, had by his wife, Ellinor, daughter of Gerald Dillon, of Portlick, county Westmeath, five sons—1st, Garret, 2nd, Richard, 3rd, Robert, 4th, James, 5th, Thomas. The 4th, James, was the great-grandfather of the author, John D'Alton, just mentioned, who was the only D'Alton who had a fee-simple inheritance in the old Barony at the end of a retrospective pedigree of eleven generations. Curious enough, the name does not appear on the Cromwellian forfeitures, but it appears that confiscations largely overtook

distinct members or branches of the family previous to the civil war of 1642. From an Inquisition taken at Athlone, on the 18th of January, 1675, it appears that the town of Moyvoughly contained 880 acres, which town was in the *seisin* of the following persons on the 23rd October, 1641, viz., 63a. 3r. 24p. in the *seisin* of Richard Dalton; 462a. and 16p. in the *seisin* of Garret MacThomas Dalton; 82a. and 2r. in the *seisin* of Garret MacShane Dalton; and 192a. and 1r. in the *seisin* of John Dalton.

At what precise time a branch of the family settled in the county Kilkenny, I have been unable to discover. Most probably the above William Dalton, mentioned in the Inquisition, was the first, his demise having taken place at Kildalton, so far back as 1591. I am of opinion also that he was introduced there by the Ormonde family through the medium of the Earls of Kildare, under whom the Daltons of Westmeath, held in the reign of Henry the Eighth.

From an Inquisition taken at Mullingar, in the 5th year of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1562-3) we find that Gerald Dalton, Andrew Dalton, Philjwk, Walter and Hubert Dalton, of Glassken, held the castle and lands of Glassken from Gerald, 8th Earl of Kildare, who died in 1513. Milo, son of John Dalton, of Rathskeagh, County Westmeath, also held very extensive possessions from the said Earl Gerald. Margaret, the second daughter of this Kildare, was married to Pierce, 8th Earl of Ormonde. She was called *the good Countess of Ormonde*, for what reason I don't know, except it be for her savage whims of hanging tenants at Granny Castle on the Suir, or, as tradition again will have it, for having ruled her husband as you would a puppet. The Daltons of Westmeath must have been introduced to the Ormondes by their feudal lords, the Kildares, between whom and the Ormondes matrimonial ties existed. I am of opinion, therefore, that it was in the reign of Henry the Eighth, or shortly subsequent, that the aforesaid William Dalton, who died in 1591, settled at Kildalton, and that he was introduced there by Ormonde at the recommendation of Kildare, and, in fact, became Ormonde's tenant, as we find him holding land in Fiddown from him as of his manor of Granny.

Edmund Dalton, the son and heir of William, died on the 12th of August, 1629. A tomb may be seen against the wall of Fiddown Church near the door, which bears the following inscription, nearly effaced, as the slab was formerly inserted in the flooring of the aisle of the old church, and thereby exposed to the friction of persons' feet walking over it:—

"Hæc sunt monumenta Edmundi Dalton generosi de Cloncunny et Johanne Den," i.e., "These are the monuments of Edmund Dalton, gentleman, of Cloncunny, and of Johanna Den."

The Dens held large possessions in Fiddown. Foulk Den, who died some time after 1626, was seized of 9 acres, great measure (each great acre being from 60 to 120 of our present measurement, as previously shown) in Fiddown, and 7 acres of the like measure in Ballynaneerlagh. It was probably to his sister that Edmund Dalton was married,

as we find his son, Theobald Den, and his mother, Catherine, widow of the late Foulk Den, making a grant in trust on the 10th January, 1636, of premises in Fiddown and Gragoding, to Walter Dalton and his heirs, which Walter may be supposed therefore to have been a relative of the Dens.

The same Walter Dalton was son and heir of the above Edmund Dalton, by his wife, Johanna Den. He was married to Ellice, fifth daughter of Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret, and sister to Richard, third Viscount, and President of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics in 1642. He had a brother, John Dalton, who was married to Margaret Archdeacon, who appears to me to have been the 3rd daughter of Richard Archdeacon *alias* MacOody, of Bawnmore, who had also large possessions in and around Thomastown. This John got by alienation from his father, Edmund, the town and lands of White Church and New Grange, in the Barony of Iverk, containing seven acres, great country measure, for the annual rent of £10.

Walter left a son Edmund, who lost his estates under the Cromwellians. The following was supplied to me by the late Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown :—

"Killmodally, or Kildalton, in the present demesne of Bessborough, belonged to the Daltons, a Norman family, till 1649. The estate was given to Sir John Ponsonby. This Sir John allowed Edmund Dalton a pension of £40 a year, which continued to be paid by the Ponsonby family till better than a half century ago. I forget the townland to which Dalton and his family removed. Subsequently some lived at Kilmurphy and some at Thomastown, where William Dalton rented the 'Manor mill,' but lived in great poverty. Edmund had a son Redmund, who was the father of Dr. William Dalton, Bishop of Ossory, who was sent into exile in 1698, and died in 1711. His sister was the Abbess of the royal Convent of St. Denis, near Paris, where none but ladies of high rank were admitted to be professed. The Bishop had also relations in the French military service. His niece, or grand-niece, Anne Dalton, died in Thomastown in 1806, at the age of 80 years, and is buried with her father, Redmund Dalton, in the old church of Thomastown. She often complained bitterly of the bad treatment of her grandfather (or great-grandfather) by the Cromwellians. The present court of Bessborough was built on the site of the old family mansion of the Daltons in 1745. Huge ash trees near Bessborough Court are still called "Dalton's Ash." The demesne contains many oak and ash trees of enormous size and great age."

An excellent sketch of the life of the aforesaid Bishop Dalton, by Cardinal Moran, is given in the "Translations of the Ossory Archaeological Society," vol. 2, p. 452-476, which in substance I briefly append for the benefit of such as may not have a copy of the *Transactions*. William Dalton was born in 1644, and whilst yet a child his father, Redmund Dalton, was driven from his paternal estates. Puritan tyranny having closed the Catholic schools he proceeded to the Continent and read a preparatory course at Rennes, and received lectures in the higher classes at the Sorbonne in Paris. After his ordinatio

in 1670 he continued to reside for some time in Paris, and was the representative of the Irish bishops and clergy in that city. Returning to Kilkenny he presided over a classical school organised by Bishop O'Phelan, on whose death Dr. Dalton was promoted to the vacant See at the solicitation of King James II., who was then in exile. From his consecration, in 1696, he devoted himself with untiring energy to the spiritual interest and instruction of his flock till the dominant Protestant party struck a renewed blow against the lives and liberties of Catholics by stringent enactments in 1697. One of those decreed banishment to all exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the 1st of May, 1698, and in case of return such were to be deemed guilty of high treason. Dr. Dalton openly defied this law, and when brought before the court he publicly declared that if transported he would return and attend to his suffering flock. For this open defiance he was sentenced to die, but the interposition of influential friends prevailed against the execution of this sentence, and it was commuted to perpetual banishment. He was accordingly sent into exile in April, 1698, and before taking his departure for France he deposited his books at the house of one John Oody, and also consigned to safe keeping the sacred vestments and other religious ornaments, which were both numerous and very rich. Having landed on the French coast, he visited and comforted his exiled countrymen, who were then scattered through all the seaport towns of France, as a result, of course, of the late disasters of the Boyne, Aughrim, and Limerick.

Having arrived in Paris he, in company with the Primate of Ireland, visited the Papal Nuncio, who consigned to them the Papal Brief addressed to the suffering clergy and faithful of Ireland, sympathising with them in their affliction, and exhorting them to persevering and heroic devotion to the true faith. From Paris he proceeded to the Benedictine Abbey of Le Mans, where he died full of sanctity on the 26th January, 1711 (old style). The Benedictine Fathers erected a monument, with a beautiful Latin inscription, to his memory, and his name is still cherished and revered throughout the department of Sarthe.

His father, Redmund Dalton, appears to have been buried in the old burial ground, but the date of his death is unknown. His tomb is the only one that has escaped the utter destruction of the many that once adorned the old Church of Kildalton, and the old Church itself has disappeared before the stables of Lord Bessborough. The inscription on the tomb, as supplied by Canon Moore (*Oss. Arch. Soc.*, vol. 1, p. 33), reads as follows:—

"Hic jacent Reddemundus . . . mensis Febrii et Ellena Butler uxor ejus quo . . . sta . plora sum quod eris . . . quisquis . . . Thomas Otway fecit hoc."


Trans.—Here lie Reddmund . . . of the month of February, and Ellen Butler, his wife . . . Stop . weep, I am what thou shalt be . . . who so thou art . . . Thomas Otway made this (monument)."

There was besides the Kildalton family another of the name settled

equally early at Ballynacronny, in the Barony of Iverk also. The immediate ancestor of this branch was Peter Dalton, who died on the 11th September, 1598. He was therefore contemporary of William Dalton, the first of the Kildalton family, who died in 1591. Both may have been brothers, or cousins-german, evidently they were of the one family, imported from the old Barony of Rathconrath, or from some of their extensive settlements in Westmeath. Peter Dalton, of Ballynacronny, left a son, James, who was married at the time of his father's death, but beyond this I am baffled as to all further traces of him or his descendants for the present. Possibly there may be local traditions of this branch of the Dalton's still surviving.

(INQUISITION XXV.)


The Sessions' House, 12th August, 1619.

ICHOLAS FITZGERALD,¹ of Gurtin, in the County of Kilkenny, was seized of the fee of the manor, town and lands of Gurtins, aforesaid, containing 7 acres of land, great measure, viz.—3 acres arable, 1 acre meadow, 2 acres mountain, and one acre grove, Killmurry al' Cowlefev, in the county aforesaid, as also of the hamlet and towns of Ballivally, Balliboy, Ballilone, Ballentagart, and Balliandrine, parcel of Kilmurry, aforesaid, containing 10 acres great measure, Killecorkislay; also the hamlet and lands of Ballangowne, parcel of the town aforesaid, Ballinickoll; also the hamlet of Garrymore, parcel of the town aforesaid, containing 2 acres arable, great measure, Ourrahaun; also the hamlet of Corefore and Gragenegihie, parcel of the town aforesaid, containing 4 acres, great measure, Lywghvonye al' Luffane; also the hamlet of Ballivooly, parcel of the town aforesaid, containing 3 acres, great measure, and of and in three-fourths of the town and lands of Rathpatrick, containing 3 acres, great measure, and the head rent of 4s. to be paid yearly on the town and land of Oneagh. The aforesaid Nicholas, being so seized of the foregoing, died the 29th September, 1617. Patrick Fitzgerald is son and heir of the said Nicholas, and was 50 years of age at the date of his father's death, and unmarried. The premises are held from the king in *free and common soccage*, and for the annual rent of 26s. 8d.

¹ The Fitzgerald family shall be noticed later on.

INQUISITION XXVI.

The Sessions House, same day (12th August, 1619).

 AMES BUTLER,¹ late of Danginispydogy, in the County of Kilkenny, was seised of the fee of the manor of Danginispydogy² al' Davidestowne, and the town, lands and the hamlets of Danginispydogy, containing 8 acres, great measure, and of 1 water mill in Danginispydogy. The aforesaid James, by his charter, dated 4th May, 38th year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, made a free grant to David Molcahe, and Thomas Donoghoe, of all the messuages, tofts, gardens, columbaries, mills, *court-leet*, &c. ; in the manors, towns, fields, hamlets and places known by the names of Danginispydogy, Daindestowne al' Ballydae and Oorbally al' Rathard, within the County aforesaid, the tenor of which charter followeth in the original. Peter Butler Fitz-John, immediately after the death of the aforesaid James Butler, entered into possession of the manor, lands and tenements of Danginispydogy and the other premises aforesaid, by virtue of the aforesaid charter of feoffment, and from that time received the profits of same except one-third the premises, which was in the hands of Ellen Walsh, in right of her dowry. The aforesaid Ellen Walsh, closed her last day, on the 30th September, 1616. The aforesaid James Butler being seised of the premises *in use*, pursuant of the feoffment aforesaid, except 3 messuages and 1 acre of land, big measure, closed his last day 1st February, 1614. Peter Butler is grandson and next heir of the aforesaid James, viz, son and heir of John Butler, son and heir of the aforesaid James, and he was then 22 years of age, and married to Johanna Fitzgerald *alias* Butler, then 18 years of age. The manor of Danginispydogy, is held from the King *in capite* by Knight's service.

(1)—JAMES BUTLER.

In a previous inquisition I traced the origin of the name Butler, and pointed out that the first of the family was called Walter—Carte in his "Life of the Duke of Ormonde" seems to have no doubt about it. He grounds his belief chiefly on the fact that the several descendants of Hervey Walter, said by some to have been cup-bearer to William the Conqueror, signed themselves *Walter*, to official documents and land grants. After Theobald had received the chief-butlerage of Ireland, from King Henry the Second, in 1177, and in virtue of such office had adopted the surname Butler, he is still found subscribing himself Theobald Walter to a charter of King John's, granting certain lands to the Canons of Lanthony. His daughter Beatrix, the childless widow of Thomas de Hereford, married for her second husband, Sir Hugh Purcell. Sir Hugh obtained with her those lands of Heille or Hely, in the ancient territory of Eliogarty, County Tipperary, which had been

assigned her as her dowry with her first husband. Previous, I believe, to her marriage with Sir Hugh, she made a grant to the Monastery of St. Thomas, Dublin, and signed herself thereto Beatrix Walter.

Subsequently Sir Hugh Purcell supplemented this grant by giving Loughmoe Church to the same Monastery. So far there seems to be no doubt but that Walter was the original name of the Butler or Ormonde family, and was kept up by them till 1328, when James, the 7th Butler, was created 1st Earl of Ormonde by King Edward the Third. But now rises the real question. What is the origin of the surname Walter? Carte, in his *Life of the Duke of Ormonde* (introd. p. 6), quotes one Verstegan, who published his *"Antiquities"* at Antwerp, 1605, and maintained in them that Walter was the ancient designation of a chief ruler of forests—*comes forestarum*. Taking for granted the correctness of this, many believed that in lapse of time *chief ruler* became *chief steward*—and in turn *chief steward*, chief butler, and that accordingly the name Butler existed before the office of King's cup bearer at all created it. Camden, quoted by Carte, pushed supposition still further, and held that the *comes forestarum* meant a governor or general of an army. His opinion gained credit with many because it served to explain the original coat of arms of the Butlers before the augmentation of the *cups*, viz., or a *chief indented azure*. This chief indented, said they, must have been given to the first who emblazoned it in consideration of some daring exploit or brilliant action on the field of battle. A like difference of opinion exists regarding the origin of very many of the Anglo-Norman names. Moreri, in attempting to account for the name Purcell, says that it comes from *Porcelle* or *Porclet*, the diminutive of *Porc* a hog. To explain why the first assumed *Porcell* or *Pigling* as his surname, he cites a legend, or some one perhaps from old Norman documents cited it for him, which surpasses for its cool, and, indeed, I will add delicate invention. The caution with which it winds up against harsh treatment of God's poor makes one forgive its audacity.

It is pretty clear, therefore, from what I have just written, that no reliance can be placed on authors when they venture to explain the origin of the Anglo-Norman names, not all such names, of course, but many of them. It is my humble conjecture that those many never originated either in England or Normandy, but were borrowed from their Norwegian ancestors. In the 9th and 10th centuries those armed swarms of fierce Northern tribes swept before them with fire and sword, and overran the provinces of the Roman Empire. In 866 Rollo and his terrible hordes pushed their piracy and savagery close under the walls of Paris. They were beaten back but neither crushed nor subdued.

Charles the Simple, to save France from their ravages, came to terms with them, and allotted them a northern portion of his kingdom, which then received the name of Normandy—i.e., the province of the Northmen. This was in 912, and in 1066, that is about 150 years later, we find the descendants of those barbarous Norwegians sweeping down upon England. King Harold met them. He was brave enough,

but he was at the head of a force which only represented the faithful remnant of an army which melted at the dread name of William of Normandy. Senlac or Hastings was fought. Harold fell, and the last pretence and hope of Anglo-Saxon power were buried with him in his quiet shrine at Waltham Abbey. A foreign dynasty and a foreign nobility were imposed upon England. They were the Normans; and are we to suppose that in the 150 years that intervened between the settlement in Normandy and the conquest of England that this hardy, fierce race had so fused into one people with the French that they had entirely lost the names and traditions of their ancestors. And if we cannot suppose such a change in so short a space of time, we must conclude that very many of the names linked with the fortunes of the Conqueror, and introduced into England after the battle of Hastings, were such as had been retained in Normandy since the days that Rollo and his hordes gained a footing on French soil by their piracy and armed defiance. The true meaning and origin of many Anglo-Norman names must accordingly, in my opinion, be sought for amongst the traditions of the manners and customs of their ancient ancestors, whilst yet banded together as warlike brethren for bloodshed and plunder, and before they assumed peaceable habits, and became a compact law abiding people in settled homes.

Peter Butler, grandson of James, mentioned in the above Inquisition, died, seised of the lands of Ballydavid, on the 6th April, 1640. He left a son and heir, James Butler, aged 23 years at the time of his father's death. This last must have escaped the forfeitures under the Cromwellian Settlement, as the names of Peyra and Peter and Richard Butler only appear amongst the forfeiting proprietors in the Barony of Ida.

(2)—DANGINISPYDOGY 'AL DAVIDESTOWNE.

Danginispydogy 'al Davidestowne is situate in the Barony of Ida, which has an area of 31,703 statute acres, stretching longside the county Wexford, and forming the south-eastern portion of the county Kilkenny. It contains a "giant's grave" in the townland of Brownstown, between Inistiogue and Rosbercon.

The Very Rev. Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown, in a paper of his read before the Kilkenny Archæological Society on the 3rd of April, 1849, describes the grave to be a "deep trench about 12 feet long by 4½ feet in width," extending nearly north and south in a level field, the bottom floored with hard trodden clay, and the sides and ends originally lined with coarse flags, which a farmer, who he very indignantly and very justly styles "ignorant," carried away for the yard of his dwelling. The peasantry, he says, calls it in Irish "the tomb of the long man," and tradition has it that its occupant was eight feet. Canon Moore adds that a very intelligent old man named Donovan was taken to the place, as he stated when but very young, and told by one of the oldest members of his family, "there is the tomb of long Ida." Now, the question is who was this Ida? for evidently it was after him the barony took its name. To clear up this point we must fall

back first of all on the topographical poem which O'Heerin, who died in 1420, has left us referring to that portion of ancient Ossory, which extended from Slieve Bloom to the sea. O'Heerin in this poem pays his farewell to the "Barrow of ancient streams," and he is evidently prepared for his descriptive task when he comes

"To the tribe of the level land of his heart,
To the beautiful host of Ossory,
Mac-Gillaphadraig of the Bregian fort."

After describing the several tribelands on his way downwards from the slopes of the Slieve Bloom he passes from the "sweet country" of the O'Glorians (a name preserved in the Glory river). "The smooth land along the beauteous Callann"—to the

"Ui-Bearrchon of the yellow mantle . . .
The land over the bright flowing Barrow."

The king of this territory, he says, was O'Caeiluidhe (O'Kelly). O'Heerin here comprises, under *Ui-Bearrchon*, two other baronies, namely, Ida and Igrine. At present the Barony of Ida comprises the ancient Baronies of Ibercon and Igrine. Igrine contained Tory Hill. The ancient names of Ida, Igrine, and Ibercon, were respectfully, *Ui-Deaghaidh*, *Ui-g-Cruinn* and *Ui-Bearrchon*. The ancient tribe of *Ui-Cruinn* (Igrine) is not mentioned, nor is the ancient tribe of *Ui-Deaghaidh*, and it is strange O'Heerin did not make mention of them, but this supplies no proof that such did not exist. There was a tribe of *Ui-Bearrchon*, namely, a branch of the *Ui-Bearche*, of Slievemargue and Killeslin, near Carlow, and yet O'Heerin does not mention this tribe, as he only mentions O'Kelly. It may be that the O'Kellys had so crushed the other two tribes that O'Heerin considered them in the light of vassals, and unworthy of notice, for he speaks of the tribe O'Kelly "as returning heavily," that is, loaded with spoils. *Ui-Deaghaidh*, or *Ida*, had beyond doubt a tribe, as *Ui*, a son or descendant, indicates. It is also probable that the tribe was O'Dea, and that *Ida Ui-Deaghaidh* was so called after the O'Dea, and not after Dha or David, as Davidstown above mentioned would seem to indicate. A local tradition did exist that the Chief of the *Ui-Deaghaidh* took the hereditary surname of O'Dea or O'Deaghaidh, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one Thomas O'Dea is found in this very locality as holding lands from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Granny.

I take it, therefore, that the above Danganispydogy al Davidstown should be more correctly al O'Deas or Deastown, and, in fact, lower down in the Inquisition, we have Davidestowne al Ballydae. If my supposition be correct, or if my readers will accept it, that Davidstown is only a corruption for Deastown, I take a further liberty of giving it as my humble opinion that the "Giant's Grave" of the "long Ida," above mentioned, is none other than the tomb of O'Dea, the hereditary and ancient chieftain of the place.

INQUISITION XXVII.

Gowran, 6th October, 1619.

EDWARD SWEETMAN,¹ of Hoods Grove,² in the County Kilkenny, was seised of the fee of and in 1 castle, 16 messuages, 16 gardens, and 100 acres of land arable, in Gowran aforesaid, and he held the premises from the Earls of Ormonde and Ossory, as of his manor of Gowran in socage by fealty; of 1 castle, 16 messuages, 16 gardens, 4 orchards, 1 columbarry, 1 [] and 100 acres of land arable in Thomastown, within the county aforesaid, which are held as of the manor of Thomastown in burgage tenure; Hoods Grove, Tynneranny, Tynenicke, Clasganny, and Ballypbillippeene as parcels and parts of Hoods Grove, within the old town of Rosbercon, containing 20 messuages and 9 acres of land, are held from the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory as of his manor of Barcon, in the county aforesaid. The said Edward Sweetman closed his last day on the last of October, 1616. James Sweetman is son and heir of the said Edward, and was thirty years of age at the time of his father's death. Katherine Purcell was his wife. Honora Sweetman al' Murrish was wife of the said Edward, and is still living. The said Honora was endowered of all the lands and tenements in Thomastowne. The aforesaid Edward was likewise seised of the fee of the town and fields of Balliknocke, Killechorne, Glantiroe and Ballinquine, in the county aforesaid, containing 10 messuages and 9 acres of land country measure. Being so seised he made a grant in fee to David Baron al' FitzGerrald, of Brownesford, in the county aforesaid, and Nicholas Rubbuck, burgess of Thomastowne, of the premises last specified by his charter, bearing date 16th April, 1614, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The premises are held of the king in capite by knight's service."

(1)—THE SWEETMAN FAMILY.

O'Hart in his "Irish Pedigrees" p. 518, considers the name Sweetman to be of Danish origin. It may be that it is the same name as Swetenham mentioned by George Ormerod, LL.D. in his "History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, &c." This family appears to have settled in Cheshire at a very early date. In the reign of Edward the First (1272-1307) the family purchased the Somerford Booth's estate near Congleton, Cheshire. A junior branch held also the manor of Swettenham, Cheshire, and Thomas Wybault Swettenham, J.P. and D.L. for Chester county, of Swettenham Hall, was married in 1829, to a Dublin lady, Anna Maria, daughter of Colonel Luke Alen. I have not been able to discover the name Sweetman amongst the county families or peerage of England, and this is why I suspect that as it was translated from that country (unless it was here with the Danes and escaped annihilation, if O'Hart, quoted above, be right) that it is identical with the name Swettenham. The principal branch or head of the

House in the county Kilkenny, was seated at New-town Erly, and will be noticed under a subsequent Inquisition of the reign of Charles the First. In the 23rd of Henry the Eighth (1533), Gerald Aylmer, one of the King's Commissioners for the County Kilkenny, pronounced a decree for possession of a "mease," garden and orchard in Thomastown, in favour of Robert Lorgenan, of New Ross, which he was unable to hold on account of the "expulsion" and "trouble" of James Sweetman. This James was probably the father or grandfather of the above Edward, mentioned in the Inquisition. In 1582, we find him enfeoffing David Blanchvill, of Howlingstown, County Kilkenny, and Thomas Delahide, of New Ross, in his lands of Thomastown, Smithstown ($\frac{1}{4}$ the town) Hoods Grove, and its parcels containing 19 acres great measure, for the use set forth and specified in his charter dated 3rd January, 1582. It appears his son James was debarred from possession of the property on account of the settlement of it on Honora Sweetman al' Murriah, wife of the said Edward. She had the premises till her death on the 15th March, 1626, and on the 3rd March, 1628, livery of the possessions of the late Edward was assigned to his son James. The name of John Sweetman appears amongst the forfeiting proprietors of the barony of Ida under the Cromwellian settlement.

This John was likely the son of James just mentioned, and who, for his part in the great civil disturbance of 1641-2, lost a broad inheritance, and, like many of his Catholic confederates of that period died, perhaps, in want beyond the Shannon.

(2)—HOODSGROVE.

Hoods Grove is in the barony of Ida and has an area of 295 statute acres. In his "Observations on Rath," (Kilk. Archæol. Soc., Vol. 1, p. 25), Canon Moore, of Johnstown, noticed in connection with Hoods Grove Rath, the discovery of two golden ornaments, supposed to be a pin and necklace. "The latter," he says, "was composed of large gold beads strung upon a wire of the same metal." What a pity that both should have been disposed of for 17s and £2 10s respectively in Ross, and melted down by the purchaser.

(INQUISITION XXVIII.)

ib' (Gowran), same day, (6th October, 1619.)

EDMUND BLANCHFIELD. of Blanchfieldstowne, in the Co. Kilkenny, was seised of the fee to the use of Robert Freney,¹ of Ballireddy, in the county aforesaid, of and in the town and lands of Ballireddie, 3 acres country measure; Disertmore and Tinekillie, 2 acres; the mill of Disertmore aforesaid; Ballinoyle and Arclone, 2 acres; Ballibrownny al' Brownestowne, 2 acres; Balli-toile, 2 acres; Kilberghen, 2 acres; Rathorie, 2 acres; Ballecurryn, 2

acres; Ballicalloge, 3 acres; Ballebrabeson, 2 acres; and also of 5 messuages and 5 gardens in Enisteoge. The aforesaid Edmund being so seised of the premises by his charter, bearing date 26 August, 1611, gave each and all the premises to Robert Freney and his heirs. The aforesaid Robert Freney by his feoffment dated 30 August, 1611, gave the premises to Sir Richard Butler, of Pollstowne and Redmund Blanchfield of Rathgarvan, the tenor of which feoffment followeth in the original. The said Robert Freney closed his last day on 28 December, 1611. Katherine, Ellinor, Honora and Isabella Freney were daughters and heirresses of the said Robert, and were not then married. Oliver, son and heir of Edmund Freney, was next heir of James Freney, the grandfather of the aforesaid Robert, and was 50 years of age and married at the time of the aforesaid Robert's death. The aforesaid Oliver entered into the possession of the lands of Ballireddy, Rathowrie, Balleallog, and Ballibrabeson, and was seised in use tail of all the other premises in reversion expectant on the death of the aforesaid Katherine Butler. Being so seised the said Oliver closed his last day on 10 February, 1613, Robert Freney is the legitimate son and heir of the said Oliver, and is 12 years of age and unmarried. Edward Blanchfield was seised to the use aforesaid of the town and lands of Balliknocke, containing 3 acres country measure; Killechoirie, 3 acres; Balliquin, 1 acre; Glantiroe, 1 acre; and [] acre called "the lake of Cloghane." The said Oliver Freney and Edmund Blanchfield by their charter, bearing date 1st July, 1613, gave the premises to Edward Sweetman, of Hodesgroo, the tenor of which charter followeth in the original. The premises are held from the king *in capite* by knight's service."

(1)—THE DE LA FRENE FAMILY.

"The honours of a name 'tis just to guard,
They are a trust but lent us, which we take
And should, in reverence to the donor's fame,
With care transmit them down to other hands."

Shirley.

A name borrows its brilliancy from the achievements of the man. Without such it means little or nothing. They shape and form and clothe it with grace and lustre according as they are bold and glorious. When the name is made by deeds it asserts itself. It becomes the main spring of human action. It prompts us to sustain it, and, if possible, give it a generous share of additional brightness. Men may not advert to this. All the same. There are many influences to which we never advert, and yet they form the chief impulse and great current of our life. To make a name and transmit it to posterity has more than once roused many a drooping spirit. The magic of the thought of such was the very life-breath of ancient chivalry. Without it little or nothing would have been heard of knight-errantry; nor of those military adventures of forgotten ages, when right meant the triumph of the sword. Nor does the influence of a name die with him who creates it; in its conspicuous and noble form. It descends to his posterity and its spell incites the inheritor to reflect the hero whose deeds first shaped it for

worthy record. The truth of this is felt by all men. If in a strange company you unexpectedly find a person of your name an interior delight springs to life within you. If a diabolical crime attaches to some one of your name, though he may have no relationship or connection with you, the mention of such somewhat at least saddens you. You know not why—but on reflection, you will find it is because of that emotional sensibility within us so easily excited by the magic of a name. Its like influence and fascination pervade nations as well as individuals. On the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey fired the ardour of his men by the war-cry of “Hercules the invincible.” Cæsar on his part signalled the charge with “Venus the Victorious.”

“Each had proposed an empire to be won,
Had each once known a Pompey for his son;
Had Cæsar’s soul informed each private breast,
A fiercer fury could not be express’d,”

Lucan’s Pharsalia.

If the magic of a name had such power in nerving the arms of opposing legions, we must not wonder if it possessed equal power in prompting individuals to emulate the glories of their ancestors, and make themselves worthy inheritors of their fame. It becomes, accordingly, one of the most powerful factors in prolonging the *status* of families. Such *status*, of course, is often swept aside by the chill breath of adversity, despite man’s might to prolong it. Independently of that I am fairly of opinion that many Anglo-Norman families, who settled in this country after the Invasion, would have returned to the Welsh borders had they not had some innate pride of “name” which supported their defiance of the native Irish.

Mere possessions of lands, I can hardly believe, could ever make them court the turmoil and consequent confusion; and even should the first-comers have so endured for the sake of such wealth, many of their descendants would have faltered had they not been nurtured in pride of warlike valour and the prowess of their ancient ancestors. Be it such, or be it the greed of gain and bettered homes that kept them; it is clear that we have many Anglo-Norman names in this Island to-day, differing from those of the old Irish families, but now mingled together as one people with a common cause and destiny. Many, too, of those Anglo-Norman names have lost their local significance in the crash of state commotions. The pilgrim of lore and tourist saunter to-day in the shades of their ancient keeps to scan the crumbling battlements, or crave from broken arches a chiselled token of perished memories. The family of De Frene, which I am now about to notice, was one which kept high court at Ballyreddy from the commencement of the 14th century to the time of the Williamite confiscations (1691), when the representative lost his entire property for his attachment to the house of Stuart.

De Fraxineto, De la Freigne, Frayne, Freney, French, and, I believe, Ash, were the various surnames of the different branches of the one great family of the De Frene, which settled in this county in the early part of the 14th century. The Rev. N. Murphy, P.P., Ballycallan, in

a masterly sketch of the De Frenes, written for the Christmas number of the *Kilkenny Journal*, 1878, thus traces their origin :—

“The family of the De Frayne or De Franxinis was of great antiquity, and claimed descent from Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, who married Gisla, daughter of Charles the Simple, King of France. The third son of this marriage, Harlouan, was father of another Harlouan, who left a son Fulk, who left a son Maximillian, who left a son Alexander, who left a son Alforin, who was contemporary with William the Conqueror, and the companion of his English invasion; and from Alforin or D’Alforain the race of De Frayne descended.”

I may remark, without intending to question the accuracy of the foregoing, that mostly all the Normans had a great wish to pretend their origin from Rollo or his sons, because he was the Pirate Chief of their race, who overran Neustria, and by his fierce valour tamed Charles the Simple into terms, and gained a permanent footing for himself and his followers on French soil by the acquisition of Normandy. The De Frenes settled in England after the Conquest (1066), and like all the followers of William the Conqueror were amply provided for out of the possessions of an overthrown dynasty. William Coningesby, a descendant of Baron John Coningesbie, killed at the battle of Chesterfield in 1266, was married to Bennet, daughter of *Ingram de Frene*. He served in the wars of Edward the Third with France, and was knighted by his Majesty a little before the battle of Crecy (1346), where he acquitted himself with great bravery. He rests in the Friar’s Conventual Church, Bristol. Their son, Thomas, fought at *Poitiers* (1356), and at *Najara*, in Spain (1367), but was taken prisoner in *Brittany* till he had to ransom himself by marrying the daughter of *Sir John de Almaigne*, of Conque, in the castle of which town he was confined. An old English rhyme greeted him on his return from the French wars :—

“Thomas Coningesby
And his wife *Tifany*,
Are come out of *Brittany*,
With her servant, *Maupas*,
And her maid, *Malefuce*,
With theyr Dogge *Hurdigrace*.”

John Seisel, or more commonly Cecil, subsequently known as Earls of Exeter, was the third in descent from Robert Sitsil, who assisted Robert Fitz-Hamon in the conquest of Glamorganshire. In the civil wars, which dyed England, between the contending factions of King Stephen and Maud, the mother of Henry the Second, John Seisel, was made prisoner at the siege of Lincoln (1143), and had to dispose of his estates in order to pay a ransom of 400 marks. He married Maud, daughter of De Frenes, and their son, Eustace, was knighted by King Henry the Second. He was subsequently slain in the war which lasted between Henry and William (the Lion), King of Scotland, till the latter was taken prisoner at Alnwick (1174). Thus it appears that the De Frenes were connected by marriage with some of the highest families in England, standing for centuries in close confidence with the Crown.

After the arrival of the name, said to be Sir Humphry or Herbert, in this island, either with Strongbow or Henry the Second, we find it holding large tracts in Wexford, Meath, Carrick, Kilkenny, etc. In the Parliament summoned by John Wogan, in 1295-6, the name of *Fulke de la Freignes* ranks 73rd on the list. He was slain in 1320 by William, and Sylvester de Marisco, and other adherents of Edmund Butler, 1st Earl of Carrick, for what reason does not appear, unless he had been in some way suspected of having favoured the Bruces in their late unsuccessful Irish campaign.

In Rolls. cl. 18, Ed. II (1325), 26th January, we find it mentioned that Fulco de Fraxineto was one of the several parties passing a bond for £1,000 sterling to Richard Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, evidently as a surety or bail for Roger Outlaw, son of the famous Alice Kyteler, the Kilkenny witch, whose trial is fully described in vol. 1 of the "Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society," by the late Mr. Morrin.

In 1333 Geoffrey de la Frene was slain by the O'Moores of Slieve Margy. He had married Johanna Purcell, heiress of Bargy, but of what Bargy, Olynn does not inform us. The late Mr. Prim, of Kilkenny, Editor of the *Moderator*, the Very Rev. R. Butler, A.B., Dean of Olonmacnoise, Editor of "Olynn's Annals," and others have accepted it as granted that the *Obargi* here mentioned by the annalist is Rosbercon, near which the De Frenes had their ancient seat and castle of Ballyreddy. I do not know what the late Rev. J. Graves thought on the point, and, unfortunately, in my correspondence with him on some matters I neglected asking him. His opinion would be of the most worth in determining the exact position of *Obargi*. My surmise that the *Obargi* here mentioned was not the ancient Obercon of Rosbercon, of Kilkenny, but the territory of Slieve Margy, in the Queen's County, may appear strange, but it is not more strange than the habit of accepting *dictum* after *dictum* of a writer or writers without ever questioning the authority or foundation on which such *dicta* rest. Thus we have it as granted that the De Frenes first settled at Ballyreddy, and got the surrounding territory of Obercon by the marriage of Geoffrey with Johanna Purcell, heiress of Bargy, and this is all a settled question and foregone conclusion for ever so many years, because clever men and able men (as, undoubtedly, those above mentioned were) wrote it and said it.

Let us now see is there any reason for doubting the position they assigned to the territory of *Obargi*. Here are Olynn's words regarding the fate of De Freney:—

"Item eodem anno (1333) die Sabbati in crastino Sancti Remigii Episcopi occiditur Galfridus de la Frene (qui heredem de Obargi Johannum Purcel duxerat in uxorem), per O'Morthys de Slemargys." "Likewise in the same year (1333) on Saturday, the feast of St. Remegius, bishop, Geoffrey de la Frene (who had married for his wife Johanna Purcell, heir of Obargi) was slain by the O'Moores, of Slemargys" (Olynn, p. 25).

Now, the O'Moores were lords of Leix, and lords of all the Queen's

County, from Portnahieh on the north, to Idough on the south, and from Upper Ossory, or Fitzpatrick's territory, the western portion of the Queen's County, on the west to the Barrow, on the east as it falls towards the sea from Kildare, on the north by Athy, Kilkea and Moone, Carlow, &c., southwards.

The Olan O'Moore, of Slieve Margy, held that part south-east of the Queen's County from Stradbally and Ballyadams, on the north, to the old church of Killeshin on the south, where they were met by the O'Brennans, of Idough. It is a question whether the O'Brennans ever owned any of Killeshin, and the only reason I have seen for thinking they did is the fact that the old inscription over the doorway of Killeshin Church bears mention of the Chief of Idough.

"Or Do Art Ri Lagen . . .
Don Airchindech . . . , Lena . . .
Do . . . Toisech hua n-Duach."

"A prayer for Art, King of Leinster . . . for the Airchinedech . . .
Lena . . . for . . . the Chief of Ui-Duach."

The chief of the Ui-Duach may have been a benefactor to this church, and so liberal as to merit being mentioned in connection with the *Quint* doorway, to the cost of which he may have subscribed, but it is hardly likely that the O'Moores, his warlike and more powerful neighbours, would allow him to encroach within their territory. I am of opinion that Ui-Duach in this quarter kept by the Dinan as it runs by Bilbo, Ballyvannan, &c., and at Bilbo there is "Ardough," that is, "Height" or "Hill of Idough."

To come to the question at issue. What brought the O Moores from their place at the foot of the Slieve Margy hills, near Carlow, to Rosbercon, in the south-east of the county of Kilkenny, to be revenged on de Frene? What had de Frene done to them at such a distance? The plain answer is that the Obargi which de Frene held in right of his wife, Johanna Purcell, must have been in the neighbourhood of the O'Moores, and an encroachment on or more truly a fat portion of their ancient territory, now held by the strength of Anglo-Norman arms. This was the Slieve Margy territory around Killeshin, and embracing in its sweep by the base of the Carlow hills the northern portion of the O'Brennans territory of Idough. It was for this bit of plunder that Geoffrey de Frene was slain by the O'Moores. Johanna Purcell was first given by the Crown in marriage to Sir William St. Leger in 1307. His representatives claimed *Obargy*, and in 1385 ten marks are paid to Thomas Seyntleger, "Baron of Obergry," by the Irish Privy Council, for the taking of one O'Logan, Dermot, and John O'Brennan, and killing O'Brennan, captains of the Irish then in open war. If it was Obergry, of Ida, that St. Leger here mentioned, was "Baron" of, what quarrels, or cause of quarrels, could he have had with the O'Brennans of Idough? But he had a cause of quarrel, and that was, that the O'Brennans retaliated on him as a foreign enemy and plunderer of their lands, on which he had encroached as the descendant of Sir Hugh Purcell, in the female line. It is more probable, therefore, that the

Obergry which Johanna Purcell inherited, was the territory of Slieve Margy, around the Barrow and Killeslin, and that the two troublesome neighbours cleared by force of arms of it were the O'Moores principally, and perhaps in part, the O'Brennans. The O'Brennans were at all events soon stripped as well as the O'Moores, and hence they became as well as the latter, dangerous and troublesome to the St. Legers and De Frenes. So far for the local identification of "Obergry" or "O'Bargy." I now return to the family. Fulco de Frene, who was cut off by the Mariscos, in 1320, appears to have had a son Fulco, as well as his son, Geoffrey, already mentioned. In the Clos. Rolls (14 Ed. 2nd fol. 68, 1320-1), 12th September, we have "The King granted to Fulco Fitzfulco de Faxineto all the lands which previously belonged to John Oarmerdyn, a felon in the liberty of Kilkenny, to be held at the King's pleasure."

In 1335, James, first Earl of Ormonde, marched against the Irish enemies, the O'Brynnys, and defeated them at Duffry—laying waste their lands. Fulco de la Frane attended him in his expedition, and so pleased Ormonde that he knighted him on the occasion. In 1336, a difference arose between Fulco de la Frane and Lysath O'Moore, the former having incurred the displeasure of the latter by his patronage of the English settlers of Ossory. It appears also that De Frene made some insulting charges on O'Moore on account of the unfortunate result of a conference between him (O'Moore) and the Archdeacons or McCodys the summer previous, at Clar-Goly, now Glashare, parish of Johnstown.

In 1338, about the Feast of the Ascension, Lord Eustace le Poer, *Seneschal* of Kilkenny, attacked Lord Fulco and Oliver de la Frane, and threw them into prison. He assigned no reason for this act of aggression, and it was accordingly suspected that he had acted from vindictiveness, instead of from motives of rigorous justice. Oliver escaped on the following day, and having summoned his friends and adherents, he set himself to rescue Fulco. He succeeded, after great slaughter, and was content to draw off his men after he had made charred cinders of the castle gates. The tables were soon turned, and Lord Eustace became involved in the rebellious proceedings of the Earl of Desmond. He and Sir William Grant suffered at the hands of the Justiciary, and lost their lands and necks.

According to the *Rolls. Pat.* (20 Edward III, fol. 105—1346-7) the King granted to Fulco de la Freigne all the lands and tenements forfeited by William Le Graunt in the counties of Kilkenny and Waterford, valued at £20 per annum, in discharge of £40 per annum, or £20 in lands, which Ralph de Ufford, late Lord Justice, had covenanted to give him for his assistance in peace and war.

Sir Ralph Ufford was appointed to the office of Lord Justice in 1344, and in the exercise of his new authority rivalled in rigour and harshness the execrable Sir Anthony Lucy, his predecessor, who appended to Dublin Castle the name and memory of "Bermingham Tower," by the hanging therein of the popular Sir William Bermingham. Ralph married the wife of the late William, Earl of Ulster, called the *Dun*

Earl, who was murdered in 1333 by his nephews, the Mandevilles, whilst crossing a stream, on his way to hear Mass at Carrickfergus, on Belfast Lough, in the county Antrim. He summoned a Parliament in Dublin; but Maurice FitzThomas, first Earl of Desmond, who had already signalized himself against the "Irish Rebels," refused to attend, and assembled one of his own at Callan. Sir William Graunt was one of the haughty Desmond adherents. Ufford entered upon the lands of Desmond with an armed force, seized them and farmed them to tenants holding from the Crown. He attacked the proud castles of the Earl. Castle Island, a stronghold in Kerry, was commanded by Sir William Grant, and Sir Eustace Poer, both of whom Ufford hanged. The lands and tolls of Kells and Dunnamaggin, County Kilkenny, were thus forfeited by Eustace le Poer, and were granted to Walter Bermingham. The lands of Sir William Grant were also declared forfeited, and were given as mentioned in the above Roll. Pat. to Fulco de la Freigne. The descendants of le Graunt continued to hold possessions in Pollrone and Ballytrasney, Barony of Iverk, County Kilkenny, to the period of the Cromwellian confiscation, when they were swept for their activity in the great Catholic struggle of 1641-2. They also held lands in Ballynebooly, County Kilkenny, from the Earl of Ormonde, and in Courthoyle, Rathkerry, and other places in the County Wexford. It appears to me very likely that it was at this period that the De Frenes settled at *Ballyreddy*, having got the forfeited lands of Sir William Graunt. That they were at Ballyreddy anterior to this time, and in right of Johanna Purcell, heiress of Bargy, the wife of Geoffrey de la Frene, has not the semblance of truth beyond that it is the statement of enlightened antiquarians, some of whom, like the late Mr. Prim, Kilkenny, deserve beyond question, an imperishable memory. I have given almost unanswerable arguments that the Bargy which Geoffrey de la Frene held in right of his wife Johanna Purcell previous to 1333 was the Bargy of the O'Moores, at the foot of the Slieve Margy, and on the right bank of the Barrow.

On Saturday, the feast of St. Martha V., Roger de la Frene, Sub-sheriff of Kilkenny, in 1346, wasted the territory of Carroll Mac-Gilla Patrick (Fitzpatrick), and carried away the largest booty that had been ever secured in a like offensive expedition. Fulco de la Frene was not idle. He marched at the head of a strong force into the country of the O'Carrolls on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in the above year, 1346, and revelled in devastation and blood around Killeigh, Geschill, and Birr.

Thadeus, son of Roderick O'Carroll, was at this time the most determined and open enemy of the English settlers. His ancient and hereditary district of Ely-O'Carroll was in the strong grasp of the foreigner ever since Henry the Second had bestowed it on the Worcesteres and Fitz-Walters (Butlers), with all that plausible kind of protection which he had promised the Irish chieftains at Waterford, and subsequently re-assured them of, from his wicker-work litter or pavilion, near the Church of St. Andrew, Dublin. Thadeus O'Carroll, of Ely, like Lysath O'Moore, of Leix, gave the *strangers* no rest within his

hereditary boundaries. He decimated them with the sword, and withered them with his war-breath. He starved and banished them. He garrisoned the castles of the Barrys, Britts, and Millbornes with his men of Munster, and the terror of his name made the neighbouring *fideles* keep within the walls of their strongholds for very protection and safety of their lives.

Olynn describes him thus:—"Vir potens locuplex et dives et bellicosus precipuus Anglicorum et fidelium inimicus et persecutor" (Annals, p. 33.) "A man, powerful, wealthy, and opulent, the head enemy and persecutor of the English and *fideles* (loyalists)." He was slain by Fulco de la Frene, who had marched against him in the above-mentioned year, 1346, and once more the English enjoyed in Ely-O'Carroll a respite of peace.

Fulco was now summoned to attend the King (Edward III) in his wars with France. Accompanied by Maurice, son of Thomas, Earl of Kildare, he contributed to the reduction of Calais, the siege of which lasted an entire year, commencing immediately after the brightest of English victories gained by Edward, the *Black Prince*, at Orecy. Here from 1346 to 1347 he witnessed some of the most daring sorties that ever coupled a besieged city with all that's chivalrous in military romance. He witnessed the self-sacrifices of the citizens in the persons of haltered-neck burgesses imploring quarter for the community, and in the unconditional surrender of Calais he shared the glory of having cleared an opening for the free advance of English armies upon French soil, and which so continued for 200 years till again sacked and retaken by the Duke of Guise. Fulco returned to his native land, whetted by his stay before Calais, for further military employment. During the temporary absence of the Earl of Ormonde in England he received the care and custody of the Earl's lands, and took care to make the "Irish enemy" feel the power of his new position. He reduced the Irish about Nenagh, and restored those who had been driven from their properties. He brought back the exiled, and he compelled the Irish who had banished them to repair and rebuild the very walls they had broken down and demolished. By heavy fines, redemptions, etc., he restored the old order of things, and for the time in the vicinity of Nenagh there was tame submission to English rule.

Fulco's career was now nearing its close. He appears to have recklessly exposed himself in some conference with the Irish, by whom he was slain on the feast of St. Moling, B.P., 1349. Olynn calls him:—

"Vir milicie et militaris a pueritia deditus et intendens et pacis defeccione Reipublice, defensor malorum malleus plurium relatu communi in relatione vix in Hibernia parem habens. Hic Rupenses, Cantenences, fidelium oppressores de teras exterpavit, vir magnanimus minas magnorum et non formidans vir largus et plus nominis habens majoris fame quam substantie profusus erat in dandis epulis nulli claudens suam januam."

Translation:—A man given to and intent on warfare and military service from his youth, a defender of the State in times of revolt, a suppressor of injuries, and, according to common saying having scarcely

an equal in Ireland. He uprooted the Rupes (Roches) and Cantillons (Cantitons—Condoas), the oppressors of the *fideles*; he was magnanimous, and had no fears of the threats of magnates. He was bountiful, having more than the name of a man, his liberality above his wealth in giving entertainments, shutting his gate against none."

This was poor Clynn's last entry. The terrible Black Death was then at his full havoc, and it is supposed that the Annalist became its victim. In 1347 is recorded the death of Roger de la Frene, *Seneschal* of Kilkenny. He was a young man of great promise, described as being discreet and prudent yet valiant and powerful. In *Roll Pat. Edward III.*, 27th November, 1355, appears: "The King to the R. C. Bishop of Ossory (reciting that John Swayne, Pastor of the Church of Coolcraheen, in the barony of Fassadinan, and diocese of Ossory, intends to exchange his benefice with John Clane, Vicar of the Church of Rathmore, in the diocese of Dublin), presents John Clane to said Church of Coolcrahy, it being in the King's gift, because of the guardianship of the lands and heir of Roger de la Freigne, deceased, who held of the King in capite." I may here remark that this *roll* conclusively proves what I advanced in my notes on the Purcell family, under Inquisition 11, jac. 1, 1615, to wit, that Foulksrath, in the present parish of Conahy, was so called from *Fulco*, one of the de la Frene family, its original possessors. The Purcells were subsequent possessors to the de Frenes, of Foulksrath Castle and lands, the parish church of which was Coolcraheen, which has been already noticed by me in my notice of the Purcell family. It was from the de Frenes accordingly that Purcells got Foulksrath, and this either by purchase, or, more likely, as a family inheritance, the Purcells and de Frenes having been connected by the marriage of Geoffrey de la Frene with Johanna Purcell, heiress of Bargy, as above noticed. According to the *Rolls. Pat.*, 29th Edward III., 20th Sept., (1356-7), John, son of Oliver de la Freigne, was Sheriff of the Cross of Kilkenny, *i.e.*, of the Bishop's or Church lands, the ecclesiastical portion of the county. From the *Close Rolls*, 33rd Edward III., 4th May, (1360-61) it appears: "Paid from the Crown to Patrick de la Freigne, £20 for his services in retaining at his own cost more men at arms in the wood of Dalnagh, near Leighlin, to repel McMurgh and his accomplices." This was the famous Art MacMurrough Cavanagh, who in 1399 emblazoned his name for ever on the pages of Anglo-Irish history. Richard the Second, after fourteen days stay in Kilkenny, marched against Art with an army of 30,000, which he had just transported from England, in a fleet of 200 ships. Art MacMurrough lay in wait for him with only 3,000 Irish veterans in the woods of Idrone. He reduced King Richard's splendid army to absolute want, and thinned them with his well-aimed javelins. He spurned the King's proffers, and covered him with humiliation from which his subsequent deposition and murder in Pontefract Castle, might be considered for a proud monarch a merciful relief.

Amongst the Barons summoned to a Parliament of the 25th March, 1374, the above Patrick de la Frene, Knight, attended. This name also appears with that of Robert de la Frene, amongst the Barons

summoned to a Parliament of the 22nd January, 1 Rich. II. (1377); to a Parliament of 11th September, 4 Rich. II (1380-1), when Robert also subscribes his name as *Knight*, and again their names appear on the list of Barons summoned to a Parliament of the 6th Rich. II., April 29 (1382)—(*Liber Muner. Public. Hib.*, vol. 1, p. 36), *Rowley Lascelles*. Sir Robert de la Frene, who sat as a peer with Sir Patrick in the above Parliaments, was succeeded in his title and estates by his grandson, Sir Patrick Frayne, *Baronet*. This latter died issueless, and was succeeded in his estate by Oliver Frayne, of Listerling, in the County of Kilkenny, who was second cousin and next in kin to the said Sir Patrick. The said Oliver Frayne, Esq., had an only son and heir, Robert Frayne, Esq., who married Elinor, eldest daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald, Baron of Brownsford, in the County of Kilkenny, by his wife, Joan Morris, sister of Sir John Morris, Bart., of this county. A wayside cross, commemorative of himself and his wife Elinor, is thus noticed in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society," vol. 1, p. 176 (1850):—

"In the neighbourhood of the ruined religious edifice of Ballyneal, near New Ross, which was the ancient parish church of Disertmoon, lying half obscured amidst the rubbish, near a cottage door is a base of a cross of black marble. This monument formerly stood on a graduated pedestal on the roadside about 80 yards south of the rising bank on which the church is situate. When or how it was removed hence I have been unable to ascertain; but we are indebted to the Rev. Philip Moore, Rosbercon, (Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown), an able and zealous member of our society, for causing it recently to be raised out of a mill stream from a depth of seven or eight feet, into which it was flung, covered over with other stones, and in danger of being lost for ever. From the arms carved upon one side of the stone, which are those of Frayne *impaling* Fitzgerald and the initial letters at the base of the shields, R. F. and E. G., this cross evidently must be referred to Robert Frayne, of *Ballyreddy*, who died in 1643, and his wife, Elinor, daughter of David Fitzgerald, Baron of Brownsford.

"The inscription is so battered as to be totally illegible, but the farmer near whose house the stone lies, and who appears to be a very intelligent man, declared that before the letters were thus defaced the inscription was precisely similar to that on the family tomb of the Fraynes in the adjoining old church of Ballyneal."

The following is the inscription in incised Roman letters on the tomb of the de Fraynes here alluded to:—

D. O. M.

"Sacrum, amoris, mortisque, monumentum, quod, generoso, Domino, D. Robert Frayne, viro, vere, Pio, Munifico, Hospitali, ex Antiqua, Equitum, De Frayne familia, oriundo, Domino de Ballyreddy, Ballyknock, &c., Marito suo Charissimo, sibi ac posteris posuit, Elianora Geraldina, Baronis, Brownsford, filia, obiit ille. Die 17 Maii, 1643. Defunctis, bene precare Viator."

Translation—To God, most excellent, most mighty. A sacred memorial of love and death to the noble lord, Lord Robert Frayne, a truly pious, liberal, and hospitable man descended from the ancient family of De Frayne, *Knight*, lord of

Ballyreddy, Ballyknock, &c., erected by his wife, Elenora Geraldine, daughter of the Baron of Brownsford, for her most dearly-beloved husband, herself and descendants. He died the 17th of May, 1643. Traveller, pray reverently for the dead."

On a panel over this inscription is an escutcheon charged with the arms of De Frayne impaling those of Fitzgerald. The dexter side of the shield is *party per fess in chief three bees; in base a sword palewise point upwards* Sinister side. *Ermine—on a saltire bordured five annulets*. I do not know why the saltire or St. Andrew's Cross is here represented as *bordured*, nor why it is *charged with five annulets*. The original coat of the Fitzgeralds is *Argent a Saltire Gules*, or when effected by being borne by a Duke or Marquis—*Pearl a Saltire Ruby*. The Fitzgerald family of Clare still emblazon the original, viz—*Argent a Saltire Gules*, whilst the Fitzgeralds of Castle Ishen, County Cork, the Fitzgeralds of Lisheen, County Tipperary, and the Fitzgeralds of New-market-on-Fergus, County Clare, all have *Ermine a Saltire Gules*.

The *Annulets* on the *Saltire* above mentioned must have been adopted for *difference* as in heraldry the *second* son would affix a *crescent* to the paternal coat to signify his *subordinate* degree below the heir; the third son a *mullet*; the fifth an *annulet*, and so on. The above arms of de Frayne, on the tomb in question, seem also to have assumed a new emblazoning from that borne by the family in the time of Edward III, viz., *Ermine—barry of four a demy lion rampant*. The escutcheon is also surrounded by a peculiar scroll-work—and at the *dexter* base are the letters R. F. (Robert Frayne) and at the *Sinister* E. G. (Elinor Geraldine).

The remains of the deceased Robert Frayne were kept nine weeks uninterred by his surviving wife, Eleanor Fitzgerald. A number of Roman Catholic priests attended daily to offer masses and recite the *Requiem* Office for the soul of the departed, and meantime Eleanor had got erected the handsome church of Dysartmoon or Desertmoon, with a family vault attached, for the interment of her husband and for herself and her posterity. Robert left two sons, James and Thomas Frayne. James, the eldest, enrolled himself on the Catholic side in the civil war of 1641-2, but escaped the Cromwellian confiscations, as the *Protector* "courted him as a husband for his nephew's, Coll. Asdell's daughter, which match was agreed upon with this condition, that the said James Frayne was to continue in peaceable possession of his entire estate. The nuptial day was appointed, when said James Frayne, Esq., was crossing the ferry of Ross in order to be married. One of his horses kicked a plank out of the cot, when he and all along with him were drowned, which stopped the alliance" (Pedigree MS. by John Drienye, Dublin, 1714, in possession of the Very Rev. Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown). This MS. goes on to state:—

"Thomas Frayne, the second son, succeeded to the estate, and married Ellen, eldest daughter of Edmond Forristal, of Carricknacloonneen, in said County of Kilkenny, Esq., by his wife, Eliasee, daughter of Pierce Butler, of Dangan, in the said county, who was a near relation of the Duke of Ormonde, and for his strict honour and great integrity he was employed in office of High Sheriff of said county

for three years successively, being a man much esteemed by the populace who were then almost ungovernable. Said Thomas Frayne, Esq., had by his said wife, James Frayne, of Brownstown, in said county, his only son and heir, married to Ellice, daughter of Nicholas Aylward, of Aylwardstown, in said county, by his wife Elinor, sister to Thomas Kelly, Esq., of Gowran, who was Portrieve of said town. Said Nicholas Aylward, Esq., was son and heir of Pierce Aylward, of said Aylwardstown, by his wife, Ellen, daughter of John Fitzgerald, of Gurteen, in said county. Pierce Aylward, of Shankill, in said county, son and heir to said Nicholas Aylward, Esq., and brother to said Ellice Frayne, was married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Butler, Pollestown (Paulstown), in said county, and sister to Sir Walter Butler, of said place, *Baronet*. Said James Frayne, Esq., had by his said wife eight sons and one daughter, Elinor, married to Mr. Nicholas Den, of Garrendaraugh, in said county, *gentleman*, by whom she had one son and three daughters, Lawrence, Elizabeth, Nanny, and Ellice. Thomas Frayne, eldest son of James Frayne, was lieutenant in Queen Anne's service, in which he died. 2. Robert, of whom presently. 3. John, who was lieutenant on board the 'Antelope,' man-of-war, and of whom we have no account. 4. Edmond, who died young. 5. Pierce, a captain of a ship. 6. George, a merchant in Dublin, who has one daughter, Ellice, married to Mr. Charles Farrell, of the city of Dublin, *Merchant*. 7. Nicholas, who died young. 8. Charles, who was studying physio at Mr. Pelier's, and died there.

"Mr. Robert Frayne, of Brownstown, County Kilkenny, married to Molly, eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Kelly, of Blanchfield's Park, in said county, by whom he had six children:—1. Thomas. 2. Richard (father to Mrs. Dwyer). 3. Bridget (mother to Mrs. Bergin). 4. Joan. 5. Mary. 6. Anne, who died unmarried. Thomas, married in Dublin, left no children."

James Frayne, son of Thomas and nephew of the above James, who was drowned crossing the ferry of Ross, was married, as stated, to Ellice, daughter of Nicholas Aylward, Aylwardstown, and left at his death the eight sons and one daughter already named. He was known as James, of Brownstown, and his last will and testament, signed and sealed, is dated the 29th day of August, 1724. The following is a copy thereof:—

"In the name of God, amen, I, James Frayne, of Brownstown, in the County of Kilkenny, gentleman, being sick in body, but being of good and perfect memory, thanks to Almighty God, calling to remembrance the uncertainty of this life, do make, constitute, and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following, revoking and annulling by the following Testament all Testaments and Wills heretofore made and declared, and this to be taken for my last Will and Testament and none other; most humbly desiring forgiveness for my sins past, I give and commit my soul unto Almighty God, my Saviour and Redeemer, and my body to be buried in the parish church of Desertmoon, and for the settling of my temporal estate, and such goods and chattels, &c., as it hath pleased God to bestow on me, I do order,

give, and dispose the same in manner and form following (that is to say): first, I will that all those debts and dues I owe in right or conscience to any person or persons whatsoever shall be well and truly regulated and paid within convenient time after my decease by my executors hereafter named. I give, I leave, I bequeath to my beloved wife, Elise Frayne, my dwelling-house of Brownstown, and the out-offices and garden belonging thereto, during my full lease thereof, without paying any consideration for the same, together with all and singular the household goods and moveables belonging to the same house. I give, leave and bequeath unto my said wife the rent growing and issuing out of the farm at Kilbrahan, being at fifteen pounds sterling a year, to have and enjoy the issues and profits of said farm during the continuance of my full lease thereof. I give, leave, and bequeath unto my said wife two hundred ewes, with their lambs as they shall run, to be delivered unto her at any time, or future time, without paying any fine or consideration for grass during the months before the first of May next; likewise the entire wool of my flock of sheep being now lodged in my store-rooms, to dispose of the same to her proper account; tis further my will that my said wife shall and may have and enjoy all and singular her jewels, rings, and any ready money she has as to her own acquisition or private purse to her own private particular account without rendering any account to my executors or lawyer, or any son, or anyone whatever. I leave and bequeath to my son, Charles Frayne, the sum of eighty pounds sterling for his portion and maintenance, to be paid to the same Charles Frayne at or upon the first day of November next, pending the date of these presents. I leave, I order and appoint that twenty head of black cattle now grazing on Ratho and Gulkagh be, with all convenient speed after my decease, valued and appraised by two indifferent persons, and the value and amount of said cattle be satisfied and paid to my son, George Frayne, at or before the first of November, one thousand seven hundred and twenty five, to be in full lieu and satisfaction of a child's portion or any claim or demand he should or might have made to my goods or chattles. I order and appoint the sum of forty pounds sterling, for which I have given my cash-note to my son-in-law, Nicholas Den, being remaining part of his marriage portion, be better assured unto the said Nicholas Den by my son, Robert Frayne, by his assign unto the said Nicholas Den his bond or cash-note, payable as in said note specified, his taking or cancelling aforesaid note. I leave and bequeath to my son, David Frayne, the sum of five pounds sterling to be paid him at or upon the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and twenty five, and the like sum of five pounds sterling to my son, John Frayne, to be paid him at or upon the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and twenty five, in lieu and full satisfaction of any holding or demand the said David or John Frayne might or ought to make in any way to my personal estate, goods, and chattles. I leave and bequeath two in calf cows to be given to my wife on demand, and two barrels of wheat to be given to my wife during the continuance of my full lease of Brownstown. I order, constitute, and appoint my beloved son, Robert Frayne, and Nicholas Den, my son-law, executors of this my last Will

and Testament, and that all my goods, chattles, lands and tenements do revert and remain to my son, Robert Frayne, aforesaid, he paying and discharging my debts, and paying, the several persons and legacies in this mentioned. In witness whereof I have put my hand and seal this twenty-ninth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four.

"JAMES FRAYNE.

"Signed, sealed, and my last Will and Testament,

"FRANCIS GALBER.

"Mary Moore.

"Nicholas Walsh."

This will is a sad record of vanished greatness. It enumerates all that made the last humble remnant possessed by the representative of the knightly de la Frenes, the ancient feudal lords of Ballyreddy. Their adherence to the House of Stuart engaged them on the side of James the Second in 1689, and in consequence the Williamite Confiscations of 1691 deprived them of their patrimony. The loss of property and social *status* did not, however, extinguish in them all trace of feudal autocracy with its fiendish pomps and customary whims. An apt illustration of this may be gathered from a traditional note communicated by Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown. "The family of De Freigne were, as is well known, the old feudal proprietors of the great part of the Barony of Ida.

So late as the commencement of the eighteenth century they were accustomed to regulate the dress of the people at their own will and pleasure; De Freigne at the chapel of Tullagher cutting off the long hair of his men and regulating the fashion of their coats and breeches, whilst the ladies of the family carried out their sumptuary laws with regard to the women's caps and gowns, pulling the former of their heads if they appeared to be too modish. The De Freigne, who lived in Brownstown about 1700, lost his *feudal power* by allowing himself to be *bearded* by a subordinate. About that time a man called Ned-gerr or Short Ned came to reside on that townland, having married the daughter of an old resident. He did not know De Freigne or his ways, and when summoned by the horse-boy of the latter to ferry his master across the Nore, he steadily refused. On the next Sunday when coming from Mass, at Tullagher—De Freigne attempted to ride down Ned-gerr, but the latter resisted and knocked De Freigne down. Everybody thought the unlucky Ned would have been hanged, but instead of that De Freigne sent for him next day, and gave him his farm rent free; but after that all kicked against De Freigne and despised his power. Every one in Tullagher had the story, and it appears not to have taken place before 1700 or 1715. It is curious how long they continued to maintain the feudal right of life and death. I have heard of a *Caoine* that was made for the first De Freigne who went to Dublin (about 1745 or 1750). He was brought to be buried in Ballyneal, drawn by six horses.

His nurse met him in Ballyneal, and composed a beautiful Irish elegy,

elegant in rhyme and reason too. The translation of a part of it runs thus:—

"Thou art welcome home in thy coffin of shining plates.
What can I say regarding thee not calculated to awaken sorrow
in the hearts of thy young kinsfolk.
Are not the stately homes of thy family hurled to the earth?
And converted into a playground for the youth of the
neighbourhood."

The deceased young man was most likely Thomas de Frene, eldest son of Robert, and grandson of James, whose will is above given, and who died in 1724. Robert, the heir and Executor of the "Will" met with reverses and lost his farm. He became an itinerant pauper, and his son Thomas, who proceeded to Dublin, to seek his fortune, is said to have returned home with truly filial affection to aid his helpless father with the first guinea he had earned. He afterwards died issueless and in him terminated the direct representative of the Knightly de Frenes, who won by the valour of their bright swords a lordly rank which crested it proudly above the drifting waves of changing time, and for three and a half centuries floated its emblazoned pennon above the Castle-battlements of Ballyreddy.

The indigence which overtook the family previous to its utter extinction in the direct line is believed by the peasantry to the present day to have only been the fulfilment of a prophetic doom said to have been pronounced under the following circumstances:—One of the knights de Frene was disappointed by his tailor as to the making of his suit of clothes which were to have been ready on an appointed day. The "BÚDESHA FREINIGH" in his uncontrolled anger with the artist, whose name was Plunket, took him to a lonely spot in Listerling, near Ballyneal, and there buried him alive. The place is still believed to have received its denomination, "Glan na Plunkonet," from this cruel incident. The legend states that whilst de Frene was consummating his wicked deed a mysterious voice was heard to exclaim, "Guilfer,—Guilfer—Guilfer," that is, "you shall pay for it." The startled De Frene demanded "Why," and the voice replied, "Not you, but your seventh generation." "The d—l may care," said the bold knight, De Frene, with his usual *sang froid*, "if it is to go so far." Plunket's *cairn*, I believe, still remains in the middle of a field. At one time the farmer and owner thought to have it removed, but the workman abandoned the project in terror, having, it is said, exhumed the tailor's scissors along with his bones. I have traced thus far the origin and progress of the De Frenes of Ballyreddy from the early part of the fourteenth century to their extinction in the direct line about 1760 or '70. Amongst other sources the facts mentioned have been taken from some valuable MSS. forwarded to me by the Very Rev. Canon Moore, P.P., Johnstown, who, on several past occasions, lightened for me the labour of the "Inquisitions," by the aid of his intimate knowledge of History and Archæology.

I feel, too, that this sketch of the De la Frenes would be incomplete if I did not add thereto some further traditionary and legendary

notes extracted from an admirable essay on the De Frenes by the Rev. N. Murphy, P.P., Ballycallan, published in the Christmas number of the *Kilkenny Journal*, for 1878. It has been already mentioned that the De Frenes of Ballyreddy escaped the Cromwellian confiscations because of a proposed marriage between James de Frene and Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Arsdell, nephew of Oliver Cromwell. The alliance was stopped, as before noted, by the sad occurrence whereby James Frene and his entire party were drowned when crossing the ferry of Ross to celebrate the marriage ceremony. The tragic incident forms the plot of a skilful tale published in "Duffy's Catholic Magazine" for November, 1847. It is also ably told by Father Murphy in his essay just mentioned, the substance of which is briefly as follows:—Colonel Arsdell had by his wife, a Catholic lady, an only daughter, Elizabeth, who during the civil disturbances in England was sent over to Ireland under the guardianship of her maternal uncle. Both were frequent guests at Ballyreddy, a distant relationship existing between them and the De Frenes. During Cromwell's operations against Wexford (Oct. 1649), Colonel Arsdell paid a flying visit to his daughter whom he had not seen since the death of her mother. The interview was affecting. The colonel embraced her with parental kindness, and gazing on her comely features and graceful form, he exclaimed as he burst into tears, "Elizabeth, I behold in thee the image of thy lifeless mother." "My mother dead," asked Elizabeth in sudden astonishment! "Yes, Elizabeth," said the colonel, "she is dead—her spirit of hope is passed into a brighter and better world." With this the colonel rushed out of the room, and returned to his quarters. A few nights later as Elizabeth and her uncle were in close conversation on the disturbed state of the country, a courier arrived in haste with a letter to Colonel Arsdell's daughter, instructing her that her presence was speedily required, and that an escort had been provided for her safety. On her arrival in Cromwell's camp she received intelligence of the fate of her father. The batteries having played effectively on the walls of Ross, affording on the third day a breach, Colonel Arsdell, with a strong body of troops, led the assault. As the breach was gained after terrible slaughter, Arsdell pushed forward for the barricade, which was defended by the gallant young James Frene. Arsdell received a pike wound in the heat of the hand-to-hand conflict which ensued, from the effects of which he reeled and fell forward, whilst a wild yell of triumph went up from the Irish ranks. "De Frayne," says Father Murphy, "ran to the wounded Colonel, and just reached in time to prevent the deadly thrust of one of his followers aimed at the neck of Arsdell. "Stop, sirrah," said De Frayne, with a voice like thunder, just as he warded off the point of the spear with his sword, "withhold thy weapon; let no man dare to strike this wounded and fallen soldier, whose life may be dear to his general and whose liberty hereafter may guarantee the safety of this town and garrison." "Young man," said Arsdell, faintly yet scornfully, "I ask no quarter of thee as none I intend to give." "Whatever thy intentions might be," said De Frayne, "thou hast now to deal with a generous enemy." Lord Taaffe, who arrived

at the moment, ordered the wounded Colonel to be conveyed to a place of safety under the care of James Frene. When Elizabeth Arsdell arrived at the house of her sick father she was met by James Frene, the companion of her childhood, around the castle and lawn of Ballyreddy. Elizabeth ran to her father and tenderly embraced him, and having got an assurance that no serious danger was apprehended from his wounds, she became more recollected. She recognised James Frene, her former playmate—the saviour of her father's life, and who, up to this, was quite ignorant that the wounded soldier was her parent. The renewal of friendship and the gratitude evinced by Elizabeth for the safety of her father led at once to a marriage proposal. James Frene was drowned, as above related, when crossing the river on the morning of his intended marriage, and Elizabeth Arsdell, his bride, survived him only a few weeks. "The mournful recital," writes Father Murphy, "is oftentimes listened to by the weary traveller as he sits by the blazing hearth during the long and cheerless winter evenings; nor does the story-teller fail to accompany it with one or more of those rude productions made and sung by some wandering minstrel at the period of the sad event, and which with traditional fondness they love to remember and rehearse."

I.

A tale of sorrow fills my heart,
But sorrow now is vain,
It's woe that strings my harp for thee,
The last line of De Frayne.

II.

Thou hast instead of nuptial dress,
A dark and gloomy shroud,
And now there's nought of welcoming,
But grief and weeping loud.

III.

Thy aged sire is mourning,
With matron and with maid;
And loyal vassals shed their tears,
Where thy cold corpse is laid.

IV.

There's weeping for the aged sire,
From whom all joy is fled;
Ah! would that his old weary limbs,
Were laid beside the dead!

V.

Oh! woe's the aged harper!
What gladness doth remain,

For him whose hand shall never wake
The sounds of mirth again.

VI.

And thou, yon ruthless river!
Why did your rolling wave
Rush thus untimely o'er him,
The youthful and the brave?

VII.

All lonely is the Castle hall—
There's none to fill his place;
So joyous in the banqueting,
So gallant in the chase.

VIII.

Oh! mourn you all who hear the fate;
Of bridegroom and of bride!
And let your tears be mingled with
Yon fatal river's tide.

IX.

And now what seeks the minstrel
As solace for his grief?
To lie beneath the cold green sod,
And seek from death relief.

One more legend concerning the de Frenes will close my sketch of them. Unfortunately, it is of a very painful nature, and, if true, is a dread instance of how suddenly a cloud may darken betimes the happiest and brightest paths. The legend relates how a member of the de Frenes wedded an humble maiden, and for so doing was ostracised from the society of his immediate friends. One little boy, the fruit of their

marriage, a fair promising child, added to their domestic happiness. After some short time the mother of this boy became faithless, and together with her criminal paramour plotted the death of her husband and child. The death of the latter, the legend states, she effected in this way:—At a short distance from the castle was a “well,” beside which she and her guilty lover were standing. Tantalizing her child with an apple, she dropped it into the spring, in order that he might pursue it, and be drowned. It so happened, according to the expectation of that wicked mother, whose sin and shame are said to have ended in terrible retribution. The “well” is still pointed out by the peasantry, and the gifted Kilkenny poet, Paris Anderson, has given it an imperishable interest in a poem, entitled “The Well of Catherine Ryder,” which appeared some time ago in the *Kilkenny Journal*, and which would alone be enough to immortalize a less pretentious genius.

THE WELL OF KATHLEEN RYDER.

I.

Where the hills of Ballyreddy
Look along the winding Nore,
Lurks a well of crystal water
Springing 'neath a hawthorn hoar;
There the daisy soonest glistens—
There all early buds of spring,
Intermingled with the lichens,
Round its margin fondly cling.

II.

Purely gushes up the water—
Sparkling in the noonday light,
Brilliant in the morning sunshine,
Dreamy 'neath the moonbeams
bright—
Pure and clear, and unpolluted
As when new from earth it burst;
Yet the place is stained by murder—
Foul, unnatural, accursed!

III.

Where the hills of Ballyreddy
Rise above the bending Nore,
Stood a stately feudal mansion—
Famous in the days of yore.
Not one pile of broken ruin,
Not one tree of that domain,
Tells that there once stood the castle,
And the woods of De La Frene.

IV.

But alone the well that glistens
Under the outspreading thorn,
Holds those memories like the music,
Clinging round that place forlorn—
That old time-worn, half-lost legend,
Which has lingered like a spell
'Mid the hills of Ballyreddy,
Over Kathleen Ryder's well.

V.

Many summers rich in blossom,
Many autumn's gorgeous flight,
Many dark and howling winters,
Many spring-times young and bright,
Have passed o'er these winding
valleys
Like the music of their rills,
Since the maiden, Kathleen Ryder,
Dwelt 'neath Ballyreddy's hills.

VI.

Humble was the lowly shieling
Half way up a winding glen,
Which enclosed her peerless beauty
From the gaze of bold-eyed men.
Knight or noble ne'er beheld her
On the hill-side or the plain,
Till the fatal summer gloaming,
When she met the knight, De Frene.

VII.

He was homeward wending weary,
For the chase was hot and long,
And the bells from Ross Ponte Abbey
Chimed the hour for Vesper-song,
When he met the startled maiden
'Neath the rosy evening skies,
And was conscious of the beauty
Flashing from her lustrous eyes.

VIII.

It was by a mountain torrent,
In a lone and shaded vale—
On the slope above them rising
Stood the church of Ballyneale.
There lay his departed kindred—
De la Frengh's knightly race—
There he swore for age to love her,
Kneeling in that sacred place.

IX.

And right true that vow he guarded—
Faithful he redeemed the troth,
He had plighted to the maiden
With that deep and solemn oath.
At the shrine where knelt his fathers,
In the church of Ballyneale,
There he wedded Kathleen Ryder,
Wedded her for woe or weal.

X.

There he wedded Kathleen Ryder—
Not amongst the kinsman crowd,
For the noble race, De Frenigh,
Ever held them high and proud ;
So, to stain his ancient lineage
With that lowly maiden's name,
They pronounced a deep degrading,
Bringing with it lasting shame.

XI.

Thus estranged from his proud kins-
men,
Holding them at deadly strife,
Four short happy summers glided
O'er the knight's and lady's life ;
And to bind their union closer,
Heaven had sent one blossom fair—
One brave boy their love enriches,
Ballyreddy's hope and heir.

XII.

But with all their came a ruin
To the bliss so fondly sought,
Came a cloud above their heaven,
Thundercharged and dangerfraught ;
For the knight was sorely troubled
With a jealous fever fit,
Which along his once calm features
Like a prisoned fiend would flit.

XIII.

But the lady—was she faithless ?
Could she that deep love forget
Which had made those halls deserted
Where his proud guests once had
met ?
Was there then another wooer,
Happy in her guilty love ?
Ask the stars that shine above her—
Speak it thou chaste moon above !

XIV.

See, it is a spacious orchard—
Stretching from the castle foss ;
Old trees all with ripe fruit laden,
Lichen stained, and wreathed with
moss—
Ancient trees, all tipped with silver,
Sleeping in the dreamy light
Of the mild and tranquil moonbeams,
In the solemn trance of night.

XV.

There, along a silent pathway,
Where the boughs in mazy woof
Break the lustre of the moonlight,
Streaming through the leafy roof—
See a lady and her lover
Gliding down the grass-grown walk,
Holding secret ardent converse,
Whispered low as lovers talk.

XVI.

Who is he, that moonlight wooer ?
Who is she, that lady bright ?
Wherefore steal they forth together
In the silence of the night ?
'Tis not Ballyreddy's chieftain—
Ah ! of love and truth the stain—
She who walks beside the gallant
Is the false wife of De Frene.

XVII.

Shall we wonder at the anguish
Preying on the noble chief ?
Shall we marvel how so fiercely
Came the ruthless fever grief,
Bearing down the high and fearless,
With its shadow, drear and dark,
When his happiness is shipwrecked,
Trusting to so frail a barque ?

XVIII.

Ah ! what treachery we know not,
Or, what trait'rous poison slime,
Darkened o'er the Knight De Frenigh,
All is lost in ruthless time.
Silent is the old tradition,
Only this, its whispered breath,
That by sudden steel or poison
Was the good Knight done to
death.

XIX.

Three long years had come and faded
Since 'mid swelling keen and wail,
Clansmen laid the noble Frenigh,
In the church of Ballyneale—
There is yet his graven 'scutcheon,
Where "in chief," the blazoned
bees,
Mark from Charlemagne his lineage,
Through unsullied ancestries.

XX.

See again false Kathleen walking
With her treacherous paramour—
He had wooed her ere De Frenigh,
Met her on her native moor.
He—a churl in Ross-ponte nurtured,
Ledger man and trading clown—
Was preferred before De Frenigh,
Belted knight of high renown.

XXI.

For in sooth, when that true chieftain,
Pledged his troth in Ballyneale,
To the coy and shrinking maiden,
Listening to his ardent tale,
She, by wild ambition prompted,
For his rank forgot the sin—
And thenceforth with deep dissembling
Hid the serpent heart within.

XXII.

See again those lovers walking,
Not through forest pathways deep,
But where spreads an em'rald meadow,
Under Ballyreddy's keep—
Where, beneath the flashing sunset,
Through the grass a fountain smiles—
See, a darkhaired boy beside them,
Listens to their treacherous wiles.

XXIII.

Who is he, the dark-eyed prattler
With the broad unfearing brow,
And the trusting, lofty bearing,
Mark of noble birth I trow?
He is heir of Ballyreddy,
Tower and town, wood, and dale—
Orphan son of murdered Frenigh
Lying cold in Ballyneale.

XXIV.

Can that seeming gentle lady,
Speaking tenderly the while,
Harbour to a loving infant,
Foulest treachery and guile?
Can it be that in her bosom,
As upon the babe she smiled,
There uprose a hell-born prompting
To the murder of her child?

XXV.

Yes! for now the cruel mother
Calls the little prattler near—
Lures him to the grassy margin
Of the fountain deep and clear.
High she holds a ruddy apple,
Ah! the treason works its spell;
When his young eyes sparkle on it
Kathleen drops it in the well.

XXVI.

Then an arrow's flight she saunters
With her lover through the wood,
While the apple turns and dances
In the sparkling mimic flood,
And the child, his hands outstretch-
ing,
Panting breast and eager breath,
Watches there the apple moving—
Wheeling in its dance of death.

XXVII.

He has now one short step taken,
Then one eager forward bound—
One wild clutch to reach the apple—
And the waters close him round,
Short the feeble infant's struggle,
One wild cry and all is still;
O'er the heart of Kathleen Ryder
Comes a sudden shudd'ring chill.

XXVIII.

Searched the servants through the
Castle,
Through the woods, and through the
plain—
They could bring to Kathleen weep-
ing,
Tidings none of young De Frene.
Kathleen weeping! Ah! that false
one,
Hardened as the nether stone,
Joyful thinks on tower and woodland
By this foul deed made her own.

XXIX.

Yes, the children of that union,
Which her heart to crime had
steeled,
Now possess broad Ballyreddy—
Wood and mountain, flood and
field;
And for this her first-born infant
Foully, treacherously slain,
Sleeps where gleams the sparkling
fountain,
'Neath the keep of De La Frene.

XXX.

At the close of the next evening,
Mournfully the vassals tell
How they found the young De
Frenigh
Drown'd within the Castle well.
Sadly streak his tender body!
Sound again the mourning wail;
Let him sleep beside his father
In the church of Ballyneale.

XXXI.

But the shudder that past o'er me,
And the echo of that scream,
Never left the heart of Kathleen,
Ringing loud in a many a dream.
Short the time those guilty lovers
Held the land, by force and
fraud—
Then came sweeping retribution,
Ample as their guilt was broad.

XXXII.

Once more silent is the legend
 Who the signal vengeance sought
 'Gainst the churl and his leman,
 For the double murder wrought.
 Yet we hear that all unpitied,
 Kathleen perished in her shame,
 Leaving for her crime's memorial
 To the fatal well her name,

XXXIII.

Where the hills of Ballyreddy
 Look along the winding Nore,
 Oft I lingered near that fountain,
 Musing neath its hawthorn hoar.
 There they told me this old legend,
 Which enchained me as a spell,
 'Neath the shadow of the hawthorn,
 Over Kathleen Ryder's well,

INQUISITION XXIX.

ib' Gowran, 16th January, 1619.

“**R**ICHARD ARCHDEACON¹ al' McOdo, Bawnemore, in the county of Kilkenny, lately deceased, was seised as of the fee of and in the manor of Bawnemore, and of the several town and lands appertaining to the same manor, viz., Montoge, Coulgadd, Ganymag, Bearnanecraell, Rathusrie, Balleboy, Frehnasurhan, Bohertailora, Brekanagh, Bawenballenloghea, Kilguglane, Garirubine, Ballinveh, Ballehankard, and of his part and portion of Eirke and Rathpatrick,² which are demesne lands of the same manor, and contain $7\frac{1}{2}$ carucates of land; the manor town and lands of Kilmurry, and of the hamlet and lands of the manor of same, viz., Mongmaccodo, the moieties of the town and lands of Kilbegg and Kiltemer, and a water mill within the 'burgagery' of Thomastown, 1 parcel of land called 'The Inshe' *alais* 'Iland,' adjoining the said mill; 3 weirs within the 'burgagery' aforesaid; the moieties of fishes taken in the river aforesaid longside the lands of the aforesaid Richard; 8 messuages and 17 gardens within the town and 'burgagery' aforesaid; 1 carucate of land within the 'burgagery' aforesaid, and 1 other carucate of land, mountain, boscase and pasture near Thomastowne, and within the 'burgagery' of same, called Carriggmorna, in which two carucates of land the burgesses have commonage of pasture and boscase, except of meadow; a chief rent issueing annually out of certain messuages and tenements in Thomastown; 2s. rent out of Newhouse; 8d. issueing out of Ballynoe; 8d. issueing out of Knockesilty; and 6d. issueing out of Brownesbarne, in the county aforesaid. The aforesaid Richard so seised, by his deed dated 20th May, 9th year of the king's reign, surrendered to his Majesty, the king being, his heirs and successors, all the premises, by virtue of which aforesaid king was seised of the premises as of fee; and so seised by *letters patent*, dated at Dublin, 20th May, 9th year of his reign, &c., he granted the premises to the said Richard Archdeacon, his heirs and assignes, for ever, to be held in free and common soccage. The aforesaid Richard being so seised made a *feoffment* of the premises to John Fitzpatrick, James Eustace, and Richard Laffan,³ the tenor of which feoffment followeth in the original.

The aforesaid Richard al' McOdo by his deed, bearing date 20th February, 1614 [], Monemucke, to Richard Comerford and Johanna, his wife, and their heirs, for £100 sterling, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid Richard Archdeacon died 3rd October, 1617. [] Archdeacon and Margaret Archdeacon are daughters and heiresses of the said Richard. The aforesaid Katherine was aged 17 years at the time of her father's death and unmarried; the aforesaid Ellenor was aged 16 years; and the aforesaid Margaret was 14½ years of age, and they were unmarried. Johanna Fitzpatrick was the wife of the said Richard, and is still living in good health. Peter Archdeacon al' McOdo, of Bawnmore, is next heir of the said Richard Archdeacon, viz, son and heir of Thomas, son and heir of Redmond Archdeacon, brother of the said Richard Archdeacon. The aforesaid Richard by [] White and James Broder of 1 house, 2 gardens, and 1½ acres land, arable, in Thomastown, to the use of Robert Shee, late of Thomastown, shoemaker, for the term of 81 years, beginning from the feast of Easter, 1591. The aforesaid Richard McOdo and his wife demised to one Edmund Sherlocke a parcel of land in Thomastown for the term of 61 years beginning on the feast aforesaid, 1614, as appeareth by Indenture⁴ perfected thereof, bearing date 27th April, 1614 [], and to Edmond Sherlock a parcel of land, meadow or moor, which lies within the 'burgagery' of Thomastown, for the term of 51 years beginning from the feast aforesaid, 27th March, 1613. The aforesaid Richard McOdo, by his Indenture bearing date the 26th March, in the year aforesaid, demised to Jasper Walsh, one park, called the 'Narrow Parke,' within the 'burgagery' aforesaid, for the term of 61 years, beginning from the feast aforesaid, which Indenture bears date 26th March of the year aforesaid. Edmund Archdeacon (father of the aforesaid Richard) of Bawnmore, lately deceased, by his Indenture demised to one Lawrence Walsh, of Thomastown, 1 parcel of land within the 'burgagery' aforesaid, for the term [], beginning from the feast of Easter, 1569, and the aforesaid Indenture is dated the 8th day of April, 1569."

(1)—RICHARD ARCHDEACON *alias* McODO.

For an account of the Archdeacon family or the MacCodys, see Inquisition 8, jac. 1, p. 124. In 1542, Richard Archdeacon, nephew of Richard Archdeacon, deceased, was plaintiff in a suit in chancery with Edmond Archdeacon *alias* MacOdo, defendant, respecting the title of Bawnmore (parish of Johnstown), county Kilkenny, and of certain lands in Thomastown, and of other lands in the said county. Edmond, brother of Richard, deceased, alleged the illegitimacy of his nephew, but it being proved that he was born in lawful matrimony, the court decreed for him. It appears from the *above Inquisition* that the Richard Archdeacon mentioned therein was son of Edmond Archdeacon, of Bawnmore, and that this same Edmond demised a parcel of land within the burgh of Thomastown, to one Lawrence Walsh, on the 8th of April, 1569, as shown by his indenture. Edmond must have

accordingly succeeded to the estates of his nephew Richard, after the latter had gained the suit in 1542, and on the death of the latter without male issue, previous to the perfecting of the said indenture of the former in 1569.

The Inquisition above supplies the date of the said Richard's death, viz., 3rd October, 1617. It is evident that he got the tomb in Thomasstown Church (*see* p. 124) erected after the death of his wife in 1609, and that the vacant space for the future date of his own death was left to be filled in after the event, but his representatives neglected to do so. He must also have married again after his wife's death, as the Inquisition alleges that Johanna Fitzpatrick was his wife at the time of his demise. He left no male issue, and his grand nephew, Peter, or Pierce, succeeded to the property.

There is a tradition that this Pierce rendered some services to Cromwell, and in lieu thereof got as much land as he could see from a selected place or position. Pierce is said to have taken his view from a hill on his own lands identical with the site of the present Protestant church of Eirke. Such a position would undoubtedly have given him as much land as his eyes need wish to behold, and if he were not so graspingly astute as to select it, the tradition at least hints that he was in character pre-eminently covetous. Dr. O'Donovan says:—"The district which he surveyed was popularly called *Radharc Mha Coda*, i.e., MacOddy's *See or View*." They support this by a quotation from an old elgiac poem of the early part of the last century, written on the death of a Mr. Bryan, of Bawnmore, into whose family MacOddy's possessions had come. It enumerates his possessions *inter alia* :—

"Baile Prais na mbrataibh Sioda
is Radharc Mhcoda agobhail na
gaithe," i.e.,

"Ballybrass of the silken streamers
is Radharc MacOddy, the windy eminence."

Ballybrass borders on Eirke, but it is in the Queen's County (*Ord. Sur. Letters Co. Kilkenny Roy. Irish Academy*, 14 D. 21 and 14 E. 1, vol. 1, p. 113).

"This Pierce," adds O'Donovan, "was usually called *Piaras a Pianadh San' greanaigh*. He forfeited in 1691." O'Donovan supposes him to have been in possession of the ancient inheritance of Bawnmore till the forfeitures of 1691. This appears to be erroneous. From an inquisition dated St. Dominick's Abbey, Kilkenny, 16th January, 1662, it appears that "Peter *alias* Pierce McCody *alias* Peter Archdeacon, of Rathpatrick, in the County Kilkenny, was seised on the 23rd October, 1641, of the town and lands of Munmacody *alias* Mung [] in the county aforesaid.

Here we have the Pierce MacOddy in question called Pierce of Rathpatrick—Rathpatrick having been one of the demesnes of the ancient family manor of Bawnmore. If he had been in possession of Bawnmore on the 23rd October, 1641, the Inquisition would have certainly styled him Pierce MacOddy, of Bawnmore, the principal seat. Previous to this date, therefore, Bawnmore must have been ceded

to John Bryan, whose daughter, Elizabeth, married first, to Oliver Grace of Shanganagh, and, secondly, to Edward Butler,*6th Viscount Mountgarret, is called by the author of the "Grace Family," *the daughter of John Bryan of Bawnmore*, by his second wife, Ursula Walsh, daughter of Walter Walsh of Castle-Hoel,

John Bryan had by his first wife, Anna, daughter of Sir Thomas Loftus, of Timoghoe, a daughter Ellen, who was married to Pierce, eldest son of James Butler, of Fenor Castle, Co. Tipperary, adjoining Urlingford in this county. Lodge calls her the daughter of John Bryan, *of Bawnmore*, and her marriage took place about 1659 or '60. As the younger daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1674, John Bryan, her father, must have been *at least* settled at Bawnmore, in that year, whereas I have already also given suatory reason for thinking he was there about 1640 or '41. How did he get there? I can't say. There were differences existing between the MacCodys and Bryans of White's Wall. MacCodys, of Bawnmore, were repeatedly claiming a right to certain lands in White's Wall, held by the Bryans, and I believe there were intermarriages between the two families. Pierce MacCody, of Bawnmore, may have given over his chief family manor to John Bryan, for a certain sum of money, and in settlement of old feuds, and removed to his demesne lands, at Rathpatrick. I find, moreover, that the Cromwellian forfeitures, consequent on the civil war of 1641-2, include the names of Peter Archdeacon (McCody) Rathpatrick, and John Bryan, Esq., Bawnmore. This ought to be sufficient for my contention, to wit, that the Bryans were settled at Bawnmore about 1640, beyond all doubt before 1675, and that accordingly O'Donovan is incorrect in saying that the Archdeacons or McCodys were in possession of Bawnmore till removed by the Williamite confiscations of 1691. Peter Archdeacon, may not have suffered the loss of Rathpatrick, and the tradition that O'Donovan mentions of his having performed some service for Cromwell, was probably what saved him.

A Mr. Archdeacon appears in the "Inrolments of the Innocents" who may be the same person as Peter, who secured such a happy entry of his name either by the performance of the said service for Cromwell or by showing that he had no part whatever in the war of 1641. His eldest son, Patrick, after the Jacobite wars of 1689-90, removed to Tigh-n-huaighe, near Kilmacow, and was nicknamed the "Robust of Tinahua." He left a son, John Archdeacon, of Glenmore. Mary, daughter of John, was married in 1750, to Edmond O'Donabhain (O'Donovan), the grandfather of Dr. J. O'Donovan, who bequeathed to Kilkenny the honour of his birth, and the lustre of his scholarly attainments.

(2)—EIRKE AND RATHPATRICK.

The old church of Eirke or Erke was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, and was totally displaced to make room for the present Protestant church. The "Patron" day held on 29th September, at an old most convenient, till about 50 years ago puts it beyond doubt that the Church of Eirke was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, and not to

an Irish bishop named Earc, whose feast occurs on the 17th September, nor to a priest Earc, commemorated in the Irish calendar of Saints, of the 15th July. O'Donovan in 1839 not being able to find a trace of the old Church nor a tradition of it was perplexed about its *quondam* existence, as the old burial plainly indicated that it should have been erected there at some remote period. That it was there, there can be no doubt, for John Bryan, of Bawnmore above mentioned, directs in his WILL dated 1st December, 1673, "that his body be buried in the chapel or chancel of the Parish Church of Eirke which was built by his ancestors." But what is the meaning of the word *Eirke* as we cannot connect it with the Irish bishop or the Irish priest Earc just mentioned? O'Donovan supposes that *Erke* means "see" or "view" from the tradition that Pierce MacCody took his stand there in order to secure the largest possible tract of land from Cromwell, who, in lieu of rendered services, had promised him all his eyes could behold from a selected position. "They say," remarks O'Donovan, "that the district which he then saw got the popular name of *Rhadarc Mha-Coda*," i.e., MacCody's "see" or "view." As O'Donovan quotes the tradition without venturing to correct it, we may take it that he partly accepted it as true. He, at all events, gives no further opinion on the meaning of "*Erke*." I do not think that *Erke* is another or corrupted form of *Radharc*, but, on the contrary, that *Radharc* is itself a corruption of *Rath-Erc*. If the place was known as *Erke* or *Eirke* before the arrival of Cromwell in 1649, it is clear it could not be a corruption of *Radharc*, which is derived from the circumstance of Cromwell's proffer to Pierce MacCody. By an Inquisition dated Rathkavane, 28th March 1609, Richard Archdeacon al McOdo, of Bawnmore, was found seised of one-fourth carucate of land in Ballyhainekard and *Eyricke* (*Eirick* or *Eirk*) in the barony of Galmoy. The Inquisition to which the present notes are being appended is dated Gowran, 16th January, 1619, and it is mentioned therein that Richard Archdeacon al McOdo, of Bawnmore, was seised *inter alia*, of his part and portion of *Eirke* and Rathpatrick, *Erke* was, therefore, the popular name of the townland before Ireland saw and felt Cromwell. We must accordingly look for some signification of *Erke* besides "see" or "view," or, if it does mean either, it cannot have borrowed such meaning from any transaction between Cromwell and Pierce MacCody. I do think that the tradition of such transaction had its origin in mere suspicion grounded on the fact that Pierce MacCody had in some way preserved his estate from confiscation, which was very unusual during the usurpation or protectorate of Cromwell. What I consider on the point can only be taken as guess-work, but it is this:—*Erc* in Irish means *Heaven*, and it would accordingly be very naturally applied to any unusual elevation like *Erke* which rises unexpectedly from the heart of the broad plain which surrounds it. Moreover, in the preserved translation of the tradition regarding it which O'Donovan found existing and which has been given in my last, it is called:—"Radharc MacCody the windy eminence." Here we have a two-folded signification—*Radharc*, a "see" or "view" and designated also an *eminence*, which latter is akin to the former, and would accord with the meaning of *Erk* in the way I have

explained *Radharc* itself being either the *more ancient Irish name* of Erke or more probably a corruption of Rath-Erk—raths or earthen duns being very plentiful in the locality. Joyce, in his “Irish Local Names” and “Irish Names of Places” makes no mention of Erke, and consequently he makes no effort to explain its meaning. There is a well at Bayswell, in Mr. Delany’s garden in good preservation, surrounded with yew-trees and having a carving of the Crucifixion in the arch over it. In olden times it was held in sanctified reverence, and the pilgrimages which took place commenced first towards Rath. Bayswell is in the parish of Erke, now Galmoy. There is in it a *Rath-chuil-gad*, i.e., the rath of the corner of the gads, and on the south side of this rath are traceable the foundations of a stone building. Near the old church of the Rath, called *Teampoll na Ratha* is *Rathih na Ui Bodach*, i.e., the Raheen of the churls, and also a *Rath Oisín* consisting of 3 concentric mounds and supposed by the people to have been the palace of that celebrated chief. About a furlong south of this is another Rath-Oisín, and here they point out a circular cavity which marks the resting place of the same hero bard. There is nothing worthy of notice in Rathpatrick, except the ruins of *Caislen Phiaras Mhic Coda*, i.e., Pierce McCody’s castle, and a number of beautiful raths.

(3)—THE LAFFAN FAMILY.

The family of Laffan seems to be aboriginal. O’Hart in his “Irish Pedigrees,” Ed. 3, p. 159, traces its descent from *Laphan* of the line of Osgar, ancestor of the Quirks and O’Leydons, through his two sons, *Cuerc* and *Froach*. He says *Laphan* comes from *lapa*, Irish, *the lap*, but I have been unable to find any such word for “lap,” and “O’Reilly’s Irish Dictionary,” edited by Dr. O’Donovan, gives the nearest word to it—*lapadh*, a “paw,” or “fist.” The different branches retained some “Lap” and others the name “Laffan.” John Lapp appears amongst the deponents sworn at Waterford on the 1st August, 1661, regarding the plunder of its splendid cathedral, after the surrender of the city in 1650 to Ireton. His deposition was as follows:—“That about nine years since he having a ship freighted, as well as deponent remembereth, to Marseilles, there was a public canting of [] brass, to which deponent repaired, where were put to sale these p’celles following:—Two eagles of massy brass, a ffont of copper or brass, one branched candlestick of brass, which, as deponent remembereth, at nine pence farthing per pound, came into the summe of between fifty and sixty pounds sterling, which was bought by the order of deponent, for that he was unwilling they should be broke in pieces and sold by the then p’tended commissioners, whose names deponent, as he remembereth to be, were Coll. Richard Lawrence, Edward Roberts, late auditors, Captain Samuall Wade, Mr. Robert Ffaucett, and Captain William Holsey, and further deposed not.

“JOHN LAPP.”

After the Restoration the Dean and Chapter of Waterford petitioned the Irish House of Lords to compel the Comwellians to return their sacrilegious plunder, the once gorgeous furniture and costly ornaments

of their grand cathedral, comprising a "a great eagle of massy brass," two "great candlesticks, of a man's height, of massy brass," "branched ones of the same metal," "front with its cover of massy brass," a "brazen grate," all amounting to the ponderous weight of 60 tons, together with the "greate paire of organs." It was fortunate, however, that the costly vestments, supposed to have been presented to the Cathedral by Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) escaped in the above plunder. For over a century these lay concealed in a crypt of Christ Church, baffling all search after them, and were restored to the Roman Catholic clergy, and may be seen with much interest in the sacristy of the present Roman Catholic Cathedral of Waterford. It is humiliating that it was a Kilkenny man and his wife who betrayed to the Cromwellians the secret vault in which the above plundered articles were hidden. He was a wheel-wright from Carrickanarracke, Co. Kilkenny, named Nicholas Phary. Carrickanarracke is, almost beyond doubt, the place now known as Carrickanurrow, in the parish of Slieverna. It comes from *carraic*, a rock, and *urrair*, submission, perhaps from the fact that some local chief received thereat the submission of his subordinates in ancient times.

The Rev. Father Walsh, C.C., Ballyfoyle, informs me that the rock is very peculiar and set with over-hanging boulders, on the road between Ross and Waterford, and about four miles from the latter. He has also told me that there is an old mill at Ballyroua, just convenient on the opposite side, and likely here it was that Phary pursued his avocation of wheelright, and sacrilegiously plotted the betrayal of the cathedral property above noticed.

Towards the close of the reign of James I. "Lapp" was a common name in Wiltshire, England. The following, 1376-7, is the first mention I have met of the name in connection with Royal favours:—"The king, for 10s., grants to Thomas Lavan (Laffan), of Ross, that he and his heirs should be free and free from all Irish servitude, that they use English laws, and may acquire lands, goods, and cattle.—25th June, 49 Edward III.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Nicholas Laffan was seised of lands in Slade, near the Tower of Hook, Barony of Shelbourne, Co. Wexford, for which he paid the annual rent of 6s. 8d. to the manor of Kilclogan, owned by Sir Dudley Loftus. Nicholas died 10th June, 1569, and left a son and heir, Henry, who was aged 40 years at his father's death. Henry left a son and heir, Nicholas, who was seised of the town and lands of Slade, containing 180 acres, and of 10 acres in Potersgate, and 13 acres in Galgystown, all near the Hook, Barony of Shelbourne, and parcels of the manor of Kilclogan. He died the 6th May, 1630, and was succeeded by his grandson, Henry, son and heir of Thomas, who seems to have predeceased his father, the said Nicholas. The wardship of Henry, who was only thirteen years of age at the time of his grandfather's death, in 1630, was entrusted to Sir Adam Colcloghe, of Tintern. "Grant to Sir Adam Colcloghe, of the wardship of Henry Laffan, grandchild and heir of Nicholas Laffan, late of Slade, County Wexford, July 11th, 7 car. 1, (1632)."

Henry married before he attained his majority—*Regis lic.* of course, but only survived three years, having died on the 17th April, 1638. He left a son and heir, Thomas, aged two years and twenty days at the time of his father's death. His relict, Ellen, was endowed of the premises all held from the representative of Sir Dudley Loftus, i.e., Nicholas Loftus, as of his manor of Kilclogan, by "Castell'gard,"* and the annal rent of 8s. 6d. The youth of her child saved Ellen from all suspicion of complicity in the civil war of 1641, and thus both escaped the confiscation of their property. Michael and John Laffan, their relatives in the same Barony of Shelburne, forfeited. The name seems to have had no significance in the province of Leinster, outside the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny. It held respectable position in parts of the County Tipperary, and gave an Archbishop to Oashel, the Most Rev. Dr. Robert Laffan, from 1823 to 1833, the year of his death.

The Kilkenny Laffans were settled at New Church, Parish of Kilmóganny, and Barony of Kells. Edward Laffan, of New Church, County Kilkenny, received the King's pardon in the reign of Edward VI. (1556-7) (Pat. Roll., May 2, 9 Edward VI.).

From this period to 1631 the name survived in the district of Dunnamaggin, but further traces of it in the locality escapes notice. The name does not appear in the list of "forfeiting proprietors" under the Cromwellian Settlement in connection with Kells Barony, nor, indeed, with any other barony of the County Kilkenny. James Laffan, at the close of the last century, compiled a valuable collection of local history known as Laffan MSS., which, according to Hogan's "Kilkenny," p. 270, n. 2, were suppressed by Ledwich, who merely acknowledged their receipt to the writer. Probably the public purusal of them would correct some of the errors and bias which the author of the "Antiquities of Irishtown" meant to exhibit.

(4)—INDENTURE.


As *Deed*, *Charter*, *Indenture*, *Original* frequently occur in the text of the Inquisitions, a few remarks are necessary to show their distinctive meanings. A *deed* was a writing on parchment or paper, signed, sealed, and delivered by the parties. It was called a *charter*, from *charta*, paper or material on which it was written, but usually retained the name *deed*. When applied to the transactions of *private* individuals it was considered to be the most solemn act that a person could perform with regard to the disposal of his property, and a man was said to be *estopped* by his own deed, that is prevented from averring or proving anything contrary to such a solemn instrument. When a *deed* was made between more parties than one there were regularly as many copies of it as parties concerned, and each copy was cut or *indented* on

* *Castell'gard* was a species of Knight service which bound the tenant to perform military service within the kingdom *without* limitation of time; whilst ordinarily a tenant who held by *Knight service simply*, was only bound to serve or attend his lord in the wars for 40 days in the same year.

the top or side to tally with the other, and a deed so executed was called an *indenture*. This name is still retained, but the practice of corresponding copies has become obsolete. The copy of the indenture executed by the *grantor* was called the *Original*, and those by the *grantees*, or persons to whom the conveyance of property was made, were called the *counter-parts*. A deed by one party only was not *indented*, and was therefore called a *single* or *poll* deed. *Personal* property could pass by delivery from hand to hand, but *real* property, such as land, houses, could not pass save by *deed*, *descent* or *devise*.

(INQUISITION XXX.)

The Sessions' House, 24th May, 1621.

AMES FORSTAL¹ late of Kilferagh, in the County of Kilkenny, was seised of the fee, of and in the manor, town and lands of Kilferagh, and of one watermill and two weirs on the river Newre, parcels of the said manor (the lands of the aforesaid manor, containing 12 acres, great country measure). Ten shillings annually issuing out of the town and lands of 'Washe Haies.' The aforesaid James held the said manor with all appurtenances from the King *in capite* by knight's service. A certain parcel of land called Bodallbeg, situate in Kilferagh aforesaid, burdened with the rental of 4s. 6d. to be discharged annually by the heirs of Upper-Claragh. The aforesaid James was seised of the town and lands of Ballyfranke, containing 10 acres of the measure aforesaid, and 1 water mill belonging to the said vill, which are held from the King *in capite* by knight's service; of Castlegarden, *alias* Newgrange, and Carraman, 10 acres of land of the measure aforesaid, which are held from Johu Cantwell, as of his manor of Kilfane; Killmanahine, *alias* Balliregan, 3 acres of land of the measure aforesaid; Killcourse, Cowleshill, *alias* Rathin Rostch, 3 acres of the measure aforesaid, which are held from Thomas Shortall, as of his manor of Dungarvan, in the county aforesaid, by *fealty* only; 3 acres, arable small measure, and 5 acres pasture, of the said measure, in Corstown, commonly called Gurtinemucke, which are held as of the manor of Tullaghroan, in the county aforesaid, by *fealty* only; and 10s. annually issuing out of Corstowne aforesaid. The said James being so seised of the premises, together with Robert Forstal, his son, and Lawrence Kinahan, enfeoffed David Baron, of Clone, in the county aforesaid (*and alias*), of all the manors, towns, and lands aforementioned, as by feoffment aforesaid appeareth, dated 14th July, 1611, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid James Forstall closed his last day on the 4th July, 1619. Robert Forstall is his son and heir, and was then 30 years of age and married.'

(1)—THE FORSTALL FAMILY.

The family of Forstall, or Fforstall, dates its settlement in this country from the first years of the English invasion. When Strongbow was defeated near Thurles, in 1174, by Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, and his brave Dalcassians, he escaped to Waterford. Raymond le Gros, the favourite of the English army, had a little before crossed over to his native Welsh borders from differences created by the jealousy of Henry Mount-Maurice, Strongbow's uncle. In his affliction Strongbow signified to le Gros that he should have the fulfilment of his demands in case he returned with an adequate force to relieve him in his distress, and retrieve his late disaster. Le Gros promptly acceded to the request, and having landed at Waterford, he thence accompanied Strongbow to Wexford to celebrate his nuptials with Basilia de Clare, whose hand in marriage Strongbow had a little before raughtily refused him. It was on the occasion of their departure from Waterford that the English annalists first make mention of the name of Forstall as *pro. tem.* Governor of the City.

"Foresell that was keeper of Waterford, went after the Earl by the Water of Sorry (Suir) in boats with his men, and as they were in the water the guides that should him lead slew him and all his men, and turned again to the city and smit upon the English and slew all that they might find in house and in way, both men and women, young and old, without any sparing."—(Carew MSS. Book of Howth, p. 69).

This wholesale massacre of the Anglo-Normans at Waterford was executed chiefly by the Ostmen or Danes, who were very numerous in the city, and Raymond le Gros, who must have noticed some wavering in Strongbow's conduct on the route to Wexford, on hearing what had occurred, and the straits of the remnant of the English garrison shut up in Reginald's Tower jauntily remarked, "Let the Earl remember his promise."

Whether from Foresell, who was thus drowned, or from some other of his name, who arrived with the first invaders, the planting of the family in this country may be reckoned, I am not able to say, but as the annalists make no mention of a second of the name so early, we may conclude this first left a son or sons from whom the various branches in Kilkenny, and also in parts of Wexford spread. The Forestalls of Kilferagh made their home there at an early date. In 1383, Thomas Fforstall was one of the burgesses of Kilkenny, and in 1386, the See of Ossory being vacant by the translation of Bishop Alexander Petit to Meath, King Richard II. gave orders to the Dean and Chapter to install a Thomas Forstall, *Precentor* of the Cathedral Church. Richard Fforstall is also on the roll of burgesses of Kilkenny for the year 1383, and the same name appears in the Pat. Rolls. of King Edward III. (32-m 64) as collector of a subsidy in the cantred of Sileyrthir (Shillelogher) to aid the King in carrying on his wars against the Irish chiefs and septs of Leinster.

In 1402, Henry IV. allowed exemplification of an original grant, whereby Geffry Forstall, in the 44th year of King Edward III. (1371), demised to Gregory Archer, lands held from the said Geffry, within the borough of Kilkenny. Henry Forstall, who requested the King to have said grant exemplified, was Portreve of Kilkenny in 1407, and according to the Rev. J. Graves "Fforstall's land and Fforstall's bridge" are old land marks in the Corporation rentals, proving thus the existence of the family from a very early date as occupying respectable positions within the city. The branch thus trading in Kilkenny was, in all probability, an offshoot of the Kilferagh family, the representative of which held also the castle and lands of Ballyfrunk, in the Barony of Oranagh, till the period of the Cromwellian confiscations, when he lost all from his being on the Catholic side in the Confederate wars of 1641.

In the time of Henry VIII. Robert Fforstall held the castle and manors of Kilferagh and Ballyfrunk, and dying in 1540 was succeeded by his son and heir, Patrick Fforstal, who died 1568. The inscription on their tomb in Sheestown reads as follows:—

"Hic jacet Robert Fforstal quond, Dns. de Kilferaghe Principatus . . . MCCCCXL die vero. xvi mensis Martii Dns. de Balifrok, et Patritius Fforstal quoda, Dns. de Kilferaghe obiit xxv die mensis Junii A.D. MCCCCXLVIII quoru animabus propitiatur Deus."

Translation.—"Here lie Robert Fforstal, late lord of Kilferaghe, chief . . . 1540, 16th day of the month of March, lord of Ballyfrunk, and Patrick Fforstal, late lord of Kilferaghe, who died the 25th day of the month of June, A.D. 1568. On whose souls may God be merciful."

Patrick was succeeded by his son, Robert, whose tomb is also extant in Sheestown, adjoining Kilferagh. The inscription thereon reads thus:—

"Hic jacet Robertus Fforstal *generosus* qui obiit 14 die mensis Septembris, A.D. 1585, et ejus uxor Catherina . . . A.D. 1585 necnon Dns. Jacobus Fforstal . . . et uxor ejus Elisia Shortell quæ obiit vigesimo . . . 1597 necnon Aelana Comerford uxor predicti Jacobi q̄ duo posteriores hanc tumbani fieri suis impensis fecerunt."

Translation.—"Here lie Robert Fforstal, *gentleman*, who died the 14th day of the month of September, A.D. 1585, and his wife, Catherine . . . A.D. 1585. Also Lord James Fforstal . . . and his wife, Elice Shortell, who died the 20th . . . 1597. Also Ellen Comerford, wife of the aforesaid James, these two latter having erected the monument at their own expense."

This James who, with his second wife, Ellen Comerford, erected the monument died in 1619, leaving a son and heir, Robert Forstal, who was 30 years of age at the time of his father's death and married. He engaged in the war of 1641, and thereby lost his entire property. He forfeited 544 acres of the lands of Ballyfrunk, in the barony of Oranagh, 155 acres whereof were given to Sir Arthur Gore, besides his extensive estates belonging to his manor of Kilferagh. I also find mention made of Patrick Forstal, of Kilferagh, as having forfeited, but his name does not turn up in the Inquisitions. One Thomas Forstall, also an Irish papist of Ballykieran, barony of Galmoy, forfeited for his part in the war of 1641. I have not been able to discover who he was, but it is

most likely he was a near relative of Robert of Kilferagh. Rathkieran is, I believe, better known at present by the name of Frankfort, in the parish of Baleen, Lisdowney. Thomas Forstall lost of Frankfort lands 429 acres odd, 314½ acres of which passed to one Edward Glegg. Whatever may have been the faults of Cromwell, and a few could enumerate them, he was not wanting in fidelity to his soldiers and drummers. From the inscription on the first monument it would appear that the Kilferagh Forstal was head of the house or family, as Robert Fforstal mentioned therein is called lord of Kilferagh and *Chief* * * the missing words evidently being "*nominis sui*," i.e., "*chief of his clan*." There was, however, a second very powerful branch of the name seated at Forstallstown and Carrickcloney, in the barony of Ida. Gibbon Forstall, of Forstallstown, who deceased about the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign left a son and heir, Walter Forstall, who, with Walter Forstall, of Kilredy, and Richard Forstall, of Carrignegany, all in the present barony of Ida, were appointed constables for Igroin, Ida, and Ibercon after the beginning of the reign of King James I., (1608). Richard Forstall was M.P. for Callan, in 1615. He probably was of "Forstallstown," and brother-in-law of Lucas Shee, M.P. for the county. Walter of Forstallstown died on the 1st March, 1639, and left a son and heir, James, who forfeited his estates for taking part in the Confederate war of 1641-2. The same fate over-took his relative, Edmond Forstall, of Carrickcloney, who was married to Ellise, daughter of Pierce Butler, of Dangan, a near cousin of the Duke of Ormonde. There is a beautiful sketch of the life of St. Fiacre, the Patron of Kilferagh, given by Cardinal Moran in the "*Transactions of the Ossory Arch. Soc.* vol. 1, p. 89-100." and to which I must refer my readers, as any attempt of mine to abridge it would, I fear, lessen the lustre which it amply reveals of the life and sanctity of one of our earliest saints, not only in his own country by the brink of the Nore, but in France also by the banks of the Marne.

INQUISITION XXXI.

Rossbercan, 30th October, 1621.

"**R**ICHARD VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRETT' is seized of the hereditary estate to use or possessed of the manor of Bealaraggad² and Donnaghmore in the county Kilkenny, and of all the towns, lands, and tenements in Bealaraggad and Donnaghmore aforesaid, viz, Ballinrahine, Ballinenaddogh, Rathduffbeg, Rathduffmore, Tullaghbare al', 'Mounte Tullaghbare,' Scraleaghe, Cowlebolymontane, Ballymarten, al' Rathmarten. Connygerbug, Ballinelackin, Ballineally, Killowny, Glannegappaul, Kilcormocke, Fennerbeg, Fennermore, Hoarestowne, and Lea with appurtenances, all which are held of the king by *fealty*; Kilmenaneyeghtragh, Crompistowne, Coule-

Moelrany, and Olipstown, which are held from the king by knight's service *in capite*: Knockroe and Aghnymaurybaty, which are held from the lord of the manor of Kilkenny: Damerstowne al' Damerstowne, Disertioloskane,³ Glanmoygowe, al' Moygowe, Fireodigh, Killine, Muggowgh, Knock-cooly, Munaynefonisheare, Knocknesillagh, Dyremeforise, Aghnelackneney, Droaaghdower, Conleagheloskie, Disertnemyhall, Farrinespaddy, Skeannagh-duff, Knockandogie, the moieties of Moyherie 14th of Rathnihallie with appurtenances within the county aforesaid, which are held from the king by knight's service *in capite*: Aghtrie, al' Aghtierte, 'the Barrontaght' of Aghtierte, Bealacoura, Milltowne, the island called 'Anchorid's Island,' Rahynlonyhill, Leskineglogh, Coultogye and Parkersgrove, al' Garryneparker with appurtenances, which are held of the king by knight's service *in capite*: 1 castle and 7 capels of land in Coolcasshin and Krinehill, which are held from the king by knight's service *in capite*: the manor of the Rower and all the town and lands belonging to the said manor; and also of the town and lands in 'Temple O'Rower,' Coulekill, Whitesland, al' Whites court, Ballymacrage, Skerrishe, Croancappull, Oollane, Quillintragh, Glaneneny, Kilconnile, Nynynagh, the moieties of 'Croanroe,' and of one-third of Tyntoyine, with appurtenances, which are held of the king *in capite*: Kilmenoge, al' Kilvenoge, Ballyvooly, Ballininge, Garryduffe, and parcel of the lands in Gilkagh, near Boholagh with appurtenances, which are held from the lord of the manor of Knocktofer by *fealty*, which manor is held from the king *in capite*; Farrinekitte al' Farrinegitte and Eynatstowne with appurtenances which are held as of the manor of Grenagh; of a garden, 'the Lysagh' with appurtenances which are held as of the manor of Gowran; the manor of Kenlis⁴ and of all rents, &c., as parcels of the same manor, viz., the fortalice of Kenlis, and twenty messuages and two gardens in Kenlis, Godins courte, and the land: [] Godin, in Kenlis, Cottelsland in Kenlis, called the 'the long gardin,' Garrynefinsheoge [] and 10 small acres of land belonging to same, and of a 'Court Baron' and a 'Court Leet,' parcels of said manor, the tithes of 20 messuages 1 garden and 200 acres of land within the town of Kenlis, formerly belonging to the priory of Kenlis; lands called "Morish Jones his lands in Kenlis," 2s. 2d. per annum, for the custom of 'Ailewicke' debited on the burgesses of Kenlis, 6s. on William Shee for his land in Kenlis, 3s. 8d. off the lands of Nicholas and James Butler, in Kenlisfields, 6d. off the lands called 'Brenock's land' in Kenlisfields, 14d. off the land called 'Unisland' in Kenlis, 6s. off two parts of the land called 'Comsey's land,' 6d. off the land of Daniel Dullihonty, 30s. off the lands of Donald McLaughlin, 30s. off the land of Daniel Duffe, 30s. (all the burgesses and inhabitants of Kenlis between the Orose and Godinscourt owed suite of courte, &c.) off the town and lands of Kirgehill al' Kirrihill, 13s. 4d. off the lands called Kilmoganny, 13s. 4d. off Gortecoller, 6d. off a parcel of land called 'Dowker's Crofte,' 1s. 10d. off the lands called Owneybeg, 6d. off the town and land of Owneymore al' Rossenarowe, suite of courte off the town called Cottrelstowne, 1d. off the town called Rogerstowne, suite of courte off the town of Killree of

'the Steeple,' 5s. off Cottrell's Grove al' Grovebeg, 7s. 6d. off the land called 'Kent's-land,' 18d. off the towns and lands of Danginbeg, held from the lord of the said manor by suite of courte, off Rathsrath, holden of the said manor by suite of courte, of Tuestowne, holden of the said manor by suite of court, and of the town called 'Henry White's-town,' 6d., which manor of Kenlis is held from the king by knight's service *in capite*.

The aforesaid Richard, Viscount Mountgarret, is also seised of 1 castle, 10 messuages, and 13½ acres great measure in the town of Downeamogan, within the county aforesaid together with the customary aratories, viz., 1 'reeping hook,' and 1 'weeding hook,' &c., and 6 acres in Kenlis fields called Tinehaty. The aforesaid Viscount was seised of all and each of the premises aforesaid on the 14th June, 1619. Vincent Machpoll, of Pottlerath, and [] Marshall, of Balleene, in the county Kilkenny, are seised of the manor of Ba [] and of the town and lands of Ballieyn and Tefeaghrae, Baggetstown, Faileballyboe, Garrydange, Balaryree, Clonetubbred, Graige, Dowrode, Meul McWilliam-Oge, Raghees, and Clomantagh, in the county aforesaid, which are held from the king by knight's service *in capite*; [] Killfearikin, Garrymore, LysduffeBeaneneagh, Bearleslatty, Lisdorrough, and Knockandonell which are held of the chief manor of Kilkenny by knight's service; Ballinvargy which is held from the king by knight's service *in capite*; 5 messuages with their gardens in the town of Instioge; Garrynemeane, which is held from the king by knight's service; Tibbraghney and the lands and mill of Ballifoile, al' Piltowne, near Fiddowne, in the county aforesaid, which are held as of the manor of Grenagh by fealty; the manor of Urlingford, al' Aghnemoorling, and the town and lands of Aghnemoorling, Clonesalladdy, Curraghowre, Sheepstowne, al' Ballynagarragh, [] Rathelties, Balliconan, and Ballinemarragh, in the county aforesaid, with appurtenances, which were obtained by Pierce Butler, late Earl of Ossory, and by his covenant *in remainder* (to pass) after his death and the death of his wife Margaret to Sir Richard Butler, the late Viscount Mountgarret. Pierce Roth, son and heir of John Roth Fitz-piers, late of Kilkenny, merchant, deceased, holds the town and lands of Ballinegeragh, al' Sheepstowne, in mortgage, which are held, as of the manor of Knocktoffer, by fealty; and the said Pierce, or the assigns of the said John Roth, likewise hold the manor, towns, and lands of Aghnemoorling, al' Urlingford, in mortgage. The aforesaid Sir Richard Butler, late Viscount Mountgarret, grandfather of the present Viscount, and Edmond Butler, late Viscount, father of the said present Viscount and others, were seised *to use* in mortgage, viz., by one deed of the said Sir Richard Butler made to Walter Archer Fitz-john, lately deceased, and bearing date 22 May, 27th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and by a second bearing date 19 May, in the 39th year of the reign of the said Queen, made of the town, &c., of "the Rathelties, Balliconan, and Bealanemorrach, in the county aforesaid."

(1)—THE MOUNTGARRET FAMILY.

The most noble house of Mountgarrett has for its immediate ancestor Sir Richard Butler, second son of Pierce, 8th Earl of Ormonde, by his wife, Lady Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, 8th Earl of Kildare. He is said to have been a knight of "goodly personage, and as comely a man as could be seen," but the great qualities which gained him royal considerations were his "many great services to the Crown of England." The forays of his father, Pierce, into the territories of the Fitzpatricks of Upper Ossory, trained him in the exercise and knowledge of those military operations which he afterwards turned to good account in defending the King's lands against the "Irish enemy," especially in Wexford, against the Kavanaghs. In recompense for such services to his Sovereign, King Edward the Sixth, gave his directions to have him created Viscount, which was accordingly done by patent, dated at Dublin, 23rd October, 1550.

In 1552, the King commissioned Deputy Sir James Croftes and the Council to determine a dispute between the Viscount and the Furlongs of Wexford, concerning the title to certain lands within the saide county, and also to grant his "trustworthy and well-beloved Lord Mountgarrett a lease in *reversion* unto him of such lands as he presently holdeth of us by lease not granted already, for 21 years after the end of term that he hath yet to come, paying such rent and such service as presently he doth." During the reigns of the said King and Queen Mary, he was keeper of the Castle of Ferns, which he held successfully against the attacks of the Kavanaghs—and during the absence of Lord Deputy Sussex, in his expedition to the North against Shane O'Neil, in 1559, he was in two commissions for the preservation of the peace in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary and Wexford. He was present in the parliament of 1560, which met in Dublin on the 12th of January, and ended in passing the infamous statute of Uniformity, which made Elizabeth head of the Church in Ireland, and re-established the reformed worship as it existed under Edward the Sixth. An effigial monument in the Cathedral of St. Canice records his death as follows:—

"Hic jac—dus Butler vicecomes Mountgarret q̄i obiit 20 decobr, 1571. Trans.—Here lies [Rleha] rd Viscount Mountgarret, who died the 20th of December, 1571."

The sculptured effigy surrounded by the foregoing inscription is represented as encased in complete armour, a sword suspended from the right shoulder and the feet resting on a dog. He had issue by his first wife, Eleanor, daughter of Theobald Butler, of Nechum, or Neigham, County Kilkenny, Edmund, his successor. He married, secondly, Oatherine, daughter of Peter Barnewall, of Stackallan, County Meath, by whom he had a son, Barnewall, who died unmarried. He married, thirdly, in 1541, Anne, daughter of John Plunkett, Lord Kileen, from whom he was divorced in the first year of his marriage. He left issue,

besides Edmund, his successor and Barnewall, already mentioned, three other sons and four daughters, viz., Pierce, John, and Thomas. Ellise married to Walter Walsh, of Castlehoel, County Kilkenny; Margaret, to Nicholas Devereux, *Knight*, Ballymagin, County Wexford, who left no issue; Elinor, to Thomas Tobin, of Compsey, County Tipperary; secondly, to Gerald Blanchfield, of Blanchfieldstown, near Gowran, and thirdly to Thomas, Lord Caher; and Ellen, married to Oliver Shortal, *Knight*, of Ballylarkin, near Freshford. Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret, followed in his father's footsteps in persecuting and hunting down the mere Irishry. He is said, however, to have been so very partial and merciful to the inhabitants of his native county that he secured their general respect and esteem, and was thereby enabled to fix his permanent abode amongst them. But if "he was ever ready to spend his blood in the quarrels and defence" of Kilkenny men, he was equally ready to draw the blood of others who were wanting in deference towards himself, who whispered defiance to the *Pale*, or were even of those who had the sheepishness to complain of, but not the boldness to repel, the aggressions and forays of his father and grandfather."

Against Fitzpatrick he in particular renewed the old grudges which were of long standing between the Princes of Upper Ossory and the House of Ormonde. It would almost seem that whenever the Ormondes wanted to exercise their retainers they set out for the Fitzpatrick's territory as the most fertile in booty with the least danger of hurt in securing it.*

Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret, adopted the same aggressive tactics, nor did his matrimonial alliance with the daughter of Lord Ossory, check his manœuvres and depredations. To such extremes did he carry his exploits against Fitzpatrick, that the latter invoked the royal protection, but beyond the reassuring letters of the Lord Justice Pelham, Ossory was left to cry over his losses and reap the fruit of his own weakness. An appearance of commiseration for him on the part of the Crown, was, nevertheless, necessary, for Ossory was always inclined to be dutiful and useful, and to lose him, contemptible as he was just then, would have been bad policy with the intrepid Rory O'Moore abroad at the head of his formidable rebels, and the Desmond rising still threatening uncertain results. On the 6th of March, 1579, Lord Justice Sir William Pelham, accordingly communicated the following from his quarters at Limerick, to the Lord of Upper Ossory:—"As I do much mislike of the hurts done upon your tenants by Viscount Mountgarret so I have sent herein closed a commandment unto him to see the same restored, and farther to answer his doings therein. You

* It is related that Red Pierce, 8th Earl of Ormonde, had so ravaged the Upper Ossory territory, that MacGillpatrick sent an ambassador to complain of him to King Henry the Eighth. Meeting the King at the church door he addressed him as follows:—"Sta pedibus domine Rex Dominus meus Gillpatrickus me misit ad te et jussit dicere quod si non vis castigare Petrum Rufum ipse faciet bellum contra te." This threat of Gillpatrick's envoy must certainly have evoked his Majesty's smile.

will give great advantage to the contrary party by any unlawful manner of revenge. Unless my direction be obeyed by the Viscount I know not what course to take for your satisfaction till my return from this service when I will look into those borders and the causes of disagreement between Kilkenny and Ossory."

The Lord Justice issued a co-temporary writ to Mountgarret that "As the Baron of Upper Ossory complains that you have entered into his country in this our absence with force and violence and spoiled there sundry towns under his rule; these are to charge you to make full restitution, and besides, upon our next repair to Dublin, to make your personal appearance before us and the Council."

Just at this time Pelham was in need of such men as Mountgarret and Ormonde to bring to a speedy and successful termination his Munster expedition against the Earl of Desmond. It was, therefore, no difficult task to induce him to take a more favourable view of Mountgarrett's plundering exploits, and leave him to turn his complaints to manly action even at the risk of "giving" great advantage to the contrary party.

Ormonde had by this time united his forces, with Pelham's and Malbay's in the neighbourhood of Askeaton and Rathkeale, County Limerick, and the abbey of the former having been burned by Malbay, it was resolved with the combined armies to lay siege to Desmond's strong castle of Carrigafyle on the coast of Kerry. It was an opportune time, of course, for Ormonde to turn the affair between Lords Ossory and Mountgarret to good account for his relative, and he seems to have done so, as the following, dated at the Camp of Carrigfoill, 21st March, 1579, from Pelham to Lord Ossory, plainly indicates:—

"I find by the Earl of Ormonde that Viscount Mountgarret has been much urged to revenge former injuries done by you and your brothers. The Earl complains that you have very lately taken from one of his manors 20 garrons of his own proper stud. Your controversies fall out every day from one extremity to another. I cannot digest the refusal of my last letter by Mountgarret, and, therefore, I forbear to write as you require, but leave you to your choice either to defer these causes until my return from this service or to follow them before the Lord Keeper and Council of Dublin, I have sent you such letters from England as are directed to you."

Lord Ossory, *i.e.*, Sir Barnaby Fitzpatrick, 2nd Baron, now saw that, notwithstanding his acknowledged services to the Crown against the "rebels," there was no course for him but to defend himself openly against Mountgarret and Ormonde. It seems as if the two latter had grown jealous of the former because of the friendly terms in which all officers of the State invariably addressed him, and even the late King Edward the Sixth, loved him as one of his dearest companions, and held friendly correspondence with him when serving as a volunteer in the French service. In 1575 Sir Henry Sydney testifies that "Upper Ossory is so well governed and defended by the valour and wisdom of the Baron that now is—it made no matter if the country

were never *shired*, so humbly he keepeth all his people subject to obedience and good order."

In 1578 Lord Ossory merited still more the plaudits of State officials by relieving the pale of its deadliest foe, Rory Oge O'Moore, for whose head one thousand marks had been offered. The Annals of the Four Masters, under the foregoing date, thus make mention of the occurrence:—"Rory Oge, the son of Rory Caoch, son of Conell O'Moore, fell by the hand of Bryan Oge, the son of Bryan MacGillpatrick, and that Rory was the chief spoiler and insurgent of the men of Ireland in his time, and no one was disposed to fire a shot after him."

Lodge represents that O'Moore sent a spy to entrap Fitzpatrick by representing to him that a large booty taken by O'Moore in Kilkenny might easily be recovered in a neighbouring wood in order to decoy him unawares into Rory's presence, who there lay concealed with an armed force. Haverty, on the other hand, states that Rory fell by treachery as he ventured from the wood to hold parley with Fitzpatrick, and in recompense for his fidelity in the honour of his opponent was basely murdered by a sword-thrust from one of his *kerne*. His death, foul or fair, raised Fitzpatrick, and to goad him accordingly into acts of retaliation, which might be misconstrued into violence against the State and thereby lessen his popularity with the Crown, seemed to be the bent of Mountgarret and Ormonde. They only succeeded in impressing Fitzpatrick of the necessity of self-protection, self-reliance, and of vigorous action, defensive and offensive. He plundered his two enemies as unsparingly as they had despoiled him, and when Ormonde and Mountgarret attempted to blacken him, for doing so they were given to understand that the Crown could not afford to part with such an able and efficient ally as the Baron of Upper Ossory. This fully appears by a letter from Pelham to Ormonde, dated Limerick, July 20, 1580—"I have received two letters from you. The one concerneth spoils committed upon your tenants, and such others as do depend upon the Viscount Mountgarrett; who also by his own particular letter complaineth earnestly of the Baron of Upper Ossory's brethren. I will perform anything for the satisfaction of you both so as to tend not to the withdrawing of the forces from the rebels of these parts."

Lodge says that Mountgarrett accompanied the Lord Deputy in his Munster Expedition, in 1579, against the Spaniards and James Fitzmaurice, who was leader of the Desmond insurgents. He also states that he sat in Perrott's Parliament, convened in Dublin, in 1585-6—which attained the late Earl of Desmond and 140 of his followers, thus leaving some 600,000 acres of confiscated lands to be distributed among English undertakers and peopled by English families, whilst the original Irish inhabitants might be tolerated as "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

In 1599 he was at first on the side of O'Neil, who was pursuing a war of unmitigated hatred against the English with all the traditional bravery and defiance of his race. He, however, abandoned him and accompanied Essex from Kilkenny, through Clonmel, on his way to Oahir, which town and castle were held by an insurgent Butler, named

Thomas, son of Theobald, son of Pierce, and who was moreover brother-in-law to Mountgarret. On their way they attacked Darrilayrie Castle, on the Suir river, which was held by the Irish, as belonging to Thomas, Lord Oahir. On the arrival of fresh companies from Waterford to aid Essex in reducing Oahir Castle, the garrison of Darrilayrie surrendered on terms of having their lives spared, and Captain Clare, with a company of 30 soldiers, took possession of it, whilst Essex sent forward the vanguard of his line to await him at the fair green, whithin a mile of the town.

The following description of Oahir Castle will account for its stubborn resistance of ten days, and the ten days will account for the bravery of the 5,000 Irishmen who defended the town and citadel for so long, against the splendidly equipped army of Essex, strengthened by the forces of Ormonde, Marshal Bingham, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir Warham St. Leger :—"His lordship overtook the vanguard and caused them to stay one English mile short of the Castle of Oahir, the chief house of Thomas Butler, Lord of Oahir, a place of greater strength than any in this kingdom, and of greater consequence, being a passage upon the river, a cover for the best part of the county Tipperary, and a near neighbour to the White Knight's country, to the Burke's country (called Olanwilliam and Muskery), and to Arlo (Aherlow) the principal fastness which the rebels of Munster have. It is strong by nature, being seated on a main rock on an island in the river. Southward it hath a great bawne compassed with a high stone wall, which (besides those of the castle) hath two flankers in itself; and (after you have gained the bawne) another strong stone wall ere you come to the house (castle). On the north side you have two great square towers, which flank both one another and the curtain betwixt them, being all seated on the highest and most inaccessible part of the rock. On the west side run two deep streams of force to be passed ere you come to the castle; a fauxmoore also at the foot of the rock, and withal the flanks of the castle and one the bawne, which lie very commodiously to beat on any approaches that way. On the east side their lieth (besides the stream) a main rock as on all sides else; the flank of the bawne and of the square towers of the castle within; another fauxmoore which covereth the port of the bawne; a great round tower that comes out of the body of the castle into the bawne as a bulwark; and a small low round tower at the foot of the rock and end of the fauxmoore which flanketh both the castle and bawn, and standeth almost in the nature of a little casamatte" (casemate).

Essex did all in his power to induce Lord Oahir to surrender peaceably, but no, "Oahir was insolently and disgracefully used by those who came out to parley," and defend his castle he would, and that "obstinately." Essex held a council, and whilst awaiting munitions from Waterford and beeves for his men from the adjoining lords, he "called again for the Lord Oahir, and in presence of his brother-in-law, the Viscount Mountgarret, laid before him the greatness of his fault in falsifying his word . . . assuring him withal that however he and his accomplices might hold the place invincible, yet his lordship

was resolved not to depart thence till he had reduced it." Lord Oahir could not, however, be moved, and accordingly next day, 21st May, Essex lodged his whole army on the east side of the river, and concentrated his entire strength against that part of the castle opposite him. He cast up a trench within 50 paces of the fortification, and placed his cannon with a culverin somewhat in the rear, and in front gabions ready tamped to cover his gunners. Next day cannon and culverin began to play. At the second round the carriage of the cannon broke and the culverin got cloyed, but both mishaps having been soon remedied a tremendous shower of lead swept the stern battlements. In the evening Essex sent 300 men under Captain Brett to take possession of the orchard which was entrenched by the river and plashed from within. They succeeded in entrenching themselves, but Brett was slain. "The siege carried on by the Earl and his forces was of no avail to them until they brought some large ordnance from Waterford against it, by which the nearest half to them of the castle was demolished, after which they were obliged to surrender the town to the Earl of Essex and the Queen" (F.M.)

The defenders made a sally on the 10th night to effect escape, but were cut down, a few only escaping by swimming the river. With the fall of Oahir Castle the history of Edmund, 2nd Viscount Mountgarret, closes. Finding his end drawing near he made his will, in which, after recommending his soul to God, his Maker, Saviour, and Redeemer, he directed that his body be buried in his father's tomb in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice. He died on the 24th November, 1602, and was interred according to his wish.

He married Granny, sister to him, whom he plundered and annoyed, in season and out of season, and this for no better reason, so far as I can discover than because of old grudges between the two Houses of Ormonde and Upper Ossory. Mountgarrett moreover saw how reluctant Fitzpatrick had been to repel aggression, lest he should furnish any real or imaginary grounds for having his loyalty suspected. Such delicacy only emboldened his adversary, and Mountgarret without regarding the ties of marriage, spent his time in persecuting his brother-in-law (Barnaby, 2nd Lord of Ossory), and in the vain endeavour to undermine his popularity at Court. The death of the latter about the close of 1581—and his own advanced years moved Mountgarret to calm his rage against the House of Upper Ossory, and repent him of those envies and implacable jealousies that had so often engaged him in deadly strife and fanned the flames of his hottest combats. At his death which he accordingly met religiously and which occurred on the aforesaid date, 24th November, 1602, he left issue 16 children, 8 sons and as many daughters. 1—Richard of the above "Inquisition" his successor, and and of whom presently; 2—James of Tullowhinch, County Carlow; 3—Edward; 4—Thomas; 5—Pierce; 6—Theobald; 7—Gilbert; 8—John.

1, Hellena, married to Walter Butler, of Kilcash, knight, who became 11th Earl of Ormonde; 2, Ellen, to Lucas Shee, of Upper Court, Freshford; 3, Eleanor, to Morgan MacBryan Kavanagh, chief of his sept,

county Carlow; 4, Mary, to Bryan O'Connor; 5, Ellice, to Walter D'Alton, of Kildalton, county Kilkenny; 6, Margaret, to Oliver Grace Carney, county Tipperary; 7, Anne, to Edward Butler, Lord Galmoy; 8, Joan, to William O'Farrell, of Ballintober (*Lodge's Peerage*, vol. 2, p. 257-59). Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret, was 24 years of age at the time of his father's death in 1602. On the 22nd February, 1605, he had a special livery of his estates, which he afterwards surrendered to King James the First. The king, on the 9th January, 1619, granted him a confirmation of them in consideration of his faithful services, and also created the several manors of Ballyragget, Cowlechill (or Coleshill), Kells, Balleene or Ballin, Urlingford and Mountgarret, with the customary power to hold courts. His majesty also permitted that he be allowed to impark 2,000 acres with free warren and chase, the liberty of tanning leather, and of holding a Thursday market and two fairs on the feasts of SS. Barnabas and Bartholomew, and the day after each at Ballyragget. Towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Richard Mountgarret, having married the daughter of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was engaged by this alliance in the general revolt of the Irish during that period. He commanded a force of his own kindred and tenants numbering 130 foot and 20 horse. Such a small army, it is needless to say, counted for little against the superior strength of Sir George Carew, Lord President of Munster, who captured Ballyragget Castle, and garrisoned it with his men, under the command of Captain Sheffield. Through the great influence of his cousin, Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, Richard Mountgarret was reconciled to the Crown, and on the 23rd August, 1600, he and his brother Edward took their oath to be true subjects. On the following day Ballyragget Castle was given back by the Royal forces to their father, Edmund, second Viscount, but he and his sureties had to sign recognizance of £2,000 for its redelivery on twenty-one days' warning.

On the accession of King James I., Richard Mountgarret continued to serve the Crown as a "true subject," according to the wording of his oath. He was one of the five Viscounts who sat in the Parliament of 1613-15, convoked, planned, and packed from new counties and new boroughs, from squalid villages by Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy, who hoped by the votes of both Houses to establish a "Puritanical ascendancy" as successfully as he had proscribed and robbed the Catholics in his late "Plantation of Ulster."

The Viscount Mountgarret must have felt his position as member of the Upper House very humiliating when called upon to sanction the attainder against his father-in-law, Hugh O'Neill, then in exile in Rome, and within nine months of his grave on the janiculum.

Very many historians are loud in their censure of the "recusant minority" for ever having consented to so odious and vindictive an act as the attainting of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, and other Irish chiefs; but what if they had not? The attainders would have been passed all the same whilst they furnished the "minority," with a pretext to resist the introduction of a very stringent Penal Law, and successfully urge the passing of an "Act of Oblivion and Amnesty."

Mountgarret also sat in the Parliament of 1634, assembled by Viscount Wentworth, the unprincipled creature of King Charles who became Earl of Stafford; another name in history for base deceit, loathsome, meanness, and very revolting quality which added to a contemptuous, overbearing, and incompetency as a general, culminated in his impeachment, and struck off his head. His eight years' administration of Irish affairs, his scandalous treachery and traffic on the simplicity and good-will of the people in securing large loans for his Royal Master's needs under hollow promises and false assurances regarding "graces" and "concessions," his commissions of "defective titles," his packed juries who dared not "prevaricate," but find for his spoliation and nefarious robberies—all tended to ferment the galling oppression and national degradation beyond endurance, and turn suddenly to blood those grim clouds of religious proscription and "plantation" which, for upwards of forty years, kept lowering round the people's homes and altars.

Richard Mountgarret was not only witness of the inevitable result, but became so prominent a figure in the great civil commotion of 1641-2 that his history, as the Rev. Mr. Graves says, from that time is the History of Ireland itself, and thus becomes my duty to sketch.

In November, 1641, less than a month after the outbreak of the great civil war in the North, Mountgarret was appointed in a commission with the Earl of Ormonde to govern the county Kilkenny, and provide for the peace and security thereof. Lords Ikerrin and Upper Ossory, the principal gentlemen, and the corporations of the county were appealed to for aid against the rebels and promptly responded. Callan with other towns offered to raise and maintain one hundred men for their defence, and Ormonde was to provide them with arms and ammunition. In the absence of Ormonde the supreme command of those forces devolved upon Mountgarret, but "subsequently he gave the weight of his position and interest to the cause of the Confederate Catholics." To understand why he changed sides and was, nevertheless, consistent in his loyalty, requires a studied notion of the period. Such is not very easily formed, especially as so many biased writers bewilder you with their abhorrences of the "unnatural rebellion," the "Popery plot," and such sort of stuff, with recitals of wholesale massacres by the Papists in their brutal excitement and disloyal attitude towards the king. Carte puts the cause of the civil war of 1641 on the Catholic clergy. One must naturally expect that he would do so, since the Irish of that period were only, in his estimation, "ignorant, superstitious, and bigoted; blindly under their (the clergy's) guidance and government" (Ormonde, vol. 1, p. 154). The clergy, moreover, he says, were mostly taught in the seminaries of Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Italy, and Germany. That they returned preaching unlimited obedience to the Pope, which, by the law of nature and the laws of the land, was due to the sovereign. That the "figure and grandeur" of Catholicism to which they were accustomed on the Continent made them zealous in their desires for the relaxation of severities, which, according to him, "could not be granted without sacrificing the regalities of the Crown, and doing a horrible injustice to the Established Church."

If Carte had been candid enough to ask himself why the stringency of those laws, both of "nature" and of "land," which sent those same clergy in search of education through the colleges he mentions, he might have come within easy grasp of one of the causes of what he terms the "rebellion," but what we, who study it, must designate, a "life-and-death-struggle" on the part of the Irish for the preservation of property and the right of worship according to the faith of their forefathers.

This period is a remarkable—if not the most remarkable period—in Anglo-Irish history. Writers on it plunge us at once into the fire, and b'aze, and murders, and excesses of the gigantic struggle which makes it an epoch, and when you have seen all out you are at a loss to know was it a big "Popish rebellion" or a "Papist's plot" to murder the Protestants, and overthrow the constitution; or if it was not, what was it meant for, or how did the Irish come to originate it! In a word, you have any amount of reading on the subject from innumerable authors, but having read them you have a vivid picture enough of the flow of blood and carnage and horrors of a protracted, unsuccessful war; but you have neither a correct notion of its justification nor a very clear one on its inception.

Let me try as briefly as possible to put the origin of this war definitely before you, so as to show what originated it and what it was for. And in order to do this with a chance of success, we must, before all, consider the social and religious position of King Charles's English and Scotch subjects at the time, and their inflamed opposition to him. The King, on his accession to the throne in 1625, found himself involved in a costly war with Spain; with a drained Exchequer and a prodigal disposition of bestowing costly presents on his friends without having the wherewith to purchase them. The supplies in consequence soon failed the Royal Household. Penury compelled the sale of Crown lands—money created Peers, and for money means were resorted to which gave rise to murmurs and inconveniences which neither the accumulation of wealth nor the accession of power by newly made peers, could repair.

His favourite adviser, Buckingham, had also involved King Charles in a war with France. A fleet was fitted out to surprise Calais, but returned unsuccessful. Buckingham reinforced the army for the second attempt, and himself, as general, made the unfortunate descent on the Isle of Rhe, which roused in revolt against the French King the Huguenots of Rochell, but afterwards ended in a disastrous retreat, in which Buckingham lost the flower of his army. The consequence of all that has been related was the strong violent opposition between the Parliament and the king, which finally cost his Majesty his head. The third Parliament called in 1628, before completing a grant of a few subsidies, embodied their grievances in the famous "Petition of Right," which maintained the ancient rights of the people against forced loans and benevolences, arbitrary imprisonments, martial law, and imposed taxes without the consent of Parliament. Buckingham was impeached, but only escaped to fall by the hand of an assassin. The death of Buckingham and the concession of the "Petition of Right," the second *Magna Charta*

of the people of England, served only to irritate the King's opposition to the popular party in Church and State, and help him to speedier ruin. The State—we have just noticed the Church for a right understanding of the King's position—now claims our attention. Protestantism in Europe was at the time parted into two great sections—the Puritans, or rigid Calvinists, whose tenets were adopted by the English reformers under Edward VI., and by John Knox and the Kirk of Scotland; secondly, the Arminians, who rejected the errors of Calvin on some points, particularly on predestination, redemption, and grace. But a third party was at this period gaining ground in the Church of England, who, with the views of Arminius showed a leaning for the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. The leader of this party was William Laud, and they maintained Episcopacy. "Their aim," says Mr. Green (a Protestant author of "A short History of the English People") was to draw the Church of England farther away from the Protestant Churches and nearer to the Church which Protestants regarded as Babylon. They aped Roman ceremonies. Cautiously and tentatively they were introducing Roman doctrine. But they had none of the sacerdotal independence which Rome had at any rate preserved. They were abject in their dependence on the Crown." King Charles allied himself to Laud, and the High Episcopacy party, as did his father, James, before him, whose favourite saying was, "No Bishop, no King," to the great disgust and alarm of his native Presbyterian Divines of Scotland.

A Parliament met in 1628, which accused Laud of favouring Popery. King Charles replied by advancing Laud to the Bishopric of London, and Montague, as Bishop of Chichester. On the re-assembling of Parliament in 1629 (Jan. 20), they resolved, "whoever should bring in innovation of religion, or Arminianism, should be accounted enemies to the Kingdom."

The King in eight days dissolved the Parliament, calling them a contemptible pack of "vipers" and proclaimed his intention to govern without parliaments. From this hour the shadow of darkest despair fell upon the Puritans; later on it reddened in the blood of Charles. His Majesty now attempted to force his new ecclesiastical discipline on his native Scotland. The people opposed, and joined by nobility and gentry, organised a provisional government consisting of four tables—the nobility, gentry, ministers and burgesses, who drew up the celebrated Covenant, i.e., a mutual engagement to resist religious innovations, and which gave them the name of Covenanters.

Charles made them concessions. He was too late. Fortresses were soon seized, communications opened with France and the malcontents of England. Charles began to fumble again with parliaments. Land's mansion was attacked. The Scots passed the Tweed 25,000 strong—defeated the Royal troops at Newburn, and took possession of Newcastle. The power of Charles broke down—he concluded an armistice with them, and pending negotiations he granted the Scots a weekly subsidy of £5,600 whilst on English soil. Thus we see that England and Scotland were at this time, the close of 1640, in a wild state of

anarchy and complete rebellion against their Sovereign. A clear idea of this, such as I have attempted to give, must necessarily be kept in view to answer definitely the foul assertions regarding Irish disloyalty in 1641, put forward by those who were themselves the disloyal and rebellious, even to the spilling of the King's blood

We have now considered the political and religious disturbances which prevailed in England and Scotland, and plainly forebade the impending fate of King Charles. The fabric of the State was undermined and tottering, and the Royal sceptre was no better than a shivered reed, such was the impotence and disorganization of the Crown on one side and of the people on the other, effected by the bitter contest between them. Bearing this in mind, let us now turn to Ireland. From the close of Elizabeth's reign to the commencement of the Civil War in 1641, Ireland, according to English writers, or writers of English proclivities, enjoyed a prosperity such as it had not known since the Invasion. Universal improvements and peace, they affirm, brightened her with the heretofore unfamiliar smiles of social happiness and content. It was so for the planter and plunderer, but not for the transplanted and plundered. The former had more enlarged fields and bawns, with less than the usual cost of blood. He was safer in his strong-keep or castle, and, so far happy, he could see no reason why the former, roaming at large a beggared mendicant, should not feel happy also, and the rest of the world with him. The robber sweetens his cup with the tears of the robbed, and the deeper the shadow of regret for the latter the brighter the sunshine of joy for the former. And so it was at this precise period of Anglo-Irish history. The English and Scotch adventurers held their ill-gotten lands by the right of might, and had their revels; whilst the original owners wandered like indigent miscreants ready for any daring, or swelled the continental armies to perish on foreign battle fields. "Little they (the settlers) thought," says Mr. Prendergast, "or cared how the ancient owner, dispossessed of his lands, must grieve as he turned from the sight of the prosperous stranger to his pining family—daughters without prospect of preferment in marriage; sons without fit companions, walking up and down the country, with their horses and greyhounds coshering on the Irish, drinking and gaming, and ready for any rebellion; most of his high-born friends wandering in poverty in France and Spain, or enlisted in their armies. There was prosperity, but it was among the supplanting strangers; misery among the displaced and transplanted Irish. There was peace, but it was the peace of despair, because there remained no hope except in arms, and their arms were taken from them." (Crom. Settlement, p 2).

In addition to the native Irish who were thus reduced, and were all Catholics, there was the case also of the old English gentry, who were mostly Catholics, in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught. From the reign of Elizabeth, when religion became a new element of strife in the public administration these men were gradually set aside in all offices of the State, until by this period of Charles's reign, they were found stripped of all their ancient privileges which, with offices and

emoluments, had passed into the hands of Protestants. Thus their position was little better than that of the native Irish. The spoliations of James I., his colonization of the Ulster counties with English and Scotch adventurers—his rapid rapine in Leinster by “iniquitous practices of hardened cruelty; of the vile perjury and scandalous subordination, employed to despoil the fair and unfortunate proprietor of his inheritance,” his relentless persecution of Catholics, supplemented by the deceit and robbery of Stafford in the succeeding reign, were quite enough to destroy all hope of mercy or redress of grievances in the Irish, and turn them from the path of loyalty. Yet with all such provocation when the Parliament met in Dublin, in 1640, in order to raise supplies to aid in suppressing the Scotch rebellion, the Catholics exhibited a dutiful affection for the Crown of England “as cannot be paralleled in the history of any other people under the like circumstances. Even their hatred of the Irish could not prevent Parsons and Borlase from testifying how “every one of them seemed in a manner to contend who should show most affection and forwardness to comply with his Majesty’s occasions; and all of them expressing, even with passion, how much they abhorred and detested the Scotch Covenanters; and how readily every man’s hand ought to be laid on his sword to assist the king in reducing them by force to obedience.”

From amongst a people whose very pulse beat so lively for the king’s welfare Strafford found little difficulty in raising a force of 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse to assist his Majesty in subduing the Scots. Strafford, however, was unsuccessful as its commander, and was thereupon impeached by the Long Parliament. One of the principal charges against him was his enrolment of this same army of “Irish Papists,” which was most heinous in the eyes of the Puritans as designed to aid the King against his English subjects. At the same time also a deputation arrived from the Irish Parliament with complaints against him for maladministration with the result that Charles, however unwilling, was obliged to sign his death-warrant, and Strafford was accordingly beheaded on Tower Hill, 12th May, 1641. The year previous Charles had given orders to the Lords Justices Parsons and Borlase “to assure his good subjects in Ireland that his princely promise formerly passed unto them (regarding graces and redress of grievances) should be speedily performed; and to that end he required that bills might be transmitted from their lordships and the council for securing their estates.”

Parsons and Borlase disobeyed his Majesty. They were partisans of the English Parliament opposed to Charles, and the more rebellions in Ireland the more Catholic lands would fall to the swarm of English Protestant adventurers whose lust for property was best glutted by fresh confiscations. It was, moreover, confidently reported at the time that the Scots had threatened never to lay down their arms until uniformity of religion would be established in the three kingdoms, and the Catholic religion totally suppressed. Sir John Olotworthy, one of the malignants, was reported to have said in the English Parliament that the conversion of the Papist in Ireland was only to be effected with the bible in one hand and the sword in the other, whilst Parsons declared

at the same time at a public entertainment in Dublin, that "within a twelvemonth no Catholic should be seen in Ireland" (Carte's *Ormonde* vol. 1, p. 235-6). Under such circumstances what had the Irish to expect? The king was as impotent to protect them as he was to extricate himself from his own difficulties and avert the axe. Carte admits what the Irish expected, namely, total extirpation or destruction of the Catholic religion. "These proceedings," says he; "of the English Parliament, caused Catholics generally to apprehend a formed design of extirpation them unless they would renounce their religion. Speeches were thrown out by persons of figure and power in public assemblies, either insinuating or expressing the like terrible design, all which, whether arising from a furious zeal, violent passion, or wicked policy, could not, in the circumstances of the Irish nation at that time, but work powerfully upon the minds of the Roman Catholic gentlemen, and when they saw no other present means of safety and redress left, moved them to take that which was already offered of an insurrection." (*Ormonde*, vol. 1, p., 235). This, from a biased writer, is exactly the substance of my contention as laid down in my last, viz., that the Civil War of 1641 was not a rebellion against the King's authority, but a life and death struggle on the part of the Irish, for the preservation of property and the right of worship according to the faith of their forefathers. In addition to the dread entertained by the Irish for the safety of their religion, not one priest of which, the Puritan leader Pim declared, should be left in Ireland, other reasons are assigned by the Earl of Castlehaven in his "Memoirs of the Irish Wars," which hastened the outbreak. He says (*Mem.* p. 6, 7) first, that the Irish were seldom or never treated by their governors like natural or free-born subjects, but only as a conquered nation. Second—They were grieved that six whole counties in Ulster should be estreated in a lump to the Crown on account of Tyrone's rebellion, and be given by King James in great part to his own countrymen. Third—The threat of the Crown in Strafford's time of claiming the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Galway and Cork, with parts of Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow, &c. Fourth—The severities practised against the Roman Catholics of England, and the petitions from Ireland, to have those of that kingdom treated with like rigour "which" adds Castlehaven "to a people so fond of their religion as the Irish, was no small inducement to them while there was an opportunity offered to stand upon their guard." Fifth—They saw how the Scots for pretended grievances merely; had gained by their armed visit to England £300,000 besides £850 per day whilst quartered on English ground pending the negotiations. Sixth—They saw the misunderstandings between the King and the Parliament becoming daily more and more alarming so as to forbode a sudden rupture between them, and, therefore, a favourable moment for them to press for their reasonable demands.

Upon such grounds of hopeful success the native Irish entered on the great struggle which later on in the Confederate war, gathered to its standard the old English gentry of the pale, who were mostly Catholics, but refused to take part in the opening of hostilities, "The

aspirations," says D'Arcy McGee, in summing up the situation, "of the chief men among the old Irish for the entire freedom of worship ; their hopes of recovering at least a portion of their estates ; the example of the Scots, who had successfully upheld both the church and nation against all attempts at English supremacy ; the dangers that pressed, and the fears that overhung them, drove many of the very first abilities and noblest characters into the conspiracy which exploded with such terrific energy on the 23rd October, 1641."

So far, therefore, as the question of disloyalty to his Majesty was concerned, we must, from what has been stated, free the native Irish from all intention of such in taking up arms at this period. Can we say the same for the Puritans, the Parliament, the English people, the Scotch Covenanters, and the base, unscrupulous Lords Justices of the Irish Administration, Parsons and Borlase? Certainly not. I have already explained the position of the King with regard to his English and Scotch subjects, and shown that the political and religious differences fomented between them and his Majesty had gone beyond control or settlement ; whilst in Ireland Parsons and Borlase made it their pleasure to betray their Royal master. The King, accordingly, had no power to help the Irish, beyond informing them of his good intentions, which the Lords' Justices defeated, or if he issued orders they were disobeyed and slighted by those same functionaries, who aimed at nothing less than his speedy downfall.

The Irish were, forsooth, rebellious, because they had noticed all this and understood the consequences, but the manifesto issued by Sir Phelim O'Neill, in the name of the Ulster insurgents, leaves no doubt that their intention in appealing to arms was more to protect than embarrass his Majesty. "The rebels therein complain of the general oppressions suffered by the Roman Catholics of Ireland from subordinate governors, but profess an immutable and pure allegiance for ever to the King and his successors. They acknowledge to have enjoyed some liberty of religion out of the affluence of his princely goodness ; but the Parliament, maligning and envying the graces granted by his Majesty to their nation, were wresting his prerogative out of his hand, and gave the reason to apprehend, by some Acts they were about to pass touching religion, and by threats of sending the Scots army with sword and bible in hand into Ireland, that their whole and studied design was not only to extinguish religion (by which they lived altogether happy), but likewise to supplant them and raze the name of Catholic Irish out of the whole kingdom. In proof of this design they allege the several private meetings of factions and ill-disposed people of several places plotting and devising their utter ruin, and the extirpation of their religion ; these factious persons employing others with instruments ready-drawn to get hands thereunto to be presented to the Parliament of England against the Papists and Protestant Bishops of the kingdom, whom they hated equally with the others, the Bishops to be deposed and the Papists to be banished, or otherwise rooted out of the kingdom ; the putting of the Government of the realm successively into the hands of so many poor and needy

ministers, who, for raising of themselves, had, by screwing inventions, polled the gentry and Commons of the kingdom that no man was secured of anything he had, from all which, apprehending the overthrow of the liberty of their consciences, they had thoughts of addressing themselves to his Majesty, in whose prudent care over their sole quiet and comfort consisted; but seeing him so oppressed by the arrogance of faithless and disloyal subjects, and cut off from all prerogative that they could not expect any redress so long as they ruled in his kingdom as they did at that time; they had, therefore, taken up arms for the regaining of his Majesty's prerogative (which was the essence and life of monarchy), and for their own defence; and had seized upon the strongest and best forts of the kingdom to be enabled to serve his Majesty and defend themselves from the tyrannous resolutions of their enemies; professing that they were ready to yield up the places they had taken when his Majesty should please to command them, and should take a course for securing of them and the Protestants of the kingdom, his only true and obedient subjects, against such factious and seditious Puritans, the disturbers of all states, as had brought the like misery on Queen Elizabeth and King James, had they not been by them and their wise counsels prevented."

The Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, Dr. Bedel, extolled by his own co-religionists, as a very pious, upright, and learned man, ought to be fair testimony of the real intent and character of the insurrection. He drew up a remonstrance on behalf of the Catholic gentry and commonality of the County Cavan, stating their grievances in common with the other parts of the kingdom, in the following terms:—

"Whereas, we, his Majesty's loyal subjects of his kingdom of Ireland, have of long time groaned under many grievous pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes than the honour of his Majesty, or the welfare of us, his subjects; whereof, we, in humble manner declare ourselves to his Highness, by his agents, sent by the Parliament, the representative body of his kingdom, notwithstanding which we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations either with captivity of our consciences, or loosing of our lawful liberties, or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our part to alter his Majesty's goodness, so long continued unto us, of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceeding of our neighbour nations, and do see it already attempted upon by certain petitioners for the like course to be taken in this kingdom for the effecting thereof in a compulsory way; so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement which hitherto had been held inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all other his Majesty's dominions have been linked in one. For the prevention thereof of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have for the preservation of his Majesty's honour, and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands, for his Highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength as coming into the possession of others,

might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom. And we do hereby declare that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his Majesty, nor purpose any hurt to any of his Highness's subjects in their possessions, goods, or liberty. As for the mischiefs and inconveniencies that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people against the English inhabitants or any other, we, with the noblemen and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of the kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restoration and satisfaction to be made as in part we have already done."

With this my inquiry closes as to the origin, causes and object of the civil war of 1641. It was a war in no sense meant to overthrow the Constitution or authority of the King, but was designed rather to aid him against the Parliamentary and Puritan factions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, who were speeding him on to execution, and threatened to leave no one Irish Catholic a homestead or an altar. The haste, therefore, with which the Irish took up arms was in order to secure the best strongholds, and be in a position to resist the Scotch and Irish Puritans, against whom the king had little chance of employing an army in the hour of open violence, seemingly so near at hand, when he would require all his forces to save his own head and throne. The Lords Justice Parsons and Borlase, on the discovery of the plot to seize Dublin, on the morning of the 24th of October, issued a proclamation announcing the "detestable conspiracy" of the Irish Papists against the lives of his Majesty's subjects.

The Catholics of the Pale took offence at the general terms of the proclamation, as including themselves with the native Irish, in what at first sight had all the appearance certainly of a rebellion. Ormonde is said to have been appointed Lieutenant-General of the army by King Charles, who despatched to him a letter by Sir Patrick Wemyss, desiring him to accept the charge. Richard Mountgarret had the command of the forces raised in Kilkenny for the peace and defence of the country. Early in December, whilst the war was being prosecuted with great vigour in the North, the principal Catholic gentlemen of the Pale held a meeting at Croftly, in Meath. The insurgent leaders, Roger O'Moore, MacMahon, O'Reilly, and others, accompanied by a guard, approached the meeting ground. O'Moore gave it as his reason for appearing in arms within the Pale, that they wanted the freedom and liberties of their consciences, the maintenance of his Majesty's prerogative, and freedom for his subjects of his kingdom, equally with those of England." These being your true ends, answered Lord Gormanstown, "we will answer you therein." Thus was effected a union between the Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale, and the opportunity for Mountgarret to give the weight of his influence to his fellow Catholic countrymen, and in order to save his religion from extirpation he, with his family, joined the Confederation and assumed arms for its protection.

Now that we have reached the first remarkable stage of the Civil War since its commencement—namely, the union of the Anglo-Norman of the Pale and the Milesian, which made it a Confederate War for

the attainment of the same ends for which it had begun—viz., the protection of property, the safety of religion, and the preservation of the king's prerogative and independence of the throne—a few extracts from different authors will explain how the union was so readily effected at the meeting of Croft. On the 16th November, twenty-four days after the outbreak in Ulster, a Parliament met in Dublin. Castlehaven, who sat in this Parliament, tells us in his "Memoirs" that although there was an unanimous protestation of both Houses against the war, and immediate consideration given as to the most effectual means of speedily suppressing it; yet he says, "this way of proceeding did not, it seems, square with the Lords Justices' designs, who were often heard to say that the more were in rebellion the more lands should be forfeited to them, and the next day prorogued the Parliament, to the great surprise of both Houses, and the general dislike of all honest and knowing men" (Mems. p. 19, 20). "Whatever were the professions of the chief governors," says Leland, "the only danger they really apprehended was that of a too speedy suppression of that rebellion. Extensive forfeitures was their favourite object and that of their friends." (His. of Irel., p. 160-1). It was, therefore, manifestly the intention of Parsons and Borlase to add fuel to the fire of the insurrection rather than quench it. Their design was to quicken and expand it, that its hot flame might encircle the wealthy gentry of the Pale, and involve them with the native Irish in the common conflagration. To effect their purpose they resolved on provocation by exhibiting distrust.

The arms distributed to Lord Gormanstown and others for house protection were soon recalled. Many noblemen and gentlemen were compelled thereon to leave their defenceless dwellings and repair to Dublin under Government protection, but the shelter afforded them was the publication of a proclamation, ordering them to return within twenty-four hours to their respective homes on pain of death.

Subsequently, on the 3rd December, 1641, the Lords Justice summoned those same members of the Pale to Dublin, to confer with them on the present state of the kingdom. The summons was disobeyed, as it was considered but an artifice, after the late conduct of the Justices, to draw them thither in order that, unarmed and unawares, they might be seized and imprisoned. Some find it easy also to suspect that the Lords Justices never expected compliance with their summons, and that their measures were "expressly taken with a design to terrify them trusting themselves in Dublin, and from thence to take some advantage for the forfeiture of their estates."

Step by step the lords of the Pale were being convinced that their fall was resolved on. To persuade themselves otherwise was just to play with the shadows, and deceive themselves as to the darker reality—the bent of the Irish Government and English Parliament to parcel their estates amongst their factions and partisans, and consign them to inevitable ruin. The bloody edicts of the Lords Justices to "wound, kill, slay, and destroy by all ways and means" the "rebels" and their adherents; to burn, spoil, consume, and demolish, all towns, houses and places where such "rebels" are or have been harboured—the addi-

tional orders received by Ormonde to burn, spoil, and destroy the rebels of the Pale without exception—the fiendish barbarities and inhuman massacres of Coote—his execution of martial-law—his frolicsome dangling of infants on pikes, not only exasperated the native Irish, but likewise “terrified the nobility and gentry of the Pale from all thought of submission, and convinced them that there was no room to hope for pardon, nor any means of safety left them but the sword.”

The old English were thus forced by necessity to make up their minds as to a conjunction with the Irish in the prosecution of the war. They were caught between two fires, from which escape *was impossible* except by a passage through either. They knew from the sight of 225 square miles of the Pale reduced to ashes by Ormonde that the Parliamentarians and Puritans if not checked would destroy them peaceably. On the other hand, they mortally hated the native Irish, who, in turn, cannot be supposed to have lost all antipathy for them. The mutual animosities of the two peoples were of too long a standing to be quite forgotten. For upwards of 400 years the Anglo-Norman had made Ireland his home of depredation, and harassing warfare. He had plundered and robbed, and even enriched himself on the ancient church lands of the Irish. Wherever he encroached he became an unwelcome neighbour. He had left since his first coming a more abiding foot-mark in the country than one stamped upon loose sand. He had whetted and renewed his sword-blade, and had drawn rivers of blood. Before him fell the Irish father, his bleached bones strewn on countless battle-fields. In sight of his haughty castle, houseless and homeless, the Irish mother wept for the loss of her children like a bewailing Rachel. If she passed not by the edge of the sword starvation generally overtook her, and she often eased her last pangs on the flesh of her dead infant.

The Lord of the Pale did not expect the old Irish could have forgotten those scenes, and he therefore mistrusted them. It was natural to fear that in case the so-called “rebels” were victorious they would clear away the foreign growth of new planters, and even seize upon the older tree and destroy it root and branch. Yet as it was only an apprehension in this case, whilst with the triumph of the Puritans was their destruction inevitable, they resolved on a general association with the Irish as foreboding lesser danger, and cast their dependence on the fate of war for ultimately securing good terms.

Carte, with all his abhorrence of the “unnatural rebellion,” could not overlook the predicament of the lords of the Pale—detestable as was their alliance with the Irish—still he cannot hit old friends too hard, and in some way to excuse them he has a fling at Parsons and Borlase.

“It is certainly,” says he, “very unhappy for a nation at any time to be governed by strangers, who cannot be supposed to have any natural love for the country, and whose particular advantage doth not depend on the general good of the nation; but in a time of jealousies and distractions, when a mutual confidence between the governors and the people committed to their charge is absolutely necessary, the con-

sequences flowing from such a circumstance must be very fatal. This was the very case of Ireland at that time; the governors were the likeliest persons in it to gain by the troubles of the kingdom, and to raise their own fortunes by the ruin of those of private gentlemen" (Ormonde, p. 262).

Those who charge the Roman Catholic clergy of the time with having incited the war would do well to peruse the last part of the foregoing sentence. Carte is the very last of biased writers to lose an opportunity of fastening the odium of bloodshed on the ministers of a religion he blackly detested. In the early part of his "Life of the Duke of Ormonde" (p. 154), he attempts to do so—where he describes the people as ignorant and blindly governed by them in their expectation to establish the Catholic religion as they had seen it practised on the Continent, but whereas such desires could not be entertained without sacrificing the King's "honour," "justice," and "conscience," and the "regalities of the Crown," the "Romish clergy could not possibly expect relief in these respects in any way but that of arms." One is at a loss to know why Carte has hinted in this way that the Irish priests who had returned from the seminaries of France, Spain, Flanders, Italy, and Germany were the men who planned and incited the war, as later on, at page 234, he says:—"If the persecution of Romish priests was pushed on with so much fury, and proceeded to such cruel extremities in England, where the Roman Catholics were universally quiet and too weak to be dangerous . . . What treatment less than extirpation could the Irish Roman Catholic priests expect in a country where they had an absolute power over almost nine parts in ten of the people, and where a bloody rebellion was broken out, and already imputed to them, *though not above two or three of their number appeared to know anything of the conspiracy.*"

This is evidently a most dishonest way of writing. The learned author first levels an "imputation" at the heads of the clergy of having incited the "rebellion," and in the next breath denies they knew one jot about it. I have so far endeavoured to make clear the reasons which lead to a union of the two great popular sections, the native Irish and gentry of the Pale. The meeting at Crofty at which a common cause was resolved between the chiefs of the Ulster insurgents and the representative lords of the Pale, was the nucleus of subsequent military preparations which involved the country in a great Confederate movement.

A general meeting at Tara on the 22nd of December, was summoned by the Sheriff of Meath, and meantime a letter signed by the Earl of Fingal and Lords Gormanstown, Netterville and Slane, &c., was despatched to the Queen, informing her Majesty that they intended forwarding a petition to the King making known the causes and motives of their assuming arms. They entreat her Majesty in case the King should mistake their intentions to mediate for them and set them right in his Majesty's good opinion, "seeing what they have done was only for the defence of the Royal prerogative, the enjoying of the free and public exercise of their religion, which (as they were informed)

they were totally to be debarred of, and the reformation of the abuses and grievances of that poor Kingdom."

The meeting at Tara cemented the union of the Pale and the Ulster Irish. A provincial Synod convened by Hugh O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, met at Kells on the 22nd March, 1642, and pronounced the war "lawful" and "pious." A national synod was also resolved on to be held at Kilkenny on the 10th of May following. Lord Mountgarrett, now convinced that no disloyalty to his Majesty was intended by the Confederates, abandoned his cousin, Ormonde, and the Parliamentarians, and cast in his lot with his fellow-Catholics.

Such an addition to the Catholic cause was of the greatest importance. His defection was a staggering blow to the strength of the Irish Government. "Most of the gentlemen of the county," says Carte, "were in some way or other related to him, and being Roman Catholics like himself they readily joined with him and attended him with a numerous train of followers to the city of Kilkenny, into which he was admitted, and there declared the reasons of his taking possession of it and entering into arms." (Ormonde, vol. 1, p. 267). In his letter of the 25th March, 1642, to the Duke of Ormonde, he thus explains his position:—"My lord, since I have been forced into this general cause by the example of some as innocent and free from infringing of his Majesty's laws as myself, who have been used in the nature of traitors, I forebore for avoiding your displeasure to acquaint you with my proceedings and other motives therein. But now, for fear of being mistaken by the State concerning my loyalty, and presuming of your lordship's favour and good meaning towards me, I make bold to send you here inclosed an exact remonstrance of those principal grievances that have procured this general commotion in this kingdom, wherewith I shall humbly desire your lordship to acquaint the Lords Justices and council to the end they may, by a fair redress of them, prevent the fearful calamities that doubtless shall ensue for want thereof. It is not my case alone—it is the case of the whole kingdom, and it hath been a principal observation of the best historians that a whole nation how contemptible soever, should not be incensed by any prince or state how powerful soever as to be driven to take desperate courses, the event whereof is uncertain and rests only in all guiding power of the Omnipotent. This has been most lively represented by the French chronicler, Philip de Comines, in the passages between the Duke of Burgundy and the Switzers. I need not press this matter further (a word is enough to the intelligent), and I can't harbour any other thought of your lordship but that you are sensible of the miseries of this kingdom, whereof you are a native and do wish the quiet and tranquillity thereof. I do, for a further expression of my own sincerity in this cause, send to your lordship here inclosed my declaration and oath joined with others, which I conceive to be tolerable and no way inclining to the violation of his Majesty's laws, whereof I am and always will be very observant as becomes a loyal subject and, my lord, your lordship's humble servant, MOUNTGARRET."

Having seized Kilkenny, Lord Mountgarret issued a proclamation

against any bodily hurt or pillage of the English inhabitants. So strictly did he enforce his prohibition, that, according to Oarte, he shot dead with his pistol one Richard Oantwell, who dared to plunder in his presence (Ormonde, vol. i, p. 267). Cantwell was said to be in high esteem, young and active, whose brother, John Cantwell, was Abbot of Holy Cross, County Tipperary, and a special favourite of Mountgarret. The shooting down such a person, therefore, for transgressing his commands ought to be more than sufficient testimony against individual deponents who would endeavour to strip his lordship of mercy and forbearance towards the distressed Protestants in the first heat of the general commotion. (See extracts of Original Depositions, 1641-3, Antiq. St. Canice, p. 306). He next detached parties to secure the adjacent towns. Gowran and Callan were seized without opposition or bloodshed. Colonel Edmond Roe Butler, eldest son of Mountgarret, marched on Waterford, the Maiden City,* that had never been reduced by force of arms. The citizens and magistrates, though they had lately repulsed the Wexford insurgents, opened the gates to him, and no violence or plunder ensued, but all the inhabitants, English as well as Irish, Protestant and Catholic, were equally protected in their lives and goods. Richard Butler, of Kilcash and Garryricken, Ormonde's second brother, took the towns of Clonmel, Carrick, and Dungarvan, County Waterford. Theobald Butler surprised Fethard, and so rapid was the success and progress of Mountgarret's relatives and adherents, that in the space of a week they had gained possession of all the towns and forts of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary.

It now became a question with the prosecutors of the war to procure money for the maintenance of regular forces, which must of necessity be raised, with any hope of successful issues. The want of money did not prevent a ready supply of volunteers. Middlethird Barony, Co. Tipperary, furnished eleven foot companies, under the command of Lord Dunboyne, whilst each gentleman promised to raise the best

* Waterford is also called the *urbs intacta*, a title conferred on it by Henry VII., for its loyalty in resisting the pretensions of the imposter, Simnel-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who was Lord Deputy, espoused the cause of Simnel, who personated Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, and heir to the House of York. After Simnel's coronation in Dublin, the Earl sent his herald to the Mayor and citizens of Waterford, commanding them to acknowledge the new King or else he would have them hanged at their doors. They advised the herald to tell his Master that they would not trouble him to come so far as they would meet him on the way. Simnel soon after having passed over to England, was defeated and made prisoner by the King's army, at Stoke-upon-Trent. In his letter of recommendation for their loyalty to the citizens of Waterford, after the battle of Stoke, Henry empowers them to seize and appropriate the goods of insurgents and the ships and merchandise of the rebels of Dublin. This was in 1487. In 1495, the citizens of Waterford resisted a second imposter Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be the younger son of Edward IV., Richard Duke of York, and escaped from the Tower. Warbeck with the Earl of Desmond, besieged Waterford, but after eleven days fruitless efforts to take it, they were obliged to retire after severe losses. Some say it was on the first occasion but others on the second proof of their loyalty that King Henry the VII. conferred among other honours on the City of Waterford the motto *urbs intacta manet* Waterford.

equipped troop of horsemen he could, who were to be formed into, a regular army as soon as money had been provided for their subsistence. Sir Pierce Butler, of Lismalin and Olonmicklon Castles, Co. Tipperary, better known as 1st Viscount Ikerrin, who seems to have inherited with rare virtues the high military spirit and bravery of his ancestors, was chosen Lieutenant-General of the companies thus raised, whilst Mountgarret was invited to command them as General-in-Chief. With the forces supplied by Kilkenny and Carlow, the latter advanced after the Christmas holidays into Tipperary, and having quartered for a night's rest at Graystown, Barony of Slieveardagh, he next proceeded to Cashel, the appointed rendezvous of all the armed contingents. Here he was met by Lord Ikerrin and the several gentlemen of the county, their combined forces amounting to nigh 8,000 men. Though now in his 64th year we may well imagine how the martial ardour which fired his younger days in the camp and wars of Tyrone must have re-kindled within him as he surveyed his stalwart army in this the "City of the Kings," and under the very shadow of those ecclesiastical edifices long since so many ruins of ancient glories and imperishable memories which crown the summit of the Irish Acropolis. New contingents of volunteers arriving from Limerick, he marched after two days rest into the barony of Olanwilliam and besieged the castle of Knockordan, in the parish of Lattin, which after considerable show of bravery capitulated on conditions which Mountgarret honourably observed. From Knockordan his lordship marched into the county Cork and took Mallow Castle. He continued his advance into the *Red Roche* country and encamped at Ballyguyroe, in the parish of Farahy, and barony of Fermoy. The Lord President of Munster, Sir William St. Leger, whose barbarous severities around Clonmel, and in the County of Waterford, had driven many peaceable gentlemen to stand on their defence, was stationed on one of the neighbouring hills. Though Mountgarret's force seemed to him, from as close inspection as the distance between them permitted, to be raw and ill-recruited with arms, yet he did not deem it advisable to lead an attack, but demanded a parley with his lordship.

The conference was meant by the Lord President as a ruse to gain time to send away his chief arms, baggage, and ammunition from Doneraile and Mallow, so as to prevent them falling into the hands of the Confederates. The fact was that the Lord President was in no condition to risk a battle, and he fortunately saved by stratagem what he was otherwise unable to protect, and decamped. The supplies in arms which he repeatedly demanded from the Parliament of England were denied him, and in consequence the province under his control was destitute of the means to check the advance of any army less hostile and even worse equipped than that which presently under Mountgarret threatened to reduce all Munster. Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale, with nearly all the other forts of the county, were poorly manned and badly provided. Mountgarret had accordingly before him one of the brightest possible prospects of securing those important places with little or no loss of men and ammunition. The old story of

Irishmen was unfortunately repeated. Discord arose in the camps with the usual unhappy results of weakened power and heated discontents. Mountgarret was for seizing the aforesaid strongholds, but Maurice Roche, Viscount Fermoy, refused to serve under him as being the principal nobleman of the county who had taken up arms, and, therefore, as he and his dependants stated, the best deserving in that of his native county of the chief command of the forces.

The election of a general was then insisted on. There was a throng of competitors claiming as good a right to be general as either Mountgarret or Fermoy. There was no possibility of adjusting the differences, and accordingly Mountgarret, disheartened, disgusted, and worse still, justly and keenly galled by the slight so ungenerously put on him, drew off his men and returned to Kilkenny, leaving Cork and Munster to reap the result of their damaging affront.

After the departure of Lord Mountgarret from the scene of discord at Ballyguyroe, all efforts to re-establish harmony amongst the nobility of Munster collapsed. The Irish, who up to this had made such rapid strides, were now by disunion rendered impotent for any feasible enterprise. In their broken and divided lines, the English were quick to observe the hopeful opportunity of retrieving their losses, and with recovered spirits forgetful of their incessant watchings, marches, and fatigues already severely endured, they resolved to profit by it. Never had such an interchange of fortune and success so suddenly taken place between two contending armies as at this time happened between the Irish of Munster and the raw, undisciplined English force of St. Leger. "It was generally thought," says Carte, "that if the Irish had proceeded unanimously and without loss of time, with the forces of Lord Mountgarret, those of Viscount Roche and others, which were daily flocking to them from all parts, they might have been able to have cleared and secured all Munster, with its cities and forts (considering the condition they were in at the time without either powder, or match, or money to pay the soldiers, who were ready to throw their arms for want, so that the Lord President gave the province for lost unless he had speedy relief) in the space of a month or two at most, and then have employed this army for the reduction of the rest of the kingdom. But this division saved the province, and allowed Sir W. St. Leger time enough to receive those supplies which otherwise had come too slow out of England, to arm and discipline his regiments, which he had formed out of the English who had retired from their country habitations to Cork and other towns for security (who were not only raw men but ill armed, scarce a sword among them, so that he could not expect much at their hands), and to draw out early in the spring such a body of them as was able to oppose and beat the Irish in the open field."

Lord Mountgarret meantime had been busy on his return to Leinster in recruiting his army and mustering a sufficient force to encounter the English, who were now reinforced by many fresh supplies and a detachment of 2,500 Scots under General Monroe, who arrived in Carrickfergus about the middle of April 1642. The army which Mountgarret had collected was badly armed, ill-disciplined and in

nowise fit to cope with organised troops, especially when such happened to be commanded by such a superior man as Ormonde, whose military talents made him "in every respect equal to many of the generals of his time."

The result of the action at Kilrush soon made this apparent. In the early days of April, Ormonde had left Dublin with 3,000 foot, 500 horse, and five field pieces to execute his trust by wholesale murder, pillage, and burning. His line of march was through Rathcoole, Naas, Kilcullen and Athy. Having reduced the country to ashes he from this last place sent forward a detachment for the relief of Ologhrennan and Carlow Castles, whose garrisons were blocked up by the Irish. Having saved both places Ormonde proceeded to Stradbally, thence to Maryboro', and sent parties to relieve Ballinakill and other castles which were revictualled and supplied with ammunition. The castles of Burris, Knockmenease, and Birr, reduced to great straits by the Irish, received timely succour from a party of horse which proceeded through the woods of Mountrath, under the command of Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Charles Coote, Sir R. Grenville, and Captain Yarner. Burris, or Borris-in-Ossory, was garrisoned by the Protestants of Upper Ossory, who, at the moment of Coote's arrival, were after enduring many months of extreme suffering from want of provisions and from the assaults of the Irish under Bryan Fitzpatrick, 6th Lord Ossory. Birr Castle, garrisoned by the tenantry of William Parsons, also stubbornly resisted the attacks of the O'Carroll's and their Irish allies, till relieved by Coote; an exploit so hazardous and important that it procured for him the earldom of Mountrath. Ormonde having so far successfully fulfilled his mission returned to Athy on his way back to Dublin.

Mountgarret resolved to intercept him and for this purpose posted himself with 8,000 men and three or four troops of horse at Mageny Bridge, four miles from Athy. Lords Ikerrin and Dunboyne, Baron Purcell of Loughmoe, County Tipperary, S. Morgan Kavanagh, Hugh Byrne, Roger Moore, and many principal men of Kilkenny, Wexford, Carlow, Kildare, and Queen's Counties, joined Mountgarret, and so formidable a number, though poorly disciplined, made Ormonde uneasy as to the result, and in a council of war which he called it was resolved not to attack them openly, but bend their course towards Dublin, thus compelling the "rebels" either to move from their vantage-ground, or suffer them to return unimpeded.

Conformable to this resolution, Ormonde having left a few companies for the defence of Athy, marched from thence at six o'clock in the morning of the 15th of April. His entire force is said to have been less than 3,000. Sir T. Lucas led six troops of horse marching immediately behind the *avant-couriers*, who rode forward to clear the passages. Ormonde followed with his troop of volunteers and lieutenants, Lords Dillon, Brabazon, Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Charles Coote who commanded the rear of the foot, whilst Grenville had under him three troops of horse. Before they had proceeded beyond a mile they observed Mountgarret's men to the right, and the defile of Ballysonan through which the army must necessarily pass in order to reach their intended

quarters at Connell, was in imminent danger of being secured by them. Ormonde understanding that Mountgarret's forces, unencumbered as they were with the baggage, marched faster, he immediately sent forward Sir T. Lucas with all the available horse, excepting his own troop. Sir T. Lucas hastened onward under cover of a hill, which concealed him from Mountgarret, who finding himself outmarched, drew up his colours on a rising ground facing the enemy, and protected in front by some fences. Ormonde having quickly arrived, he marshalled his foot within two musket-shots of them. A steady fire was maintained on both sides till Lucas having espied an opening in the hedge, passed through it and charging the left wing of the Irish with three troops, he immediately put them to flight. Mountgarret who commanded the right wing was still firm. Ormonde now led his volunteers against him, seconded by Sir John Sherlock with 800 foot. For several rounds of shot the Irish kept their position, but were ultimately forced to retreat and break. Numbers of the fugitives took refuge in neighbouring bog. Mountgarret and Ikerrin reached Tullow. Roger O'Moore escaped to his own place near the Boyne. Hugh Byrne returned with his Wicklow men to his native county. Ormonde by this discomfit of Mountgarret at Kilrush, got from the House of Commons on the occasion £500 worth of a jewel, while it "*applauded the important service which he did in his own person, ordering the battle and manner of fight in all parts of it, and doing it with very great judgement, laying hold quickly and seasonably on all opportunities of advantage that could be gained, and sparing not resolutely to expose his own person to hazard equally with any commander*"

In this battle fell one of the noblest members of the Ballylinch and Leagan Graces. This was Gerald Grace, son of Oliver and Margaret Butler, sister to Lord Mountgarret. He is thus recorded in elegy:—

"Mourn for thy chieftain Ballylinch! the field
The battlefield where met the young and brave!
That sun which shone o'er many a broken shield
Gleam'd o'er thy youthful Gerald's soldier-grave.
There by his kinsman bold Mountgarret's side
While o'er the crimson'd plain high waved their crests;
There as a soldier loves to die he died,
There where a soldier loves to rest he rests."

The Irish lost about 700 men at Kilrush, but Ormonde on his fortunate escape and return to Dublin, was content to make no further experiments in wasting, pillaging, and murdering. The defeat had nothing more than a dispiriting effect upon the nation at large, whose heart soon throbbed with redoubled energy to sustain a movement of the most momentous import. The popular mind was too alive to the interests at stake to be gloomed in despair at the intelligence of such a failure. The bolder spirit which asserts itself despite mishaps was by this too advanced and too active to recede from the breasts of a people who felt that the "tree of hope, which they beheld prospectively blossoming, was but a sapling, which bowed only to the storm as it swept by," and who were convinced that those "who, to escape the

hurricane, had retired for a while, would soon *again* rally round it and guard it with greater energy and devotion."

The day that was to be witness of the solid union of the old Irish Catholics and their co-religionists of the Pale, was not far distant, as the 10th of May was at hand when the deliberations of the National Synod at Kilkenny, would bind together by the solemnity of an oath, all the Catholics of Ireland in one great confederate association. As a correct notion of how affairs stood between King Charles I and his English and Scotch subjects, was deemed necessary in the opening of this paper in order to make plain the justice of the war when it first broke out on the 23rd October, 1641, so now to justify it in its new phase of a Confederate war, we will just see how his Majesty at home is being treated by his revolting Parliamentarians and Puritanical factions.

From the dissolution of the Parliament which in 1629 declared "all enemies to the kingdom" who should introduce "innovation of religion, Popery or Arminianism, &c;" Charles had been trying to govern his discontented subjects without a House of Commons, and by the advice of Land and Wentworth, better known as the Earl of Strafford, down to 1640—that is for a period of eleven years, his Majesty exercised himself in the experiment of a Government as feeble as it was absolute. He was made convinced of this when he was compelled to purchase peace with the Scots in 1640, by a weekly subsidy of £5,600 till their return across the border. The demands of the Covenanters, backed by ready preparations for a march upon York, answered of necessity by the payment of gold instead of the application of steel, left no doubt on his Majesty's mind that his absolutism meant his weakness so long as it placed England behind him in revolt. His system of Government without Parliaments had in fact completely broken down, and yielding to the necessity of again convoking them, he thereby acknowledged the triumph of the popular party.

The Houses were once more summoned to Westminster. The returns of the writs included the names of Pym, Hampden, and Hollis, and such of the popular leaders as had survived the arbitrary despotism of Charles in the earlier Parliaments, and had undergone suffering in the cause of Constitutional liberty. Many of Pym's old compatriots were gone. Coke had died, Eliot had perished in prison, Cotton's health was shattered by oppression—Pym remained, and as he was resolute, and, according to Clarendon, "the most able to do hurt," he resolved to take occasion of the new change to secure a house which by its weight of popular representatives would be able to renew the struggle with the King, and chastise him for his eleven years of "deepening tyranny." He accordingly, "on the eve of the Long Parliament, rode through England to quicken the electors to a sense of the crisis which had come at last, and on the assembling of the Commons he took his place as not only member for Tavistock, but as *their acknowledged head*." The House of Commons was now Pym's great essential of constitutional life and liberty, and the House of Lords he looked upon as a useful ingredient of the Executive power so long as it did not obstruct the

public business, and served him in his designs to embarrass King Charles. When his Majesty accordingly refused to act with the Parliament, Pym treated his refusal as a temporary abdication on the part of the sovereign, which vested the control of affairs in the Parliaments of both Houses, pending arrangements. When the Lords refused their sanction he reminded them that their obstruction of public business would compel the Commons "to save the kingdom alone." Revolutionary as those two principles were at the time, they have since been acknowledged—the first at the departure of James II., in 1689, by the Convention and Parliament which declared his abdication—the second by the Reform Bill of 1832, which claims the government of the country to be really in the hands of the House of Commons, and can only be carried on by ministers representing the majority of that House. During the Long Parliament we may guess therefore that Charles was a king without power. Pym impeached Strafford, and the Scots denounced Land as "the great incendiary." Strafford was executed in 1641. In the opening of 1642 the Attorney-General exhibited articles of treason in the House of Commons against Pym, Hampden, Hollis, &c., and on the following day his Majesty went to the House to arrest them. They had taken refuge in the city, and on the King retiring to Hampton Court they were enthusiastically escorted back to the House by the London bands.

The conflict between the King and the Parliament ended in civil war, and on the 23rd October his Majesty encountered Essex at Edge Hill, in Warwickshire, where the first blood was spilt in a fierce but indecisive battle. It is easy to see from the above recital of events in England that King Charles, instead of being able to bestow his attention on his Irish Catholic subjects, and lend his assistance to check the rapacity of the Lords Justice and rabid severity of the Puritans, who were as ready to seek their vengeance on Protestants as well as Catholics, had quite enough to do to protect his own person and crown in the struggle now being waged between him and his rebellious English subjects. In fact, instead of lending his assistance to the Irish, he himself stood in extreme need of assistance from them. With the exploits of Ormonde, Coote, Greenville, &c., in burning and murder, and the unmasked intentions of the Puritan faction to seize all property and overturn every altar, the Irish Catholics and Catholic gentry of the Pale had no hope save in arms, and in a prolongation of the Confederate war in which they had already engaged. It was with no small concern, therefore, that the Irish people looked forward to the hopeful deliberations of the National Synod, which met at Kilkenny, on the 10th May, 1642. The Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, the Bishops of Ossory, Waterford, Kildare, Olonfert, Elphin, Down and Connor, besides proxies of other bishops with many dignitaries, attended, and an oath of association was drawn up, and a manifesto issued explanatory of the motives which influenced their counsels with rules for future guidance. In the manifesto is set forth that "Whereas the war which now in Ireland the Catholics do maintain against sectarians, and chiefly against Puritans, for the defence of the

Catholic religion, for the maintenance of the prerogative and royal rights of our gracious King Charles for the conversion of the just and lawful safeguard, liberties and rights of Ireland, and, lastly, for the defence of their own lives, fortunes, lands and possessions ; whereas, this war is undertaken for the aforesaid causes against unlawful usurpers, oppressors, and the enemies of Catholics chiefly Puritans we therefore declare that war openly Catholic to be lawful and just, in which war if some of the Catholics be found to proceed out of some particular and unjust title, covetousness, cruelty, revenge or hatred, we declare them therein grievously to sin, and worthy to be punished by ecclesiastical censures if advised thereof they do not amend."

The oath of association is the strongest of all proofs that the Confederates never meant to make war on their King, and that the entire movement from first to last was strictly in accordance with the motives assigned in the manifesto :—

"I, A.B., Do profess, swear, and protest before God and His saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear true faith and allegiance to my Sovereign, Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors, &c."

It is, we must confess, somewhat amusing to hear the cry of rebellion raised against those bound by such a solemn engagement to their King, whilst those who raised it were massing armed bands against him and devising unconstitutional methods to speed him to the block.

Besides the Oath of Association and Manifesto, the National Synod ordained the holding of a General Assembly, comprised of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, the clergy, nobility, and gentry of the counties, cities, and important towns, so as to make it a great representative council of the entire kingdom. The oath left no doubt as to its purpose. It reminded the truculent Parliamentary factions, and rabid Puritans, as well in England as in Ireland, that the Irish Catholics had made up their minds fully and unequivocally to risk their lives in defence of their properties, rights and religion, as also in upholding the authority and dignity of their king. The nobility and gentry who were in attendance at Kilkenny as the lay leaders of the movement, nominated with the concurrence of the bishops, a supreme council of which Lord Mountgarret was chosen president. In addition to this Supreme Council which represented the whole nation, there were elective councils ordained for each province, and a resolution passed that after the first meeting of the General Assembly in the coming October, deputies should be despatched to the Continent to enlist the sympathies and seek the assistance of foreign monarchs, and above all to supplicate the favour and benediction of Pope Urban VIII. The numbers who now daily came forward to take the Oath of Association showed how marvellously the counsels of the Synod quickened the intent of a trodden nation to assert its rights by the naked sword. Very soon, therefore, it was fighting in all the Provinces. General Barry who was chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Munster forces was repulsed before Cork, but early in June, with Lords

Ikerrin and Muskerry, he captured Limerick, and finally compelled Courtenay, who defended the castle, to capitulate.

The O'Dempseys made an attack on the Castle of Geashill, King's County, which Lady Letitia Digby, grand-daughter of Gerald, eleventh Earl of Kildare, withstood like a true Geraldine till the arrival of Coote and Lord Lisle, compelled the Irish to retire. Coote was shot soon after, by a party of Irish at Trim, and was buried with great pomp by the Parliamentarians in Dublin, leaving a son, Sir Charles, who also inherited those *virtues* which they inscribed on his father's tomb—

England's honor, Scotland's wonder,
Ireland's terror here lies under.

In Connaught, the O'Flahertys had seized Clanrickarde's Castle, of Aughrenure, who could not be induced to join the movement though reminded by the Bishops and Lord Mountgarret, that "no argument" of his, even should his Lordship "write it in *their* blood," would ever gain for him the confidence and affections of the Lord's Justice, so long as he "bore those marks by which they distinguished such as they have appointed for perdition."

The successes of the risings in Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon, compelled Lord Ranelagh, President of the Province, to shut himself up in Athlone Castle, where he was closely besieged by Sir James Dillon, till Ormonde's approach with 4,500 foot and 600 horse, forced the Irish to raise the siege. In Munster, the reductions of the several Castles of Limerick impeded the advance of the Confederates till the middle of August, when General Barry, penetrated into Cork, and laid siege to Liscarrol Castle whose garrison was under the command of Sir Philip Percival. It was considered by Inchiquin to be impregnable as being the strongest fortress in the kingdom, and its resolute defence of thirteen days against the 7,000 foot and 500 horse which invested it showed that he had good reason to rely on the position and bravery of the besieged. Inchiquin had been active all the while in collecting an army of 2,000 foot and 400 horse, and with this force he approached Liscarrol, and advanced against the Confederates. In the first charge he got badly wounded, and Lord Kinalmeaky, son to the Earl of Cork, fell dead beside him. After a brave resistance the Confederates broke and fled, and hundreds of the fugitives were slain in cold blood.

In Ulster the Confederates were in a weak, disorganised state, 7,000 of them were famished to death in and around Enniskillen by Sir William Cole, the Governor of the town, and the English garrisons of Derry, Drogheda and Newry, secured almost unopposed the counties round, giving no quarter to the insurgents. The arrival of Preston and Owen Roe O'Neill, rekindled the ardour of the dispirited Irish. The former landed in September, on the coast of Wexford, attended by 500 officers and was followed by the arrival of other Irish officers and soldiers, who had done duty in the French service.

Colonel Thomas Preston was brother to Lord Gormanstown. In 1634, he returned to Ireland from abroad and raised a regiment of 2,400 men in aid of the King of Spain. At the head of this little army

he signalized himself in the wars of Flanders, and in the defence of Louvain against the Dutch. He was Governor of Genappe in 1641, and only surrendered it on honourable terms to Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange, when the Dutch had lost great numbers and the walls were sapped. He withstood the fiercest rushes for the breach and blocked it with the dead bodies of his opponents displaying a bravery which even gained "great applause from the enemy." He had married a Flemish lady and could have lived in affluence in Flanders, but he turned to the distressed cries of his native country, and resolved to draw in her defence that same sword that had won him such bright distinction in the service of foreign armies. He brought with him 30 pieces of cannon, some field guns, and ordnance for battery, with large quantities of arms and ammunition. His principal officers were Cullen, Synnot, Plunket, and Burke, and the other officers and engineers were all men of long military experience.

Owen Roe O'Neill was son of Art O'Neill, youngest brother of Earl Hugh, who died in exile at Rome in 1616. He served in the imperial and Spanish armies with remarkable ability, which procured him high favour. He passed through all military posts and rose to a colonel. He defended Arras against the French in 1640, but was finally obliged to surrender, "yet his conduct in the defence was such," says Carte, "as gave him a great reputation, and procured him extraordinary respect even from the enemy." He brought with him to Ireland 100 officers, a company of veterans, and some ammunition. He landed at Castledoe, Donegal, and at a general meeting at Clones, in Monaghan, Sir Phelim O'Neill, his kinsman, resigned in his favour, contenting himself with the title of "President of Ulster," whilst Owen Roe was elected "General-in-Chief" of the army. The new general at once set about fortifying Charlemont Fort, in the county Armagh, which Sir Phelim had captured by stratagem, and which was too important a stronghold to be left in quiet by the enemy. Alexander Lesley, Earl of Levin (or Lieven), arrived at the same time from Scotland with 10,000 men. He got supreme command in those parts, and had an army of 20,000 and 1,000 horse under his command. He had known O'Neill abroad, and wrote to him saying "he was sorry that a man of his reputation and experience abroad should come to Ireland for the maintaining of so bad a cause." O'Neill replied that "he had more reason to come to relieve the deplorable state of his country, than *he* had to march at the head of an army into England against his king to force his Majesty to grant unreasonable conditions to him and his countrymen at a time when they were already masters of all Scotland."

Lesley having done no more with his mighty hosts than cross the lower Bann and pass through Derry and Tyrone, he returned to Scotland giving a caution to Monroe, that if he did not act promptly he would certainly be worsted if O'Neill once collected an army. Monroe disregarded the advice. By the following spring, O'Neill had worked up his forces in such a way as that no Monroe could despise him, and four years later, in the very heart of his ancestral home, he secured Monroe's hat, sword, and cloak at the ford of Benburb, and with a loss of only

70 killed, he left over 3,000 Scots dead upon the field. The General Assembly met at Kilkenny on the 24th October, 1642. In a previous paper I have sketched the proceedings of this first great representative meeting of the entire kingdom, and have now no necessity of repeating them. A very full account of this remarkable period may be seen in the "Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society, vol. 2, p. 307-360, by Cardinal Moran. A supreme council was elected consisting of twenty-four members, to which was added the name of the Earl of Castlehaven, and the President, Lord Mountgarret, took up his official residence in the Ormonde Castle. The provincial generals chosen were—For Ulster—Owen Roe O'Neill; Leinster—Colonel Preston; Munster—General Barry; and for Connaught—Colonel John Bourke. Ormonde, in view of these preparations, took occasion to have Lady Offaly and her family conducted in safety from the Castle of Geashill, and the Castles of Carlow, Maryborough, and Ballinakill supplied and garrisoned for future contingencies.

The provincial Generals being chosen, the Supreme Council for the purpose of giving effect to any instrument of theirs, caused a seal to be made, which was circular, in the centre a cross, the foot of which rested on a flaming heart, the top surmounted by a dove with wings displayed; on the dexter a harp, and on the sinister a crown, whilst round the edge was the motto — *Pro Deo Rege et Patria Hibernia unanimes*. One of the first instruments signed with this seal was an order to raise in Leinster 31,700 men, of whom 6,000 foot and 600 horse were to serve under General Preston and his Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Castlehaven (Sir James Touchet).

The raising of money and the establishment of a mint also engaged the Council, and though opposed by some as an invasion of the Royal prerogative, both points were carried, and the contributions of plate which were quickly sent forward made up a sum of £4,000, coined in half crowns of true silver value. The Council of the Confederates also ordered that 4,000 of red copper be "coyned to farthings and half-pence, with the harp and crowne on the one side and *two* septers on the other, and that everie pound of copper be made to the value of 2s. 8d." The half-crown pieces bore no device but a cross and figure indicative of their value. The half-pence, or as some think them the copper pennies, had on one side the figure of a crowned king kneeling and playing on a harp, and above the harp a crown, with the inscription *Floriat Rex*.

The Rev. O. P. Meehan, in his "Confederation of Kilkenny" (new edition, p. 48) considers that this figure on the obverse of the Confederate coin represents King David, but it is more likely that it is meant to represent the ancient Irish *Rí* or King. The reverse bears the figure of a mitred Bishop, the crozier in his left hand, and in his right a trefoil or shamrock, which he holds before the people who are gathered round him; with the legend *Eccæ Rex*.

The farthing had on the obverse the above crowned King, &c., and inscription—reverse—a mitred Bishop, holding in his right hand a *cross-crosslet*, and his left extended over serpents; in rear a church with the legend—*Quiescat Plebs*.

It was at one time a matter of discussion whether the coins so plentifully found in Ireland, and especially round Kilkenny, and marked or devised as above, were really Confederate coins or at all minted in Ireland. Sir James Ware was of opinion that the "rebel coin," the "St. Patrick's coin," as it was called, belonged to a later period, that of Charles II., but any child of history knows that the said Charles would much sooner obliterate the name of "Bishop" than give it fresh impression from his mint.

Much controversy prevailed in the middle of the present century as to the precise place where the Confederate coins (copper) were minted. The late Doctor Cane, of Kilkenny, was of opinion that the "St. Patrick's half-pence" were minted in the City, for the use of the Confederate Assembly, whilst the pennies, he considered, from their finish, to have been transferred hither from the Continent. Large sums of money came from the Irish agents abroad, and the Nuncio borrowed, according to Carte, a great amount from the Spanish agent, Diego de la Torre, of which he gave £9,000 to O'Neill, and he brought with him to Ireland £12,000 from the Pope. Father James Talbot sent over 20,000 dollars he had collected in Spain, but whether the Confederate pennies were portion or not of the money brought by Rinuccini, and struck on the Continent, has not been satisfactorily established. In arms, money, and ammunition remitted from abroad and collected at home, the Confederates had soon supplied them the sinews of war. They were also expeditious in using them.

Preston at the head of 25,000 foot and some troops of horse besieged the Castle of Borris, which surrendered. From thence he marched to Birr, which after five days capitulated on honourable terms, which Preston faithfully observed, and the garrison and inhabitants to the number of 800 men, under the safe conduct of Castlehaven went to their English quarters at Athy. He also took Bannagher, and with the exception of a repulse at Ballinakill from Colonel Moncke and Captain Yarnier, and a subsequent defeat by the same at Timahoe, in which he lost 60 men, Preston had within six weeks all the principal forts of the King's County reduced.

This was in January of 1643. His eldest son, Anthony Preston, was not so fortunate. He encountered Sir Anthony Grenville, who was marching to the relief of Lord Ranelagh; at Rathconnell, beyond Mullingar, where he was defeated with the loss of 250 men and taken prisoner. The successes of the Confederates placed King Charles under the necessity of no longer despising them. He knew by this time his own position, and he well understood that those who kept up the cry of his "rebellious Irish subjects" were men who, like his Lords Justice in Dublin, wanted "some competent portion of the 'rebels' land," and his royal neck under the axe. Mindful also of what he had got by his contempt of the Scots, King Charles thought it best to issue a commission to empower certain persons to treat with the Confederates on those very points to which if he had heretofore attended he might have saved his throne and head. The commission was directed to the Marquis of Ormonde, the Earls of Clanricarde and Roscommon, Vis-

count Moore, Sir Thomas Lucas, Sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, and was dated the 11th January, 1643. The business was altogether distasteful to the Lords Justice Parsons and Borlase, who in 1642, consequent on a vote of the English House of Commons for the confiscation of two and a-half millions Irish acres, wrote a private letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons begging a bestowal of a large and competent portion of the "rebels' land." Misrepresentations of all kinds were accordingly circulated by them with the intent of putting a stop to the commission, and hastening the total ruin of his Majesty's kingdom. Reynolds and Goodwin, who, in the interest of the English Parliament, were watching events, endeavoured to get a paper signed by the citizens of Dublin, signifying their condemnation of the commission, but failed to procure any signatures of note except those of the malignant Roundheads. King Charles at once reprimanded the Lords Justice for having admitted, without his knowledge, Reynolds and Goodwin to sit in council with them. Parsons and Borlase had not control over the army, which at this time was devoted to Ormonde and to the King's service. Unable, accordingly, to set the royal mandate against the admission to the council of Reynolds and Goodwin at defiance, they made a pretended apology to his Majesty that "they had erred out of infirmity and weakness of judgment." A conference between the Commissioners Royal and the Confederate Committee was arranged to meet at Trim, on the 17th March. To defeat the meeting the Lords Justice resolved to put the army in the field, assigning as a motive that it could no longer subsist in Dublin from want of supplies from England, on the confidence whereof they had burned all the corn in the country, and were now in peril of being themselves devoured by want. They, therefore, opposed any cessation of arms, and they concerted with the Parliamentary committee to displace Ormonde, and make Lord Lisle general of the forces in the intended expedition. The Marquis of Ormonde saw through their design, and unwilling as he was to engage in a perilous advance with an ill-provided army, yet he signified to the Lords Justice that as the entire command was entrusted to him by his Majesty, he could allow of no movements of any considerable part of the forces without being himself at its head. This disconcerted the plans of the Lords Justice, and compelled Ormonde to move against the confederates of Wexford.

On the 2nd March, 1643, the Marquis left Dublin. His force consisted of 2,500 foot and 500 horse, provided with two battering demi-culverins and four field-pieces. On his way through Kildare to Carlow he took Castlemartin, Kildare, Timolin, and Tullow. At Carlow he halted to hold a Council of War and allow the provision carriages to come up. From Carlow he marched to New Ross, and on the 12th of March planted his battery before the walls. Meantime Preston and Mountgarret hastened to the relief of the town, which had only two companies of foot, under the command of Captain Arthur Fox. They sent forward 1,500 men under the command of Lieutenant-General Purcell, and encamped themselves with about 4,000 or 5,000 horse and foot about two or three miles from Ross, at the pass of Temple

Wodigan (Ballibeg), through which Ormonde should retreat in case he was beaten back from the town and compelled to raise the siege. This is exactly what did happen. Ormonde expected to find on his arrival at Ross a ship laden with provisions and ammunition from the Lords Justice, anchored at Duncannon. The vessel had not arrived, and Ormonde found himself in great straits until Lord Esmonde, Governor of Duncannon, sent him, according to Oarte, "10,000 weight of biskit, 15 barrels of powder, as many firkins of bullets, 60 culverin—13 minion—shot, and 9 hand grenadoes," and he also provided the Marquis with a ship and one of his own barques.

Ormonde made use of these to annoy the town with shot, whilst his own battery played on the walls. The Confederates planted a brace of cannon on the opposite side of the Barrow, which they brought to bear on the annoying vessels as they lay at anchor. A storm arose which prevented them from escaping from under the fire of the guns, which very soon tore in atoms their rigging and sent them to the bottom. Ormonde having made a breach by his ordnance ordered the assault, which was led by Sir Fulk Hunks and Major Morris. The resistance was terrific. The women of Ross flung themselves into the breach, and woolpacks were plentifully used to block it up. The assailants were again and again beaten back, and the bravery of the defenders finally repulsed them with the loss of many killed and Major Morris severely wounded. Ormonde and his army were now threatened by hunger. He was a long distance from Dublin. Lord Esmonde's biscuits were eaten down to four a piece, sufficient for three days only, and the men of Ross, and the women of Ross, were resolved that neither he nor his soldiers should ever eat a crust of theirs within their walls. The Marquis was accordingly compelled to raise the siege, which he did on the 17th, and advanced against the Confederates under Mountgarret and Preston. The latter had no cannon, but the want of such was more than counterbalanced by the position which they occupied, if only good generalship had kept them to it. Between them and Ormonde was a bog with a passage of half a mile by which only four horses could march abreast. Ormonde should either force the pass and cut his way through the main body of the Confederates at the opposite extremity, or have his army perish of starvation. Either alternative almost inevitably meant his annihilation if only Preston had been less hasty. His impatience was his destruction. He crossed over the pass and occupied a new position screened from Ormonde's view by a rising ground. Ormonde having been apprized of the mistake at once turned it to advantage by marching in regular order, and with stilled drums, till he reached the summit of the hill in full view, and at half musket-shot distance of the Confederates.

The horse of the latter occupied a lane protected by high ditches and ready for attack. Ormonde placed in opposition two divisions of foot at the mouth of the lane, with four field pieces at convenient distances between them, whilst behind them two more pieces were brought to bear on the passage of the lane itself. The two regiments opened fire right and left. Molineuse, with the cannon, swept the centre. Eighty men

and horses fell dead under the first fire which forced the survivors into the open field where the enemy's cannon had full play on them. Lord Lisle, Lieutenant-General, and Sir T. Lucas, Commissary-General of the Ormonde horse, entered the open ground. Lisle's horse was shot under him, and the two opposing sections closed in fierce conflict which lasted some time till both disappeared out of sight.

Ormonde immediately led the attack on the infantry, who were put to flight. The loss on the Confederate side is set down by Oarte at 500, with several commanders and persons of quality, whilst the loss on Ormonde's side was only about 20 killed and a few wounded. Though fought some two miles from the town, on the 18th March, 1643, it is known in history as the battle of Ross, and, undoubted as was the military reputation of both Preston and Mountgarret, it established Ormonde's superiority over them as a general. Preston, of course, was mostly to blame in this action for his imprudence and versatility in moving from a position where victory was assured him, but if the loss of the battle be not partly ascribed to Mountgarret also, Kilrush, at all events, was his where Ormonde defeated him, as already mentioned, and under considerable disadvantage. Preston made a still more fatal blunder when, after the battle, having crossed the Barrow he broke down the bridge to prevent pursuit. His loss was too inconsiderable to fear much from the victorious side, who had not a morsel of provisions, and could have been starved to death if Preston had left intact the passage of the river, whereby his men could return, and by a guerilla warfare prevent them from scouring the country at their will, and getting plenty of the necessaries on their entire way back to Dublin. Preston, meantime, recruited his army and besieged Ballinakill, whilst Castlehaven marched with 1,500 horse and foot to relieve Ballybrittas Castle, which was assailed by Colonel Crawford. At his approach Crawford drew away and crossed the Barrow, narrowly escaping death from a musket ball, which broke his thigh. Castlehaven returned to unite with Preston, and Ballinakill, unable to hold out against them, capitulated, and the garrison was safely conducted by the former to the English one at Athy. In answer to the appeal of the Confederate Assembly foreign envoys arrived from the Courts of France and Spain, and Father Peter Scarampi came over to Kilkenny with a Bull of Indulgences for the Irish Catholics, from Pope Urban, a quantity of arms and ammunition, and 30,000 dollars collected by Father Luke Wadding, the Confederate agent at Rome. He found that matters were not very satisfactory in Kilkenny, the Anglo-Irish of the Pale being desirous of a discontinuance of the war, whilst nothing but its vigorous prosecution would satisfy the old Irish and the Bishops, so long as the Catholics were not guaranteed by his Majesty unrestricted liberty of conscience and the free exercise of their religion. King Charles was anxious that there should be a cessation, but he signified his unwillingness to abrogate the penal statutes regarding religion, or admit of more liberty under them than the toleration used in his predecessors' reigns, and "in his own before the rebellion." His Majesty, however, was hard pressed at home, and in sad plight for men

and money. He ordered Ormonde to bring matters to a close, who effected accordingly a cessation of hostilities for a year at Sigginstown, near Naas. The Confederate Commissioners agreed to pay his Majesty over £30,000 in consideration of their insisting to hold many of the most important towns of the provinces.

The cessation pleased neither party. The old Irish were displeased at it, because they considered that a vigorous prosecution of the war at a time when the Parliamentary forces were reduced in many places to extreme want, would compel his Majesty to end hostilities by granting them the terms of free religious exercise and security of property, for which they had assumed arms. The Puritans likewise did not want the cessation, because, they, being linked with the Parliamentary faction of England and Ireland, based their hopes of aggrandizement on the confiscations and ruin which a continuance of the struggle would inevitably bring upon the Catholics. To stop further effusion of blood was not the interest of this party, and the Parliament of England was not slow in protesting against all peace with the "Irish rebels," and censuring King Charles for receiving any proposals from them, though truly such were ever more loyal and respectful than "those insolent and traitorous addresses which were made him by the English rebels under the humble style of petitions." To show still more its dislike of the truce, the English Parliament ordered "that no Irishman or Papist born in Ireland should have quarter in England." The treaty having thus proved distasteful to all parties except the Ormondists, we must not wonder that complaints were soon raised on both sides, the Confederates and Puritans, of its violation. Munroe, who was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Ulster forces, in total disregard of the cessation, marched his army of Scots-English and Undertakers, to the number of 10,000, southwards to Newry, where he put to the sword, after surrender, 60 men, 18 women, and 2 ecclesiastics. In Munster, Inchiquin and Broghill condemned the cessation, and as barbarously expelled, and put to the sword the Catholics of the South. The wily Ormonde viewed with complacency such unjustifiable proceedings and refused, in conformity to the articles of agreement, to check them. The king finding his own case growing more gloomy every day in England, was desirous of a permanent peace with the Confederates, but Ormonde threw endless delays in the way and killed all hope of bending him to terms which the Catholics could consistently accept. Accordingly his Majesty despatched to Ireland, a more trusted envoy. Herbert, son to the Marquis of Worcester, and son-in-law to O'Brien, Earl of Thomond, and being moreover a Catholic, and devotedly attached to the Royal cause, it was hoped that his Embassy would be received with less distrust and lead to the establishment of peaceful results.

On his arrival at Kilkenny, he explained his mission to the Confederate Council, and the powers the king had conferred on him. As his terms were exceptional, preliminary articles were agreed to and signed by him on behalf of his Majesty, and by Mountgarret and Muskery on the part of the Confederates. Catholics were to enjoy the free and public exercise of their religion; (2) to hold all churches except those

then actually possessed by the Protestants; (3) to be exempt from the jurisdiction of Protestant clergy; (4) neither Ormonde nor any other person or persons to have power to disturb the Catholics in those privileges. For these concessions the Confederates were to send into England under Glamorgan, 10,000 armed men to assist the King.

Ormonde refused his concurrence to the articles, and having detained the Commissioners ten weeks in useless discussions, they returned to Kilkenny, to report failure by presenting a modified treaty. Just at this moment the Pope's Nuncio, John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, made his solemn entry into the City, on the 14th of November (old style) 1645. The notice of his reception I have already given in my note on the Comerford Family, of Ballybur (Inquisition 4 Eliz.—p 62), and need not here repeat it. On the 20th of November he paid a formal visit to Mountgarret, President of the Supreme Council, who had taken up his abode in the Ormonde Castle. The Nuncio addressed him in Latin and signified that the object of his mission was "to sustain the King, then so perilously circumstanced, but above all to rescue from pains and penalties the people of Ireland, and to assist them in securing the free and public exercise of their religion, and the restoration of Churches and Church property of which fraud and violence had so long deprived their rightful inheritors." The Nuncio in writing to Rome, made mention of the cold manner in which Mountgarret deported himself towards him on his entry to the gallery, and on his retiring by his merely rising in his place without advancing according to the etiquette of the period to meet and accompany him.

There were now before the Confederates for their consideration two treaties—Glamorgan's *secret* and honourable one and Ormonde's modified—*open* and insulting one. The advocates of the former were called *Nuncionists* and those of the latter *Ormondists* and the great game of the Marquis was to widen the breach between them. Glamorgan produced an instrument to the Nuncio, wherein was expressed the King's declaration that his Majesty would ratify whatever terms he (Glamorgan) thought best to make with the Confederates. One condition of the King was that the concessions made by Glamorgan should be kept *secret*. "And therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant, with all possible secrecy, and for whatever you shall engage yourself upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgement shall deem fit, we promise on the word of a king and a Christian to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you and under your hand and seal, the said Confederate Catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service."

Rinuccini had his misgivings in the sincerity of the Royal intention, as expressed in the warrant. He disliked the notion of "publishing the political articles whilst those of religion were to be kept secret, and thought that the force of these last depended only on the life of Glamorgan, which was too precarious a foundation."

He did not come for the purpose of encouraging the Irish Catholics to be always mendicants at the door of England for religious rights, and feel content if the master of the house gave them a pittance in secret.

"Rinuocini's views," says Father Meehan, "were those of an uncompromising prelate. He had learned to appreciate the impulsiveness of the true Irish character, and determined to convince the Confederates that they had within their own body all the materials which were required to insure success. He set his mind on one grand object, the freedom of the Church, in possession of all her rights and dignities, and the emancipation of the Catholic people from the degradation to which English imperialism had condemned them. The churches which the piety of Catholic lords and chieftains had erected he determined to secure to the rightful inheritors. His mind and feelings recoiled from the idea of worshiping in crypts and catacombs. He abhorred the notion of a priest or bishop performing a sacred rite as though it were a felony; and spite the wily artifices of Ormonde and his faction, he resolved to teach the people of Ireland that they were not to remain mere dependants on English bounty, when a stern resolve might win for them the privileges of freemen."

In order to infuse a new spirit into the Irish and teach them self-reliance, Rinuocini set himself to reconcile differences which existed between some of the Confederate chiefs, especially the O'Neills. Owen Roe O'Neill, who, according to Carte, "was a man of clear head and good judgment," was, moreover, vastly the superior of any of the Confederate generals in military tactics. Sir Phelim, his kinsman, though he had willingly resigned to him the command of the Ulster army on his arrival at Castle Doe, in Donegal, in the July of 1642, yet viewed him as his rival, not only as a soldier, but also as claimant to the chieftancy of his sept. Sir Phelim had, moreover, married for his second wife the daughter of Preston, Owen Roe's rival, "a circumstance which must have added to his enmity for Owen Roe," who superlatively despised Preston, not, I am inclined to think, from any preference shown him by the Confederate Council, but because he had plainly seen in his engagements with the enemy, military blunders and incapacity which could not be well reconciled with his former fame in Continental armies.

The Nuncio entertained the highest esteem for Owen Roe, and the brilliant victory which the latter soon won over Monroe and the Scots (5th June, 1646) was enough to re-assure the former that his judgment of the Ulster General was even under the true estimate. The brightest achievements, however, count for little when disunion prevails amongst the chief members of the body, nay, they are surer to excite jealousy against the individuals who accomplish them than secure any permanent good on behalf of the community. It was so after the battle of Benburb. The Nuncio had scarcely floated in solemn procession in Limerick the captured standards of Monroe, sent him by O'Neill, when the popular *paans* they excited were drowned and forgotten in the heated and angry discussions on the Peace Articles, which were resumed in the Confederate Assembly.

The Ormondists at length prevailed, and the treaty was duly ratified. The Nuncio held his Synod in Waterford, which condemned the peace and declared all Catholics perjurers who adhered to it. The people unani-

mously sided with the Nuncio, and to overawe the popular indignation Mountgarret and Muskerri invited Ormonde to march on Kilkenny. The Viceroy received a real ovation in the city, but he had no sooner departed for Munster when the enthusiasm of the citizens was damped by the intelligence of O'Neill's approach at the head of his fierce northern troops. He encamped at Parkgrove, near Ballyragget, and Mountgarret bitterly complained of the wholesale manner in which the Ulster army devoured his deer.

The Nuncio repaired to O'Neill's camp, and after a few days they entered the city, when "the rejoicings," says Cardinal Moran, which greeted the Viceroy a few weeks before were now renewed to welcome the representative of the Holy See, and the citizens, by the exuberance of their joy, sought to atone for their former weakness. Mountgarret was spared the nominal imprisonment which was inflicted on his son, Edmund Butler, and the other members of the Supreme Council—his advanced age having pleaded his excuse.

A temporary Council, with the Nuncio President, was chosen, pending a new meeting of the General Assembly. Mountgarret has been severely censured for temporising and intriguing with Ormonde at this stage of the Confederate movement, but events had grown so hopeless even in England, that possibly he altogether despaired of obtaining ultimately better terms for the Irish Catholics than those offered by the Viceroy.

Any hope that flickered before the Royal cause in England, died at Naseby, in 1645, and in the same year (September), every expectation of aid which King Charles may have entertained from his ancient Scotch subjects, perished also with the defeat of Montrose. Driven from his last quarters at Oxford, in May, 1646, the King threw himself into the hands of his rebellious Scots at Newark, "who deprived him not only of the freedom of his person, but even of the liberty of his mind—all power of expressing anything but what they would have him, being taken away. Thus they obliged him on the 11th of that month (June) to send orders to the Marquis of Ormonde to proceed no further in the Treaty of Peace, and not to engage him upon conditions with the Irish after sight of those orders" (Carte's Ormonde, vol. 1, p. 572). We therefore find that from King Charles the Irish Catholics could no longer expect any redress of their grievances. His faithless countrymen, the Scots, had him in their power, and they were bent on getting as many pounds sterling from the English Parliament, for their royal prize as would enable them to bear the reproach of having sold their King when they re-crossed the Tweed. With matters come to such a pass in England and Scotland, it was clear enough that the Parliamentarians would triumph, and that the gloom which had already settled down on the head of King Charles would soon deepen in his death. The question, therefore, of pressing consideration for the Irish was:—Would the Confederates by protracting the war be likely to humble the power of the Parliamentarians and Puritans, or even prove so stubborn a resistance to their armies as finally to extract conditions worthy of honourable opponents.

At this distance of time it is difficult to say what may have been wisely thought then, but with the Confederate body, split into two factions, with jealousies, rancours, discords and intrigues rampant in its Councils, a man of Mountgarret's years and experience might be excused for thinking that the war would ultimately die down to internal squabbles and miserable strifes, resulting in wholesale confiscations, and in far worse terms *even* for religion than those offered by Ormonde. It is true that as Mountgarret was reckoned amongst the Ormondist faction, and was, moreover, President of the Supreme Council, *apparently* he is culpable both as a party to the above dissensions, and for not using the power of his position to check them. I believe he quietly deplored the divisions, and was powerless even to soften them. Personally, I don't think he cared for his own fate. Hereafter we shall find him dying a fugitive from his native city, in the "last refuge of his defeated countrymen," and that whilst heading a Confederate remnant, the best possible proof that he clung in death to the cause and principles for which he had at first assumed arms.

Meantime Ormonde had made good his return to Dublin from Munster. He found the city in a very untenable position, and anticipating an attack from the Confederates, he lost no time in repairing the trenches and fortifications. The Marchioness of Ormonde and many ladies of quality inspired the utmost vigour in accomplishing the work by carrying forward baskets of earth for the purpose. There seems to be little doubt of Ormonde's intention at this juncture of surrendering Dublin to the Parliamentarians, as the want of necessaries for his army threatened him in case of a prolonged siege, with inevitable ruin. The Marquis was loyal enough so long as loyalty did not land his personal safety in unavoidable risk. When it did he was ready to join the camp of the King's enemies, and battle with them to the prejudice of his Majesty against the Old Irish, whom he detested, and against their religion, which he abhorred. So true is this that Carte admits he was at this time in treaty with the Parliamentarian agents, Sir F. Willoughby, the Lord Chief Justice Lowther, and Sir Paul Davys, the propositions submitted being "that the Parliament should immediately send over 3,000 foot and 500 horse, which, with the forces already about Dublin, would make 7,150 foot besides officers and 1,000 horse, and three months' pay for that number; that all Protestants of the kingdom, and others who adhered to them since October 23, 1641, all the British and others who had been forced to continue in the Irish quarters for some time after the rebellion broke out, and since returned to the English quarters, &c., should be preserved in their persons and estates." Under such conditions the Lord Lieutenant undertook to prosecute the war vigorously against the *Irish rebels*, and make no treaty of peace or cessation with them, "but by the express direction of the Parliament of England." (Carte's Ormond, vol. 1, p. 585-6). It was therefore of pressing importance that Dublin should, if possible, be seized before it was delivered over to the Puritans, and the Nuncio with the Council urged an immediate seizure. The Nuncio, moreover, was for committing the execution of such to O'Neill, *alone*, whose sincerity was above suspicion, and his fame

as a general unquestionable. The Bishop of Ferns, however, insisted that as Preston was general of Leinster, it would be an unpardonable slight upon him not to employ him in the siege of the Metropolis of his Province, and that possibly he might resent the affront by going right over to Ormonde. "The Nuncio," says Carte, "submitted to this resolution with a very ill grace, and by a preposterous conduct in politics obliged Preston to take an oath that he would proceed sincerely, vigorously, and, to the utmost of his power, in the siege of Dublin, when no such engagement was required from O'Neill, thus plainly expressing his jealousy of a man whom he was forced to trust with a supreme command in a service of the utmost consequence."

It is meaningless to talk of Rinuccini as being *jealous* of Preston, for if that general's mishaps had been more than counter-balanced by his victories it would, of course, have been all the more glorious for the purpose the Nuncio had at heart. The fact is, the Nuncio considered his military talents much inferior to O'Neill's, and his fidelity, too, somewhat more questionable than that of the Ulster general. Preston had already raised obstacles to an immediate march on Dublin, and when required to take the above oath he refused to do so unless qualified with the assurance that the city should not be assaulted "without first having sought ampler concessions from the Lord Lieutenant." Carte omits all mention of such conduct on Preston's part, because it would have shown that the Nuncio had good reason to suspect his honesty, and hence considered it wise to impose an oath upon him which would secure public confidence in him, when he "was forced to trust him with a supreme command in a service of the utmost importance."

To seize Dublin was uppermost in the heart of the Nuncio, and he must have been a man of iron resolution to face the experiment with two rival generals and two rival armies, with officers on both sides, also involved in their hatreds and discords. O'Neill advanced through the Queen's County and took Maryborough and Dysart with several strong castles. Bending eastward he seized Stradbally and Athy, where he crossed the Barrow and was met by the Nuncio, who assembled his Council in the Castle of Kilkea, whilst O'Neill encamped at Harristown.

Preston marched by Carlow without molesting its castle, and made over a month's delay in bringing up his army, with no other object, seemingly, but that of giving Ormonde time to have the capital in complete defence, and his position strengthened to the utmost. At length both generals reached Lucan, when the dissensions between them were renewed as hotly as ever, and the Nuncio finding it impossible to reconcile them would have seized and imprisoned Preston were it not that some of the Council were of opinion that the Leinster army would resent such severity and kindle a flame which would prove fatal to the common good. Just a fortnight had been spent mostly in useless endeavours to effect an understanding between O'Neill and Preston, when a false alarm was given that the Parliamentarians had actually seized Dublin. The armies at once dispersed, and in a few days the Nuncio and his two rival generals returned to Kilkenny.

The Nuncio was for once convinced that by even the combined efforts of two such, no good could be effected in the open field. He had made with them a costly move on Dublin, and with no greater result than the alarm of their approach, and the memory of their camp fires on the North bank of the Liffey.

It was now towards the close of the year (1646), and the people felt anxious for a meeting of their representatives in a new general assembly. The imprisoned members of the old Council were let free, and a mutual engagement was subscribed to by O'Neill and Preston, that they would sink their past misunderstandings and act in concord for the public good. On the 10th January, 1647, eleven spiritual Peers, fourteen temporal Peers, and two-hundred-and-seventy-six Commons met in Kilkenny, to deliberate on the condition of the country, and the measures best adapted for the securing of civil and religious rights.

The Nuncio and the Confederate representatives, with the envoys of France and Spain, assisted at High Mass in St. Canice's, Bishop David Roth officiating. Next day all met in the gallery of Kilkenny Castle, and for three weeks there was nothing but scenes of confusion and heated discussions on the peace concluded with Ormonde and the censures against those who had subscribed to it. The Nuncio, in his address, ably defended the course adopted by the synod of Waterford, and finally carried a resolution by a majority of 289 against 12, "That the nation would accept of no peace not containing a sufficient security for the religion, lives, and estates of the Confederate Catholics."

A new oath was also taken by the assembly, all having sworn that they would never lay down their arms until the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion, such as it was under Henry VII., was restored and confirmed by law, as also the full enjoyment of jurisdiction by the Catholic Clergy with such Churches and Church livings as were then in, or might fall hereafter, to their possession, as, also the repeal of all laws made against Roman Catholics since the reign of Henry VIII. All who would refuse to take the oath were denounced by proclamation as traitors to God and country.

Ormonde anxiously awaited the issue of the Assembly, and finding, as he had surmised, that it did not favour his views, he resolved to deliver Dublin and the other garrisons in his custody to the Puritans. He was forced to lead the greater part of the army into Westmeath, in order to provide sustenance during the sitting of the Confederate Assembly, and the same distress reigned in all the towns under his control.

"The soldiers were in a manner naked, their arms unfixed, and the whole army in danger of disbanding. The artillery wanted carriages; there were no muskets, pistols, swords or pikes in the stores, and but seventeen barrels of powder of which five were useless" (Carte's Ormonde, vol. 1, p. 59). With an army so destitute Ormonde foresaw the inevitable fate that awaited him should O'Neill properly recruit his force and overtake him. He also knew that if the Ulster General moved on Dublin, that it was in no defence to resist him, and must of necessity fall into his hands. As he "hated the Catholics with an intense hatred

and would rather have seen the Crescent of Mahometanism flying from Dublin Castle than the standard of the Confederates," he scornfully rejected all overtures of a compromise with them, and on the 6th February, wrote to the Parliamentary Commissioners, "offering to deliver up the sword and garrisons to such persons as the Parliament should depute to receive them upon the conditions which they had lately offered." The Parliament after some delay noticed him that he should send his son and some persons of quality as hostages for the performance of the articles, and accordingly he sent as such Sir Richard Butler, his second son, afterwards Viscount Tulloch and Earl of Arran, with Colonel Arthur Chichester, Sir James Ware, and the Earl of Roscommon, who arrived at Chester, where Sir Richard remained, whilst the three last proceeded to London with the Marquis's instructions. In hopes of getting permission to carry men into foreign service, he evaded delivering the *regalia* till the close of July following, when having received £5,000 in hand, and a promise of £2,000 a year to console him for his "abominable treason," he went on board a frigate, and on the 2nd of August, landed at Bristol.

After the departure of Ormonde, Colonel Jones took possession of Dublin Castle for the Parliamentarians. A series of disasters rapidly befell the Confederates, and rendered their condition desperate. The Southerners vented their displeasure of Glamorgan in mutiny, with the result that Lord Muskerry, their old general was restored, who appointed Lord Taaffe commander, "a creature of Ormonde's, and a vain, hasty weakminded man, destitute of every quality which could fit him for the post." Preston as usual was unfortunate, and by his bad generalship lost over 5,000 men at Dungan Hill, in Meath, where Jones, by forced marching from Dublin, overtook him. The silly, inactive Lord Taaffe was no obstacle to the devastations of Inchiquin, who burned and pillaged and massacred like a Tartar Tamerlane throughout Munster and Tipperary, and in his sack of Cashel, at the close of September (1647) so filled her streets and sanctuary on the Rock, with such ghastly, butchered heaps of armed and unarmed, lay and cleric, as bears scarce a parallel in the sanguinary exploits of an "unchained demon."

On the 13th November following he defeated Taaffe at the hill of Knocknanoi, near Mallow, where about 4,000 Confederates fell, and the chivalrous Sir Alexander MacDonnell (Oolkitto) was slain after a display of bravery as remarkable as that which three years previously had gained him a soldier's fame in the Scottish victories of Montrose. Defeats so crushing strained the position of the Confederates to the utmost and led to secret negotiations between the Supreme Council and Inchiquin, which, becoming known, were resisted by the Nuncio, who strongly protested against "any accommodation with the man whose hands were still red with the blood of the priests whom he had massacred on the rock of Cashel." The truce was nevertheless signed, and the Nuncio having issued a sentence of excommunication against all who accepted it, repaired to O'Neill's camp at Maryborough. This was about the 20th May, 1648, and the remainder of the year was

spent in fruitless attempts on the part of Preston and Inchiquin, who united their efforts to crush O'Neill.

Ormonde, who had been the while at the Court of St. Germain's, was kept aware of the turn of affairs, and at the request of Inchiquin and the Confederates returned to Ireland towards the close of the year. On the 17th January, the Confederate Assembly visited him at his Castle, Kilkenny, and Sir Richard Blake, chairman, presented him with the articles of peace, which he confirmed on behalf of the king. Thus was the war brought to a close, and Rinuccinni in the month of February embarked at Galway and returned to Rome through Normandy. With the termination of the war the history of Lord Mountgarret comes nearly to an end also. The Confederates and Ormondists were now united. King Charles had lost his head on the scaffold on the 30th of January, 1649, and Ormonde thought it wisest to proclaim the Prince of Wales sovereign under the title of Charles II., whilst the blood of his father was yet unblotted from the pavements of Whitehall. By such an act Ormonde was deemed a traitor by the proclamation of the Parliamentarians, who in England voted the "House of Lords useless and dangerous," and declared the office of king unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous, and, therefore, to be abolished. Thus were Ormonde, Mountgarret, and the Confederates ranged on the side of fallen royalty against a faction which had kept up the cry of "rebel Irish" from the outbreak of the war in 1641, in order to prevent the late king from granting them (the Irish) those concessions which would restore peace, and induce them to arm in his defence against his English and Scotch subjects. Lord Mountgarret was appointed Governor of the County Kilkenny by Ormonde, and became much enfeebled by sickness. The success of the Parliamentarians and Cromwell's wars which followed are matters of general history, and his lordship was not able to take a very active part in them, nor can it be said that Ormonde, whose health permitted him to do so, displayed much anxiety to check their horrors.

The Confederates went down before the arms of the Parliament, and Mountgarret, with a remnant of them, took refuge in Galway. Here it was he died in 1652, when Ludlow besieged it. The precise day is unknown, but as Galway surrendered on the 30th of March of the above year, it was probably in that month he found his grave there. In Cromwell's Act of Settlement, passed soon after, he was excepted, though dead, from pardon of life or estate. What the loss of estate meant may be understood from the "Book of Survey and Distribution," in the appendix to this work.

During life, Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret, had been the intimate friend of Bishop David Roth, who frequently visited him at his Castle of Balleen, and partook of his hospitality. During the stirring period already noticed, Mountgarret had erected a monument in St. Canice's Cathedral, beneath which he intended his remains should rest. His hope in this was not, however, realized, as Lodge and others erroneously assert, for, as I have already stated, it was at Galway at the head of a Confederate remnant he met his death, and was there

buried. The following is the inscription in incised Roman letters on the said monument:—

D. O. M.

Sacrum

Illmus, ac Nobilis, Richardus Butler vice comes de Mountgarret, Baro. de Kells, &c., Ex antiquissimis primariis in Hibernia Nobilitatis familiis oriundus utpote Petri Butler Ormoniae et Ossorie comitis ac Margaretæ Fitz Gerald filiae comitis de Kildar pronepos, vir religione in Deum, pietate in Patriam, fidelitate in Regem, Pace Belloque conspicuus; de rege, regno, Ecclesia Dei pro quibus fortiter periculis et maxime turbatis temporibus stetit optime meritis; felix ac fecundæ Proles Parens; sibi maioribus ac Posteris hoc Monumentum pie posuit; Memoriam sui nunquam morituram reliquit Obiit ille [] Ano 16 []

Defuncto ac Nobilissimæ vice comitum de Mountgarret familiae bene precare viator.

Translation—Sacred to God, most excellent, most mighty. The most illustrious and most noble Lord Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret, Baron of Kells, &c., sprung from the most ancient families of the chief nobility in Ireland, as being the great-grandson of Peter (Piers) Butler, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, and Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare—a man conspicuous both in peace and war for religion to God, piety to country, and fidelity to king—most highly deserving of the king, kingdom, and Church of God, for which he bravely stood in perilous and most disturbed times; the parent of a prosperous and prolific issue—for himself, ancestors, and posterity he piously erected this monument. Of himself he left an unperishable memory. He died [] in the year 16 [].

Traveller pray reverently for the defunct and for the most noble family of the Viscounts Mountgarret.

He married first, Margaret, daughter of Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, which alliance induced him to engage in the wars against Queen Elizabeth, in 1599, which the said Earl and Hugh O'Donnell, supported by Owen O'More, and the Leinster Confederates prosecuted with the utmost vigour. He married secondly, Thomasine (who took the name of Elizabeth at her Confirmation) daughter of Sir William Andrews, of New-port-Pagnel, Buckinghamshire, who died without issue in 1625, and thirdly, he married in 1631, Margaret Branthwaite, widow to Sir Thomas Spencer, Bart., of Yarnton, in Oxfordshire, where she lies buried, having died also without issue in 1655. His children by his first wife were (1) Edmond (Roe) who succeeded as fourth Viscount, and of whom presently; (2) Edward of Urlingford, who being apprehended by Colonel Axtell, a Cromwellian officer and governor of Kilkenny, in 1652, was taken before the High Court of Justice sitting in Dublin.

The following is Axtell's own account of his apprehension to the President of the Court.—

"My Lord, I have sent your Lordship the inclosed examination against Mr. Butler, second son to the late Lord Mount Garrott, and I shall only give your Lordship my knowledge concerning him; when I had received orders from the Com^{rs} of Parliamt. to apprehend all such persons in these Parts that had bin guilty of sheeding the English innocent blood in the first year of the Rebellion, I send a Party in the night to cease the said Butler, but he was not at home and he hearing that thaire was a cesuer of blood-guilty persons, he fled into the bogs and fastnesses (out of the Parliamt Quarters) for his safty and thaire conteneded until he was going (in a disguise Habitt) to Spaine with some Irish officers and providentially taken betwext Thomastown and Wexford, by some soldiers (that

knew him) of Cpt. Ffranke's Troope. I shall not ad but remayne my Lord, your Lordapp, humble servant,

D. AXTELL.

Kilkenny, 9 Ffebb., 1652.

(NOTE—This letter would show that Lord Mountgarret died at Galway, before 9th February, 1652.)

On being examined personally before the Commissioners of the Court, Colonel Thomas Herbert, and Robert Doily, Edward Butler declared that he had lived at Urlingford for about twenty years, and in 1641-2 had the command of a company of foot which he resigned in 1642, and had not taken arms since, nor meddled with any military movement. He was, moreover, adjudged guilty on the testimony of one Abel Warren and others, and conveyed to Kilkenny where he was executed.

3rd. Captain Richard Butler. He left also five daughters.

(1.) Elizabeth, married to Sir Walter Butler, Bart., of Paulstown Castle, died 21st August, 1636.

(2.) Ellice married to Andrew Fitzpatrick, Esq., Queen's County.

(3.) Margaret, married in 1631 to Sir Richard Belling, of Tyrrellstown, County Dublin. His name appears in the list of Commons of the General Confederate Assembly, which met at Kilkenny, on the 10th January, 1647, already noticed. He was also Secretary to the Supreme Council. His father, Sir Henry Belling, was provost-marshal in the time of James I.; and Carte in his "Life of the Dukes of Ormonde," describes him as capable of any practice, however "execrable," that suited his purpose. He says Sir Richard, his son, "was a distinguished scholar and schemer, who at the beginning of the war was not worth sixpence, but contrived to amass considerable sums subsequently." Father Meehan, in his "History of the Confederation," quotes the "Aph-Discov." as saying of him: "If you were acquainted with this man's father, a perjured informer, who sucked the blood of thousands of innocents in Ireland, you should not marvel how impious soever this his brood be. What would you expect at the hands of a child of such a father other than tricks, perjury, craft and treachery." The charges against his father refer chiefly to his unmerciful torture of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, whereby he contrived to get possession of their property. If Sir Richard was as bad as represented, the Supreme Council made choice of an evil Secretary for the discharge of its most weighty business, and I believe the above writers have not entirely overdrawn his character. When Rinuccini was appointed Nuncio by Pope Innocent X., Belling, who was at Rome as the accredited envoy of the Confederate Catholics, received the news with such bad grace that he became an indisposed dummy for several days. On the arrival of the Nuncio at Kilkenny, the cold formality of Mountgarret's reception of him on visiting him at the Oastle, and of which Rinuccini afterwards complained, may, as far as I can gather, be ascribed to Belling, who deceived Mountgarret as to the ceremonial to be observed in accordance with Continental etiquette with which his late trip to and from Rome should have made Belling well acquainted. In fact, Belling was a creature of Ormonde at the time, and of the worst type, a disguised one.

(4.) Married to Philip Purcell, of Ballyfoyle Castle, who was also a member of the General Assembly of the Confederates (see Inq. 11, jac. 1, n. 2, p. 181).

(5.) Joan married to Sir Richard Masterson, of Ferns, for his second wife, and after his death in 1627 she married, secondly, Sir Philip Paulet, of Garrylough, in the County Wexford, and had issue by him, Joseph, who died unmarried, and Mary (Lodge's Peerage). Edmund (Roe), son and successor of Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret, acted in concert with his father during the progress of the civil war. In March, 1642, he seized Waterford, and on the 2nd April following, he took Ormonde's Castle, of Carrick, the very day Ormonde himself had left Dublin with 500 horse, 300 foot, and five field pieces to carry out to the letter his instructions from the Lords Justice to murder without mercy and waste before him with fire and sword. To the credit of Colonel Edmund Butler be it said that he acted with a humanity and forbearance entirely unmerited by Ormonde, for, having taken Carrick instead of disposing of the garrison by wholesale slaughter as the Duke was doing and ready to do, he sent all the prisoners with the Countess of Ormonde and her children, as also many Protestants, safely to Dublin. He was on the side of the Peace Party amongst the Confederates, and as Governor of Kilkenny, published the Treaty of 1646 with Ormonde, which was subsequently condemned by the Nuncio and Synod of Waterford, and for which he was imprisoned with other members of the Supreme Council, by Rinuccini. He followed Ormonde to France in 1647, and at St. Germain's tendered his service to the King.

He returned to Ireland with the Marquis in 1648, and subsequently acted as a colonel of foot and captain of horse under him, and in December, 1650, embarked with him for France, resolved to share under him the fortunes of foreign service. The King, in consideration of his many hardships in his service, nominally mentioned him in a public declaration regarding Ireland, as deserving of special reward and favour; and by letter dated Whitehall, 1st March, 1660, directed the immediate restoration and establishment to him of his estate, which was accordingly done by the Act of Settlement. So far he had his fortunate ends of the Cromwellians.

Besides restoration to his estates, Edmond, fourth Viscount Mountgarret, on the 12th December, 1660, received a pardon, dated at Westminster, for all treasons, levying of war, insurrections, &c., committed previous to the 10th June, 1659. He married, first, Dorothy Touchet, second daughter of the Earl of Castlehaven. By her he had Richard, his successor, and James, who died young; also two daughters—Margaret, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth, married to Sutton, Esq., of the County Wexford. Lady Dorothy died at Parksgrove, Ballyragget, on the 10th February, 1634, and was buried in Kilkenny. He married, secondly, in 1637, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Symons, of Brightwell, Oxfordshire, and by her, who died in 1673, and was buried at St. Michan's, Dublin, he had issue a daughter, Elizabeth, and a son, Edward, from whom the Butler family of Ballyragget descended. Edward was restored to his estate of Ballyragget, Ballymartin, Knock-

roe, Damerstown, &c., which had been portioned away to Col. Artell. He had by Elizabeth, daughter of George Mathew, Esq., Thomastown, County Tipperary, Edmond, who died without issue, and George, who married Catherine, daughter of Lord Kingston, and left a successor, James, who married, in 1734, Frances, daughter of Robert Dillon, King-street, Dublin, counsellor-at-law. He died on the 20th March, 1746, at Ballyragget, and lies buried in the old Church of Donoughmore. The following inscription on his tomb has been kindly sent to me by the Rev. W. Carrigan, C.O., Ballyragget, who, by the way, deserves no little credit for his laborious notes on the "Priests of Ossory," which have contributed so much to rescue from oblivion the memories of the "dead of old," and perpetuate many worthy names which otherwise must have entirely perished:—

"Here lies the body of James Butler, Esq., son to George Butler, of Ballyragget, Esq., who departed this life ye 20th of March, 1746-7, in ye 37th year of his age, and to whose memory this tomb is erected by his dearly-beloved wife, Frances Butler, *alias* Dillon. May ye Lord have mercy on his soul."

In 1661 the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, in an "humble remonstrance, acknowledgement, protestation, and petition" to the king, deprecated the calumnies wherewith they were aspersed, and the severity with which they were being persecuted. They prayed the royal protection for themselves and their flocks against the unmerited injuries inflicted on them, and they were at the same time supported by a "remonstrance of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland." Amongst the one hundred laymen or so, who signed the said protestation, appears the name of the above Edmund, Viscount Mountgarret. In 1670, he also appended his signature to a Petition of the Irish Cavaliers, in which they pressed on the attention of Charles the Second, the losses they had sustained in support of the Royal cause which, however, was disregarded as antagonistic to vested interests and subversive of the Act of Settlement. Richard, his son and successor, 5th Viscount, served as Captain in the French Army. On the accession of James the Second, he returned to Ireland, and in the Parliament of 1689, which met at Dublin, he sat as Peer of the Upper House. He was Captain of a Regiment of Horse. On the 4th July, he led on the forlorn hope against Derry, when he lost three colours, and was taken prisoner. After the Revolution in 1692 he laid claim to his seat in Parliament, and took the Oath of Allegiance. When demanded to take the Oath of Supremacy he refused to do so, declaring it was not agreeable to his conscience, whereupon the Lord Chancellor informed him that in consequence he could not sit in the House, and he was accordingly excluded. He married first, Emilia Blundel, of Crosby, Lancaster, by whom he had Edmund, his heir, Richard, John, and two other sons and a daughter, who died young. He married secondly, Margaret, daughter of Richard Shee, of Shee's-Court, by whom he had no issue.

Dying in February, 1706, he was succeeded Edmond, his heir, 6th Viscount, who in 1721, by a petition to the House of Lords claimed his right to sit in Parliament. He married, first, Mary, daughter of

—— Buchanan, Londonderry, and, second, Elizabeth, widow of Oliver Grace, of Shanganagh (now Gracefield), Queen's County, and daughter of John Bryan, Bawnmore. He died in 1735, and was buried in Kilkenny. He left issue three sons; Richard, James, Edmund, who became three successive Lords Mountgarret, and one daughter, who was married to Hugh O'Heilly, Esq., Ballinlough, Meath, and died without issue. Richard, 7th Viscount, only survived his father ten months, dying in May, 1736, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother James, 8th Viscount. He served under the Emperor Charles the Second, of Austria, and signalized himself in the campaign on the German frontier, near the Rhine, against the French army of Louis XV., till the cessation of hostilities by the treaty of Vienna, in 1735. He married Margaret, daughter of Lord Trimleston, and dying without issue in 1749, was succeeded by his only surviving brother, Edmund, 9th Viscount, who took his seat in Parliament the same year, having previously conformed to the Protestant religion. He married Anne, daughter of Toby Purcell, of Ballymartin, and Ologhpook, County Kilkenny. He died in 1750, and was succeeded by his son, Edmund, 10th Viscount, who married Charlotte, daughter of Counsellor Bradstreet. He died in 1779, leaving a son, Edmund, and a daughter Elinor. I am indebted to the Rev. W. Carrigan, O.C., Ballyragget, for the following inscription on his tomb in the old Church of Barna, parish of Lisdowney:—

"Here lies Edmund, Viscount of Mountgarret, who died at Paris, in 1779, and Charlotte, his wife, who died in 1778."

There is also in Barna an altar tomb with following inscription:—

"*Hic jacet Theobaldus Butlerus et uxor ejus Leticie Geraldina neptis illustrissima Kildare comitis quæ obiit undecimo die mensis (sic) Marcii, anno Domini, 1634.*"

Translation—"Here lies Theobald Butler, and his wife, Letitia Geraldina, most illustrious grand-daughter of the Earl of Kildare, who died on the 11th day of March, A.D., 1634."

Father Carrigan also mentions that above this tomb is a mural slab inscribed:—

"*Nobilissimi Theobaldus Butler armiger filius illustrissimi vice comitis de Mountgarret me fieri fecit sexto die mensis Maii, Anno D. 1635.*"

Translation—"The most noble Theobald Butler, *esquire*, son of the most illustrious Viscount of Mountgarret, had me to be made the 6th day of the Month of May, A.D., 1635."

He was called Theobald of Tynehinch, and was the sixth son of Edmund, second Viscount, and brother of Richard, the leader of the Confederates. Edmund, the eleventh Viscount, died in 1793, leaving Edmund, Richard Somerset, Henry and Pierce Somerset. Edmund, the twelfth Viscount, died in 1846. His monument in Barna Church records his death thus:—

"Edmund Butler, Earl of Kilkenny, and Viscount Mountgarret, died 1846, aged 75."

His brother, Richard, who died in 1826, has also within this Church a slab to his memory as follows:—

“Most noble Somerset Butler, son of Edmond and Harriet Mountgarret, died 1826, aged 55.”

Their nephew, Henry Edmund, son of Henry, succeeded as thirteenth Viscount, and is still living.

(2)—BEULARAGGAD AND DONNOGHMORE.

The following from the Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Kilkenny, vol. 1, p. 69 (R.I.A.), will briefly explain the principal antiquities in Ballyragget and its immediate vicinity:—

“Ballyragget, 20th August, 1839.

“T. A. Larcom, Esq., R.E.

“SIR,—The parish of Donoughmore, *alias* Ballyragget, is bounded on the north by the parish of Attanagh, Fassadinan barony; on the east by the parish of Castlecomer, barony of Fassadinan and Kilmacar, barony of Fassadinan; on the south by parish of Grange-McComb, barony of Fassadinan; and on the west by the parish of Aharney, barony of Galmoy, County Kilkenny, and Attanna, barony of Upper Ossory, Queen’s County. The first name of this parish, Donoughmore, is of ecclesiastical origin, and has been already on several occasions explained—the *alias* name Ballyragget, proper *Beal-atha-Reaghad*, *i.e.*, the mouth or access to the ford of Reaghad. What the meaning of the word *Reaghad* is I know not, but it occurs in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1600 under that name, and all the people here know it still by that as its Irish name. (Ragget, or Ragged, was a family name of distinction in the Co. Kilkenny in the 14th and 15th centuries, &c. Paul Ragget, born in Kilkenny, became a monk in Spain, and subsequently Abbot of St. Mary’s, Dublin, and Provincial of the Cistercian Order in the three Kingdoms. He was exiled for his religion after having been imprisoned in Dublin Castle. He returned from exile after 15 years, and dying in the City of Kilkenny in 1634, was buried in St. Mary’s. Patrick Ragged was Bishop of Cloyne, from 1406 to 1417, in which year he was translated to Ossory, and died in 1421. Piers Raged, of Waleslough, was one of the constables for the barony of Shillelogher in 1608—*Author*). The old Church of Donoughmore stands in ruins in the townland of that name, about a quarter of a mile south-east of the town of Ballyragget. It measures 54 feet in length, and has a middle gable at 30 feet from the west end; this division of it is 18 feet broad; the eastern division is but 14 feet broad. The western gable has a belfry perforated for two bells—the perforations sharp and pointed. A square doorway, now closed up, and apparently so for ages, may be seen in the middle of this gable, measuring 4 feet in height and 3 in breadth, covered at the top by a lintel stone, 6 feet long and 5 inches thick. The middle part of the gable from the doorway up to the top appears to be of a much more recent erection than

the under part. There is a round-headed doorway in the south side, four feet from the west gable, five feet nine inches high, three feet six inches wide, and built up of well-cut stone. There is a holy water font projecting from the wall on the right hand as one goes in this door. There is a pointed doorway, now closed up, in the north side, at the distance of eight feet from the west gable. It is six feet high, two feet ten inches wide, and built of the same kind of cut stone as that on the south side. The stones in this side of the church are very large. There is a square hole in the south side in the same division, but if it has had any cut stones they have been removed. There is a round-headed arch in the middle gable ten feet high, seven feet wide, built of well-cut stone. There is a square window in the east gable, eight feet high, four feet wide inside, five feet high and two and a-half feet wide outside, and divided in the middle by a mullion of well-cut stone, which is perforated for three horizontal iron bars, and each of the two compartments perforated (the sill) for one upright bar. There is a small round-topped window in either of the side walls at the distance of three feet from the east gable, measuring four feet in height and three in breadth on the inside, square at top and covered by a flag stone and measuring three feet in height and six in breadth on the outside. The whole of the interior surface of the wall retains portions of a strong plaster of lime and sand, and the place would not appear to be one hundred years deserted.

There is a breach in the north side wall, western division, near the middle gable. There are several monumental slabs inserted in the walls inside and outside. There is a well called Donoughmore Well, about a furlong east of the church, but it is not held in any veneration. The *Castle* of Ballyragget is a ponderous pile of building in full preservation, but not inhabited. The ascent to the top is by a flight of stone steps, each eight inches high. It contains five floors all unbroken. There is a warder's tower on the north east angle, which is called "Margaret Fitzgarret's chair," after a former Countess of Ormonde. There is a date and some letters on a chimney piece here, but the room was so full of lumber that I could not see them. This building measures twenty-four feet from east to west, and fifteen from north to south inside. It stands in the centre of a square court, the walls of which are four feet thick (to the height of nine feet), and fifteen feet high, having several port holes and a round tower at each of the four angles. There are two massive gateways, east and west, having a port hole at each side of either. I here subjoin some account of the place from the *Annals of the Four Masters*:—"The Earls of Ormonde and Thomond set out from Limerick along the Suire in pursuit of O'Neill, but finding that he had passed without receiving battle or opposition, the Earl of Thomond set fire to all the corn and houses in the territory of Clangibbon and the county of the White Knight. The two earls then proceeded to the country of the Butlers and to Kilkenny, where they stopped during Easter. When the solemnities of Easter were over they repaired to Dublin to welcome and pay their respects to the new officers who had arrived in Ireland—viz., Lord Mountjoy, as Chief Justice, and

Sir George Carey (Carew *recte*) as President of the two provinces of Munster. Shortly after having paid the visit to Dublin, the Earl returned to Kilkenny accompanied by the President. Not long after this a day was appointed between the Earl of Ormonde and Owny (Anthony), the son of Rory Oge O'Moore, to come to a conference. Both were attended by a number of armed men at this conference, and the Earl of Ormonde induced the President and the Earl of Thomond to be present at it. When they came to the appointed place, which was near *Bel-atha-reaghad* (Ballyragget), they began to state their mutual covenants and their demands on each other, but one of the nobles of Owny's people put his hand on the reins of the bridle of the Earl of Ormonde's horse and succeeded in taking him prisoner. When the President and the Earl of Thomond perceived this they returned on horseback to Kilkenny. The Earl of Thomond, however, was wounded in the skirmish. Owny, the son of Rory, then brought the Earl into the fastnesses of his country, and it was reported all over Ireland as wonderful news that he was thus taken.* There is a small burying ground and the foundation of a church in the townland of Straleigh, in this parish. The foundation or site is fifty-four feet in length by eighteen feet in breadth, and it is called *Oill-Chormaic* (Killcormac) by the peasantry."

(3)—DISERTLOOSEANE—DYSART.

(Ordnance Survey Letter, vol. 1, p. 19).

"The parish of Dysart, in the barony of Fassadinan, County of Kilkenny, is bounded on the west by the parishes of Kilmacar and Coolcullen; on the south by the parishes of Muckalee and Coolcullen, barony of Fassadinan, and Tullowgreen, barony of Idrone West, County Carlow; on the east and north-east by the parish of Castlecomer, and on the north by the parish of Kilmacar, barony of Fassadinan."

"The name of this parish appears to be of ecclesiastical origin, *Disert* meaning a solitary secluded habitation, a retreat, &c., but generally prefixed to a person's name, as Disert Martin &c. This place too is joined to a name, but whether of man, woman, beast, or locality we cannot at present decide. Locally it is called Disert only, but in Archdall's *Monasticon*, under the head of Killeeheen, we find it called Disertmoon, or Disertmoan. The old Church of Dysart was situated on the north bank of the river Dianan, near its confluence with the Dian, about a mile south of Castlecomer. The ruins, with the greater part of the burial ground, were swept away by one of the frightful torrents to which that river was liable several years ago, a small portion only of the burial ground now remaining protected by a stone wall on the river side."

The name to which Dysart is prefixed and which puzzled O'Curry,

* The capture of the Earl of Ormonde (Black Thomas) has been fully noticed already under Inquisition 22, Jac. 1, p. 236."

the writer of the foregoing, to find out, is given as above in the Inquisition, viz., *Disertloskane*, i.e., *Disertloscaine*—the hermitage of the paddock. The tradition is that St. Patrick erected a Church here after he had entered into Ossory by the *Bealach Gabhran*, or "great Pass of Gowran," which connected Leinster with Munster. Dr. O'Donovan, in his notes on "the traditions of the County of Kilkenny," published in the "journal" of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. 1, p. 365, gives the following account of St. Patrick's journey into Ossory:—

"St. Patrick, proceeding from Laoighis (Leix) into the adjoining territory of Ui-Duach in Ossory, commenced the erection of a Church at a remarkable place near the banks of the river Dineen; but he was insulted by the chief of this territory who forcibly drove him from that beautiful locality. Patrick, who appears to have been a man of great force of character, had no notion of allowing to pass unrevengeed, and he proceeded to hurl the red bolt of his malediction against the chief of Ui-Duach and his descendants. He opened his sacred lips to curse the territory and pronounced the words *Malluighim, Malluighim, Ui-Duach* (I curse, I curse Ui-Duach). But one of his disciples, who was related to the noble family of Ui-Duach, with a view to avert the curse from the territory and the people added immediately after—*Biodh sin ar dhion a g-cruach* (let that curse be upon the thatch of their corn-ricks). The rhyme it appears was sufficient to avert the curse, so far as it was pronounced by St. Patrick; but his anger was not yet appeased and he opened his lips again to curse the territory, saying, *malluighim, malluighim Ui-Duach*; the disciple added—*Biodh sin ar bharr na luchra* (let that be on the tops of the rushes). The Saint's anger was still up and he commenced his curse a third time, saying, *malluighim, malluighim Ui-Duach*; and the disciple averted it once more from the lands and the people by adding—*Biodh sin ar an Deighnin ruadh* (let that be on the Red Dineen). St. Patrick seeing the counteracting lines of his disciple so opportunely added after his own maledicting ones felt his anger subsiding, and believing that his disciple was inspired by Heaven thus to save his native territory from a heavy malediction left the matter so. And behold the effects of the three curses thus modified, still remain wonderfully plain in the territory of *Ui-Duach*. The thatch of the stacks and hay-ricks is there most furiously assailed and stripped by the winds, the tops of the rushes exhibit all the withering influence of the curse, and the river Dineen which has deserved for itself the sobriquet of "The red and deceitful Dineen" is so subject to sudden floods and inundations as to sweep away and destroy not only men, cattle, and corn, but also the church yards which lie within the reach of its floods."

Whether St. Patrick ever erected a church at Dysart, as Dr. O'Donovan, in the foregoing asserts, seems uncertain. The Saint, after having spent some time in the County Kildare, and founded several churches, came into Leix and visited his friend and chief-poet, Dubtach, who lived within the territory of *Hy-Kinsellagh*, bordering on Leix, and comprehending a great portion of the County Carlow. It was by Dubtach, that St. Fiech of Sletty was introduced to St. Patrick, and received from him clerical tonsure, and subsequently was conse-

erated Bishop by him, being the first Leinster man raised to that dignity by the Apostle—"Et postea ab eodem (Patricio) consecratus est episcopus." His See was at Sletty, near Carlow. St. Patrick next moved forward into Ossory, where he converted great numbers, and erected several churches, but into what precise part of Ossory did he first enter? Was it into Gowran district or, as Dr. O'Donovan supposes, into Ui-Duach, the ancient territory of the O'Brennans? All authorities are agreed that that he came into Ossory by the *Bealach Gabhran*, or the great highway that connected from time immemorial Munster with South Leinster—"Fundatis ecclesiis et negotiis rei Catholicæ per Lageniam dispositis ordinatoque Fieco Septis et Supremo totius Provinciae Episcopo suscepto itinere per *Belach-Gauran* contulit se Patricius in Osrigiam sive Ossoriam in qua regione indigenis in fide Christi instructis et baptizatis multas fundavit ecclesias et callas quibus aliquot ex discipulis præfecit," &c. "Having founded churches and arranged the affair of Catholic import, and having ordained Fiech Bishop of Sletty, and chief Bishop of the whole province, renewed his journey through Belach-Gauran, Patrick came into Osrigia, or Ossory, in which country, having instructed the natives in the faith of Christ and baptized them, he founded many churches and cells, over which he placed some of his disciples."

In this account we have only two things certain bearing on our inquiry. First, that St. Patrick was at Sletty, where he ordained Fiech Bishop, and, secondly, that he travelled into Ossory by the "*Belach Gauran*."

At what point he first reached Ossory is entirely a matter of conjecture. O'Donovan surmised that it was into the territory of Ui-Duach he continued his way from Sletty, and was doubtlessly inclined to this opinion by the tradition existing in the neighbourhood of Castlecomer that he was badly received by the native chief, against whom he proceeded, as above related, to hurl "the red bolt of his malediction."

The late Father F. Shearman, in his "*Loca Patriciana*" favouring the same opinion, tries to show that such a route would not contradict the "*Tripartite*," which mentions that it was through the "*Belach Gauran*" the saint came to Ossory. He says that the said *Bealach* "bifurcated" west of Athy, one branch going by the Barrow through Gouran, by Bennettsbridge, Kells, etc., into South Munster. The other branch of the Pass was "almost identical with the modern road between Castlecomer and Athy, and running by Desert (Dysart), Mayne, and Dunmore," joined another road, which connected it with the principal branch through Gouran, the junction being at Airgead Ros, where the Dinan and Nore unite at Ardaloe. According to Father Shearman, then, the saint travelled by the Athy and Castlecomer branch of the "*Bealach*" or Great Highway, and, having arrived at Dysart, there erected the first church of Ossory—identical with the "*Desertum Patricii*" mentioned in the "*Tripartite*." But why is the titular of Dysart, St. Brendan and not St. Patrick, if it be true that it was the latter who founded its Church? The reverend author conveniently disposes of this query to suit his supposition by saying that "St. Patrick's

connexion with that church (Dysart) appears to have been either ignored or forgotten." Who was the St. Brendan of Dysart? In the list of Patron Saints of Ossory, published by Cardinal Moran, in the "Statuta Diocesis Ossoriensis," p. 27, St. Brendan—i.e., the great St. Brendan of Clonfert, whose feast occurs on the 16th May, is set down as the Patron of Dysart, as also St. Michael, of the 29th September. The "Patron Day" of Dysart used to be held on the first Sunday of October, and if not in honour of St. Michael the Archangel, but of St. Brendan, we must look for some St. Brendan, as Patron of Dysart, whose feast occurred about that month, instead of Brendan of Clonfert, whose obit is invariably marked on the 16th May. This being so, St. Brendan of Dysart must remain as yet unknown, and we can only conjecture that he was some saint whose name bore only a local celebrity. After what has now been said, I am of opinion that "Dysart" was not the "Desertum Patricii" of Colgan's "Tripartite," and that it was not by this way he first travelled into Ossory. It is admitted that the saint, on coming to Leix, at once visited Dubhthach, who was chief poet of Ireland, and his first convert at Tara. The poet introduced Fiech, of Sletty, to St. Patrick, he being his pupil. It seems more likely that St. Patrick, after having raised Fiech to the episcopal dignity and consulted for ecclesiastical discipline at Sletty, would have complimented Dubhthach by renewing his visit to Hy-Kinsellagh, the native place of the poet, and pursuing his labours through that territory along the Barrow come in contact with Ossory at some place in the vicinity of Gowran. Dubhthach, moreover, from his position as chief bard would have been of uncommon assistance in making the Apostle's mission fruitful.

Now, O'Donovan discovered evidence to convince him "that the ancient Ossory never extended even as far eastward as the Barrow, and that the parishes of the Rower, Graigue, Ullard, Powerstown, Grange-Silvy, Kilmacacahill, and Shank Hill, now in the Diocese of Leighlin, did *anciently* belong to the *territories* of Hy-drone, in Hy-Kinsellagh" (Survey Letters, vol. 1, p. 13).

Shank Hill means the "old Ohurch" or "cell," from the Irish *sean-old* and "cill," a church, a very appropriate name for a church erected by St. Patrick. It is quite possible that St. Patrick may have crossed the Barrow to visit that portion of Hy-Kinsellagh on its west bank below Bagenalstown after he had converted the main territory on the east, and thence continued on by Kilmacacahill into Gowran of Ossory. I have seen no attempt by anyone to give a satisfactory derivation of Kilmacacahill. O'Donovan spells it as above, *KilmacCahill*, i.e., the Ohurch of MacCahill or FitzCahill. As its derivation has puzzled every writer, I venture my guess, founded on the surmises that it lay in St. Patrick's direction towards Ossory: It is *Cill-mo-Chathail*, i.e., the "Church of my valour, or, if a man's name is meant instead of his personification, "the Ohurch of Mac-cathal." "Oathal" means "valour" or a person's name. This was a very usual way for the saints of the primitive Irish Church to name the "cells" over which they had placed disciples. The English rendering of the

word would be *Kill-mo-Cahall*.* If we accept this route of St. Patrick we shall have no difficulty in understanding how, according to the "Tripartite," having left Sletty, he came to Ossory by the *Belach Gauran*, or Great Leinster Highway, which ran by the Barrow and through Gowran. There is another incident related in the "Tripartite" in connection with St. Patrick's departure from Ossory into Munster, on which the learned author of the "*Loca Patriciana*" founded his supposition that *Dysart* of Castlecomer, or the Dinan, was the "*Desertum Patricii*" therein mentioned.

On this he quotes Mr. Hennessy's translation of Egerton's "Tripartite" as follows:—

"Patrick took leave of them the (Ossorians) afterwards, and he left the relics of holy men with them, and some of his people, in the place where Martar-tech is this day in Magh-Roighne. At Druim-Conchiun in *Mairghe* the cross-beam of Patrick's chariot broke when he was going to Munster. He made another of the wood of the *Druim*. It broke immediately. He made one again, and it broke also. Patrick said that there never should be any implement made of timber of that wood; which has been fulfilled, for even a pin is not made of it. Patrick's *Disert* is there, but it is a waste."

The author of the "*Loca Patriciana*," taking it for granted that the scene of the accident was in *Slieve Mairgy*, goes to show that this ridge was also called Druim-Conchind from Conchind, a toparch of *Marighe*, about the close of the second century, and concludes as follows:—

"The Apostle having escaped the perils of the hilly county, passed by the Comber and onwards to the confluence of the Duan with the Dinan, where the church site at the bridge of Dysert represents the "*Desertum Patricii*."

Let me now quote the latin text of the "Tripartite," cap. 28, as given by the reverend author himself:—"Transunte Patricio ex Ossorius in fines Mumonim ejus currus confractus est in loco quem vulgo Druim Conchinn appellat," &c. Where in this is the mention of *Mairghe*, which Mr. Hennessy added in his translation? How could the Druim Conchin, mentioned, be in *Slieve Mairgy*, overlooking the Barrow, since the very text shows it was somewhere on the confines of Munster? Moreover, immediately preceding the notice of the "accident," we have it that Patrick, on his departure, left the "relics of holy men and some of his disciples" at *Marther-theach*, in the "country of Magh-Rigne," Magh-Roighne was an extensive plain in the Barony of Kells, as shown by the late Mr. Hogan (Kilkenny, p. 45), and had no connection with the Ui-Duach in which Dysart of the Dinan is situate. We must accordingly set aside this Dysart, as identical with the "*Desertum Patrii*" mentioned in the "Tripartite" which evidently was situate some place on the road by which St. Patrick travelled from Ossory to Munster and near the confines of the latter. The Apostle was in

* Although I have seen it called Kil-mac-Cahill in an old document, yet as far as I could gather the pronunciation from an aged person living at the place, it favoured *Kilmacahill* or *Kilmocahill*.

Magh Roighne, where he left "relics of holy men" and disciples after him, and having done so, he blessed Ossory, foretold it would be the birth-place of distinguished clerics and laics, and that whilst obedient to him no foreign province should rule over them. After this he took his departure for Munster, when the accident to his chariot happened at Drum-Corechind, the site of his "Desertum," which I hold must be some place between the barony of Kells and Munster, and not on the river Dinan, as the learned authors already mentioned contended.

(4)—KELLS.

The present Barony of Kells comprised within it two ancient plains called *Magh Roighne* and *Magh-lacha*. The earliest mention we find of *Magh-Roighne* is in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the date A.M. 3817, where the death of Enna Airgtheach is thus recorded :—"After Enna Airgtheach had spent 27 years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he fell by Raitheachtaigh, son of Mean, son of Ængus Olmucadha, in the battle of Raighne. It was by this Enna Airgtheach, that silver shields were made at Airget-Ros, so that he gave them to the men of Ireland, together with horses and chariots."

In note *e* on the foregoing, the Editor, Dr. O'Donvan, remarks :—"This place, from which the King of Ossory was sometimes called Ri Raighne, was also called Magh-Raighne, which was a plain in the ancient Ossory, in which plain was situated the Church of Oill-Finche, near the ford of Ath-Duirnbuidhe, at the foot of a great hill called Dornbuidhe."

In the "Martyrology of Donegal" we have, at February 2nd :—"Findeach Duirnd (*i.e.*, Findeach of Dorn), Bishop of Oill-Finnche, of Ath-Duirn, in Ossraige. Dornd-buidhe is the name of a hill in Magh-Raighne. In a note on the "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory," the Editor says :—"The plains of Magh-lacha and Magh-Roighne are comprised in the present barony of Kells, in the County of Kilkenny. According to Colgan (*Trias Thaum*, p. 625) Magh-lacha contains the parish church of Oill-Bhrighde Major, and the chapel of Oill-Bhrighde, and, according to the *Festilogium* of Ængus the Culdee, Magh-Roighne contains the church of Oill-Fhinche, now Killinny, a townland in the parish and barony of Kells, in the County of Kilkenny" (*Trans. Kilk. Arch. Soc.*, part 2, p. 7).

If the statement that Oill-Finnche is identical with the modern Killinny, as asserted in the foregoing were true, then the plain of Magh-Roighne would lie along the banks of the Oonree or King's river, in the direction of Newtown, but this locality O'Heerin in his topographical poem evidently includes in O'Gloiair's (O'Glory's) "cantred of a Sweet Country." "The smooth land along the beauteous Callann," as the Callann river and King's river are identical.

The late Mr. Hogan, a distinguished authority on the topography of his native County, holds that Magh-Roighne did not accordingly stretch along the northern portion of Kells barony, but lay entirely south-east of same, and that the ancient Oill-Finnche of Magh-Roighne

is none other than the present old Church of Sheepstown, near which was an ancient ford crossing the mountain stream that flows hence through Knocktopher, whilst a quarter of a mile above it "rises abruptly a magnificent elevation" called still by the inhabitants Knock-a-Reighna. If this hill is not the ancient *Dorn-buidhe* mentioned in the "Martyrology of Donegal," at the foot of which was the ford of Ath-Duirn, and the Church of Cill-Finnche, it is certain at all events from its designation Knock-a-Reighna, that it marks the precise position of Magh-Roighne plain, i.e., south-east of the barony of Kells, instead of including its north portion along the King's river, as O'Donovan would have it. It is of importance thus to fix the precise position of Magh-Roighne and Knockaroighna, for it was on the latter or Hill of Rina rising above the plain of that name that the King of Cashel kept his royal seat, and designated Ucht-na-Rioghna in the "Book of Rights" (p. 89) i.e., the "Breast of Rina," referring to the side of the declivity which overlooks the level land beneath. The reason why the King of Cashel, or Caiseal, had established a royal house, with its usual attendants, at Ucht-na-Roighna, was that he might be in a better position to exact from this part of ancient Ossory the "eric" or fine imposed on them for the murder of Fearghus Scannal by the Lagenians:—

"Knowest thou what is called
The eric of Fearghus Scannal?
I know it; I will give a knowledge of it.
From the Eoir to Dumha Dreasa,
The eric of Fearghus, the King,
Both in jewels and territory;
They obtained in full satisfaction for his death,
South Laighin even to the sea."

"From the Eoir to Dumha Dreasa" is, according to the editor of the "Book of Rights," the tract of land extending from the River Nore to a mound near Knockgraffon, in the County of Tipperary. "This comprises," he adds, "the greater part of the ancient Ossory, which was called Laighin-Deas-Ghabhair by the ancient Irish, and said to have been forfeited to Munster by the Lagenians for the murder of Fearghus Scannal; or, according to other accounts, of Eidirsceal, the father of the monarch Conaire Mor" ("Book of Rights," page 88—O'Donovan).

In A.D. 837 the Four Masters record the burning of Cill-Finnche Church by the foreigners or Danes. In 859 the same annalists state that Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, King of Ossory, renewed the *Fair* of Roighne. What the precise character of the fair was the annalists do not state, but as they considered it a fact worthy of mention we might, perhaps, conjecture that "sports and games" more than "buying and selling" of cattle gave it a pre-eminence such as attached to the Fair of Teltown in Meath, instituted by Lugh Lamhfhada.* A.D. 928, the

* Lugh Lamhfhada, according to the Four Masters, began his reign A.M. 3331, and held the sovereignty for 40 years. He established the fair of Tailtean (Teltown) in remembrance of his foster mother, Tailte, wife of Eochaidh, son of Erc, last King of the Firbolgs. This fair continued to the 12th century, and took

Four Masters also state that the foreigners of Limerick encamped at Magh-Roigne, and the following year "Godfrey went into Ossraighe to expel the grandson of Imhar from Magh-Roighne."

From the foregoing it would appear that the Danes of Dublin and the Danes of Limerick disputed regarding Magh-Roighne. Godfrey must have been commander of the Limerick Danes when he entered Ossory to expel the "grandson of Imhar." Now, under A.D. 928, the Four Masters make this "grandson of Imhar" another *Godfrey*, and leader of the Dublin Danes, for they state "Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, with the foreigners of Ath-cliaith (Dublin), demolished and plundered Dearc Fearná (supposed by O'Donovan to be the ancient name of the Cave of Dunmore), where one thousand persons were killed." Probably after this success he plundered the country southwards to Magh-Roighne, and the King of Ossory, Donchadh MacCellach, being unable to withstand him, in some way secured the support of his own countrymen of Limerick against him. With regard to the second plain, Magh-lacha, contained within the barony of Kells, there can scarce be any doubt as to the exact position of this ancient locality. In O'Heerin's topographical poem it is thus noticed:—

"In Magh-lacha of the warm hill-slopes
Is O'Faelain of manly tribe,
Extensive is the district due to them,
Which the O'Faelains have peopled."

I have before stated that Dr. O'Donovan quotes Colgan as saying that Magh-lacha contained the parish church of Cill-Bride Major and the chapel of Cill-Bride. Cill-Bride Major was the church of St. Bridget, now in ruins at Kilree. Here also is a holy well, "Tober Bhrighde," which perpetuates her memory, and a round tower in good preservation. The burial place called Kilbride, two miles from Oallan, most likely represents the "Chapel of Kilbride" mentioned by Colgan, and thus we would have the exact position of Magh-lacha plain, namely, between Kilree, on the east of the barony of Kells, to the Chapel of Kilbride on the west, just touching on the confines of the County of Tipperary.

The southern boundary of this plain would lie by Rossenara and the base of the Kilmoganny hills, which may have inspired the poet's idea of "Magh-lacha of the warm hill slopes." We may now take it for granted that the Irish of Kells-Ceann-lios, i.e., chief fort, was derived from the circumstance that a royal residence of the ancient Kings of Munster and Ossory crowned the eminence which rose above the beautiful plain of Roighne, and was the *Ceann-lios*, or head fort, from which the entire barony subsequently got the name of Kenlis. The tullach or mound near the present Roman Catholic Church of the village of Kells does not seem ever to have been a *Ceann-lios*, or of

place annually on the 1st August, and was called Lugh-Nasadh or Lugh's Fair. Many and vivid traditions of this fair still exist, and on the road from Kells to Downpatrick is pointed out the "lagan-aonaigh" or "hollow of the fair," where it is said Pagan marriages took place.

sufficient importance to give a name to the locality. I have noticed thus far the plains of Magh-Roighne and Magh-lacha, because their precise positions have been disputed by O'Donovan and the Rev. J. Shearman, on one side, and Mr. Hogan on the other. Their respective opinions can be seen in the "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory" (Kilk. Arch. Soc., vol. 1, part 2); "Loca Patriciana," p. 306; "Kilkenny," p. 45-50. I need not say I have inclined to the side of Hogan, and am of opinion it was the resemblance between *Killinny* and *Cill-Finnche*, which, with the "F" aspirated in Irish, would sound like Cill-in-he, which first influenced O'Donovan to make them identical, and thus make *Killiney*, the seat of the Magh-Roighne, plain.

It is right to remark that Knock-a-rina hill is in the barony of Shillelogher, a narrow neck of which, including Ennisnag and Stoncarthy, forms the eastern boundary of Kells barony.

Coming to the period of the invasion we find that Strongbow having obtained the Kingdom of Leinster in right of his wife, Eva, took care to parcel it out amongst his followers. One of those, Geoffrey Fitz-Robert, knight, received the district of Kells, which he at once resolved to convert into a great stronghold of the Pale, by founding a borough for his companions and a priory for Augustinian Canons, whom he introduced from Bodmin, in Cornwall, some short time after the date of the foundation, A.D. 1193.

In a MS. containing "Extracts from Unpublished Records," by the late Rev. J. Graves, at present in my possession, I find two confirmations of the original charter of Geoffrey Fitz-Robert to the burgesses of Kells, by his sons and successors, William and John Fitzgeoffrey. The compiler says that the copy from which he extracted contained "Chartae, Privilegia and Immunitates," printed, but never published, extremely rare, and was in the possession of the Rev. H. Cotton, Arch-deacon of Cashel. The first confirmation runs as follows:—

<p>P 16. Ann. Johan E. Rot. Pat. 1. Eliz. M. 24.</p>	<p>Confirmatio chartae libertatum burgensibus de Kenlis in Momonia Concessarum Sciant pentes et futuri qd Ego Willius filius Galfridi dedi concessi et hac penti carta confirmavi Burgensib' meis de Kenel omnimodas libtates et libas consuetudines quas Burgenses decet tere et mihi licet conferre tenendas et habendas sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis imppetuu. Imprimis qo nullus burgensis trahatr. in causa ve respon- deat de ullo placito quod pveniat infra metas brgi ne alibi nisi in hundredo et ipm hundredu in villa teneatur. Item nullus burgensis miltatur in mciam nisi per consideracionem hundredi et illa mcia in majoribus placitis no excedat decem solidos quor' (quorum) medietas condonabitur et alia medietas in mcia reddetur. In minoribus placitis ut sunt placita de pane cervisia et vigilia et hujusmodi mcia duodecim denarios no excedat quor' medietas condonabitur et alia medietas in mcia reddetur quod si Secdo in idem forisfem incident duodecim denarios pacabit si tertio in idem forisfem incidit judiciu sustinebit vel quinque solidos pacabit, Item nullus burgensis trahatur</p>
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Causa per Meskeninge. Item liceat omni burgensi placitare sine motocione Nullus burgensis vamietur vel distringatur in terra mea vel potestate mea p alieno debito nisi sit debitor principalis vel plegius liceat etiam eisdem burgens meis p sectam legalium virorum dironare et p-bare debita sua nullus bgensis cogatur plegiare aliquam etiam *si de ipo tenuer ni sponte velit*. Concessi etiam eisdem burgensibus meis matrimoniu contrahere sibi et filiis et filiabus suis et viduis sine licentia dnor' suor' nisi forte forinseca tenementa de me tenuerint in capite extra burgum. Nullus dnor' de quibus burgenses de Kenel forinseca tenementa tenerint hant custodiam vel donacionem filior' vel filiar' ant viduar' ad custodiam tenementorum hant donec hii qui in custodia sunt plene fuint etatis ni de me sient dictu est exta burgu in capite tenuerint. Item liceat burgensib meis de Kenel de tenementis suis que tenent in burgagio [] suor' gravamine dispone sicut eis melius viderint expedire sive ortos sive virgulta sive alia et qui tenementa sunt ppe aquam tent licet eis extendere ea et edificare *super aquam* si velint concessi eisdem burgens meis burgagia sua vendere donare impignorare salvis servic que m' et heredibus meis debentur cuicumque sine assensu meo voluerint p'terquam *viris religiosis*. Item nullus burgens cogatur catallum suum p'stare ni prius fca fuerit securitas ad certum terminum de reddendo. Et si forte aliquis burgens sponte vidual ad *Castellum meum* accomodaver ego vel ballivus meus infra quindecim dies poiu p'solvemur. Et si aliquis burgens de Kenel sponte pannu sal vel ferru aut humoi mces mi vel ballis accomodaverit nos inde ei infra quadraginta dies de p'stito suo satisfaciemur ita qd nisi infra dem terminu satisfactu fuer ei no cogatur neq compellitur aliquid p'stare donec de p'stito prius fact plenius sibi satisfactu fuer et si forte [] fuer mutacio ballivor' ego vel ballivus meus ballion recedentem compellamus quod eis debitum reddat quod eis debet sicut eis rationabiliter deberi monstrare potuerint, concessi eisidem burgens' meis qd possint de tenementis suis p viginti pedes terre in fronte burgagii libos facere tenentes ita qd commuoem et libtatem coem heant cu burgens. Item concessi eisidem burgens meis qo p positu et Katchpoll sibi elegant consilio balri mei. Item volo qd nulla assissia fiat in burgo nisi per commuoem burgens et ballior' meor' considerationem. Item si quis burgens meor de Kenel in magnu inciderit forissem ant sanguinem intulerit per sex burgens plegiatur quos si invenire no poterit in castello meo libam hebit custodiam donec placitu inde fuerit finitu. Concessi etiam eisidem burgens meis commuivem bascor' meor' ad edifica sua facienda et ad focu suu in boscis meis in pte orienti terre mee de *Ewena* (Castle Eve) et in pte boreali ejusdem terre de *Ewena* usque ad terram Johns de *Erlega*. Preterea concessi eisidem burgens meis de Kenel commuoem pasture de illa pva insula que est circa castellum meu de Kenel usqz-ad fossatum gardini mei et castelli mei. Item concessi eisidem burgens meis de Kenel' qd heant et teneant ipsi et heredes sui de me et heredibus meis burgagia sua cum terris forensicis et omnibus aliis p'tinenciis suis per easdem metas et abundas per quas Galfr filius Robti in prima edificacione de villa Kenel eis concessit dedit et assignavit videlt per duodecim denarios

unuquodq bgagiu a cum ptinenciis suis anuatim solvendo scil' medietatem ad Pascha aliam medietatem ad festum Sci Michis pro omni servicio at quicquid p'dicor' burgens de Kenel sive in terra sive in mari testatus vel intestat obierit heres ipius duodecim denarios in relevium pacabit et hereditamentum suum quiete possidebit sicut p'decessor ejus possidebat. Et pro hac mea donacione concessione et confirmacione dici burgens mei dederunt Michi Viginti tres marc p'manibus. Quare volo et concedo qd ipsi burgenses et heredes sui heant et teneant imppetuu' burgag sua cu ois p'dcis ptinenc suis et terris et cum pdict libtatibus suis et libis consuetud quas Galfr. filius Robti eis quondam dedit et concessit p'terea concessi eisdem burgensibus meis oes libtates and libas consuetudines quas barones de *Lagenia* burgensibus suis concesserunt et dederunt. Et ut hec oia p'scripta rata and inconcussa pmaneant imppetuu p'nti carte Sigillum meu apposui his testibus dno [] ollor epo Matheo fil Griffini Mauricio fil Walter henr fil henr Willy Maillard, Thoma psona (Parson) de Callan Rogo de penbclico, Ric albo Willot, hnr blundo Gilebto de dunhanegan bricio de dunhunegan Adam de Hareford.

Altera confirmatio chartae libertatum de Kenlis in Momonia.

P. 17.

Ann. Johan

E. Rot. Pat.

1 Eliz. M. 24.

Sciunt p'tentes and futuri qd ego Johes filius Galfr dedi et concessi et hac penti carta mea confirmavi burgen meis de Kenlis communonem in boscis meis et silvis in hebis et herbag in oibus pasc et pastur omibus averiis eor' et in oibus aliis necessariis eor' agendis videlit ab illo quercu qui stal in Gortenclevan in Orienli pte usqz ad orientalem ptem terr mee de *Even* (Ewena in preceeding chartr, Castle Eve), et ab illa orenli pte ejusdem terr usqz ad terr *henr de Erlegan* in pte boreali et ab illa boreali pte ejusdem terr usqz ad angulum terre *herbti dod* qui angulus est conta Raġt ejusdem *herbti* in pte boreali sicut pambulata et assignata est eisdem burgens meis tenend et habend sibi et heredibus suis libere et quiete jure et integre bene et in pace et hereditarie et imperpetuu in viis et semit in moris et mariscis et aquis in oibus libtatibus et libus cons eisdem burgens meis ptin. Dedi insuper et concessi bn et firmiter confirmavi eisdem burgens meis et heredibus eor' omnes libtates et libas cons quas Gualfridus filius Robti pr meus et Willus fil Galfrid fr meus eis dederunt et concesserunt et prout melius et libius tenuerunt et libtatibus cor' utebantur de meis antecessoribus. Ego vero et heredes mei eisdem burgens meis et hered eor' p'dcam comuoem et silva cu oibus p'tinen p'd conta oes hoies et feminas immppetuu warrantirabimus p hac au (autem) donacioe et cocessione et hujus p'sent carte cofirmac dicti mee burgens mihi p manibus octo marc argenti deder ut hec sibi mea donaco et concessio et p'sent carte confirmac Rat et grat stabil et incocessa imperpetuu p'maneant ac p'ntem cartam sigilli mei imp'ssiv roboravi hiis testibus Thoma de Sco []. Willo barete Galfr de ba Johe flandaensi militibus Thoma p'sona de Callan [] de Utkelega (Erlega) Galfr Scortall Gilb-

to tonitru Waltere fitl heur Marino Cotel Johe de Ken Willo Scortall hugon devoneus Reginald Caplo et aliis.

Charter of William FitzGeoffrey, granted to all his burgesses all liberties and free customs which it was lawful for him to bestow. No burgess be obliged to plead but in the hundred, and the hundred be held in the town. No burgess be amerced but by consideration of the the hundred, and ameracements in major pleas should not exceed 10s., of which a moiety be remitted, and the other moiety rendered in amercement. In minor pleas of bread, beer and watches the amercement should not exceed 12d., whereof a moiety should be remitted, and the other moiety given in amercement. No burgess should be compelled to plead by meskenningham (an unjust citation into court), or be distrained or distressed through his, FitzGeoffrey's, lands or dominion for any foreign debt unless he be surety or debtor. No burgess be compelled to redeem anyone unless he should desire it. They might marry; themselves, their sons, daughters and widows, without licence of their lords, unless in relation to foreign tenements held in capite without the "burrow." They might dispose of their tenements and build upon the water, and any burgess bringing victuals to his castle should be recompensed within 15 days. He grants them common of his woods for erecting their houses, and all their lands and appurtenances, by the metes and bonds described by Geoffrey, son of Robert, who first erected the town, and all the liberties and free customs which the Barons of Leinster granted to their burgesses.

Witnesses—

LORD OLLOR, Bishop.

MATHEW, son of Gooffrey.

MAURICE, son of Maurice, &c.

Second Charter of John granted to burgesses common in his woods for all their cattle and necessities, that is to say, in Gortenclevan on the west, to the lands of Even (Castle Eve) on the east, and thence to lands of Henry de Erlegan, on north, and all the liberty and free customs which Geoffrey, his father, and William, his brother, had given and granted.

At the period of the granting of the foregoing charters to the inhabitants of Kells it seems to have been known as "Kells in Munster," but there is evidence enough in the charters themselves to show that "Munster" was an error for Ossory, probably from the fact of the ancient kings of Munster holding it in subjection, as already mentioned. William de Bermingham burned Kells in 1252. In the beginning of the 14th century the barony of Kells in Ossory was granted to Sir Eustace le Poer, who sat in Parliament in 1295, and was third in descent from Sir Roger le Poer, who accompanied Strowbow to Ireland, and subsequently assisted John de Courcy in the reduction of Ulster. In 1279 Sir Eustace was one of the "nobles" summoned by John Wogan, the Lord Justice, "to prepare with horse and armour" to attend the King in his war with the Scots. He died

in 1311, and was succeeded by his son, Lord Arnold le Poer, who had commanded in the King's army that ravished Scotland. In 1325 King Edward II. made him seneschal of the County and City of Kilkenny. On Palm Sunday, 1317 (27th March), King Robert Bruce stopped at Kells on his retreat from Limerick.

In 1327 "the town and almost the whole barony of Kenlis, in Ossory, was burnt by the Lord William de Bermingham, the Geraldines, and the men of Lord Maurice FitzThomas. A great war in the Geraldines, Pincernos (Butlers) and Birminghams, on the one part, against the Poerinos and Burkeyns on the other part" ("Carew M.S. Conquest of Ireland," p. 327; "Clynn's Annals," p. 19).

Lord Arnold, it is said, caused this violent disturbance himself by calling FitzGerald a "Rhymer." Playfair, in his "Peerage of Ireland," vol. 1, p. 32, London, 1810, says that in the following year, 1328, Lord Arnold was accused of heresy by Richard Lederede, Bishop of Ossory, and confined in the Castle of Dublin. He died before he could be tried. He left a son, Eustace, who succeeded him as Baron of Kells, and married, in 1331, Matilda de Bermingham, daughter and co-heir of John, Earl of Louth. He joined in the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, and being taken prisoner was hanged by Ufford, the Lord Justice, in 1345. After his execution the barony of Kells was granted to Walter de Bermingham in 1346. In the Inquisitions *post mortem*, 34, 35 Edw. III. (1361-2) Sir Walter FitzWalter de Bermingham is mentioned as holding the Manor of Kenlis from the King for 4s., which manor he retained by a new feoffment (Carew MS. Miscell., p. 366). He died in 1362, seized amongst others of the Manor of Kenlis, and his sister, Margaret, married, to Robert de Preston, became next heir.

In 1398 a battle was fought at Kells between the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles and others, on one side, and Mortimer, Earl of March, and a great number of the English forces on the other, in which many of the latter, with Mortimer himself, were slain. MacGeoghegan, places the site of this battle at Kells, County Kildare. After recording the slaughter of forty English chiefs and their attendants by the O'Tooles, he adds:—"Mortimer met soon afterwards with the same fate in Kenlis, in the County of Kildare, where himself and the whole of his army were put to the sword by the O'Byrnes and other Irish" ("History of Ireland" page 346, edited by O'Kelly).

Gilbert, in his "History of the Viceroys of Ireland" (p. 278), makes Callistown, County Carlow, the scene of the conflict. He says:—"In 1398 the Viceroy, Roger de Mortimer, marched against some of the septs occupying part of the lands which he claimed in Leinster. Attired in the dress and accoutrements of an Irish cavalier, he encountered them at Callistown, in Carlow, and fell at the head of the soldiery which were routed with great slaughter."

The Four Masters, under 1398, record the battle and its result, but are silent as to the place it was fought. They state:—"O'Byrne and O'Toole fought a battle against the English, in which the Earl of March and a vast number of the English were slain."

The Editor, Mr. Connellan, says this battle was fought at "Kenlis,

in Ossory, now Kells, in the County of Kilkenny." "Dowling's Annals," under date 1397, says that Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was slain by O'Nowlan O'Byrne, M'David More and Mortagh M'Loaghlen, at Calleston, anciently called Ardabother, and that his mother (Philippa, Duchess of Clarence) gave two chalices to the churches of "Misheill" and "Garghill" to obtain his body, "vel vivum vel mortuum," for transfer to England. "Misheill" and "Garghill" were evidently two places in the immediate district where the battle was fought and Mortimer fell. Else why pay two chalices to the churches of those places for the recovery of his corpse. Now "Misheill" is evidently Myshall in the County Carlow, and "Garghill" is the present Garryhill, a townland in the Parish of Myshall.

The following graphic description of the battle by a historian quoted in the "History of the Clan O'Toole" (p. 189), may serve to give a vivid idea of its sanguinary and decisive character:—"The English either in acceptance of a challenge, or in pursuit of the Irish, who, perhaps, led a march in turn were advanced into the district of Kenlis, now the barony of Kells, beyond the Nore. Here on the banks of the stream called the King's River, the two armies met face to face in an open field for the first time in this war. The numbers must have been between ten and twelve thousand on each side. With Roger (Earl of March) were Ormonde and Grey, with the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes, and other Leinster men Dermid O'Toole and O'Byrne. It was the 20th of July, the Feast of St. Margaret, the Virgin. The armies of the combatants were nearly equal, but the English had greatly the advantage in armour. The Leinster princes were "equipped at all points" in a manner that excited the admiration of the French Cavalier (Froissart) who has written the account of Richard the Second's expedition, but the use of defensive armour had not been universally obtained by the Irish.

"The battle was long and bloody but decisive. Great numbers fell on both sides and among them the Earl of March, heir-apparent to the English throne (who was disguised as a hobiler) and then in the 24th year of his age." "Thus passed away the heir to that throne for which so many of his ancestors had sighed, the royal sceptre almost within his grasp, when death at the hand of an O'Toole waved it away and claimed him as his own What a humiliation for proud England! and how different an ending to the hopes of her disappointed King! The Leinster septs found themselves now, in the Spring of 1399, masters of the situation, with their nation as great as it had been in the days of their ancestors, or since the Sea Kings established their Pale in Leinster, in the ninth century; and they resolved that if it did not become greater it should not become less."

I gladly accept this description of the battle, and the inspiration with which it was penned, but the glorious field of the victory is not, I am afraid, the local claim of Kells in Ossory.

We now turn to the ecclesiastical antiquities of Kells, and find that Geoffrey FitzRobert having obtained possession of the barony he, by the advice of Strongbow, founded here a priory for Augustinian Canons,

whom he procured from Bodmin, in Cornwall, viz., Reginald de Aclond, Hugh de Rous, Alurd and Algart. Geoffrey says, in his charter, that he founded this priory for the health of the soul of the said Earl Richard, and granted to it all ecclesiastical dues which might arise from his land in Ossathy and the chapel of his castle of Kells. He also granted to the prior three carucates of land situate between Kells and Kilree, with other grants of ecclesiastical dues and churches. He also, by a second charter, granted three other carucates of land beyond the Righi (King's River), and the unrestricted right to the Canons to choose a successor, on the death of a prior, either from among themselves or from the priory of Bodmin, in Cornwall.

Archdall says Reginald was the first Prior of this house, and was succeeded by Hugh Rous. Alured was made first Prior of Inistioge, and Algar, going to Rome on business, obtained a bishopric in Lombardy. On the death of Bishop Felix O'Dullany, in 1202, Hugh Rous, or Rufus, second Prior of the new establishment of Kells, was by the unanimous voice of the clergy elected to succeed him, and before the end of the year he was consecrated. He was the first Anglo-Norman Bishop of Ossory, and continued to his death a true benefactor of Kells, for which, it is said, he did much, whilst for his own cathedral he did little or nothing. He died in 1218, and was interred under a high monument of marble erected in the middle of the choir of Kells Abbey.

We learn from an Inquisition, held at Gowran on the 14th April, 1631, that one Philip MacHugh, by his deed bearing date A.D. 1263, granted to the Prior and Convent of the House of the Blessed Virgin, of Kells, in Ossory, four acres of land in Gortnegor, to be held by them and their successors for ever.

I may here remark that the Patron of Kells, before the arrival of the English, was St. Kieran, whose church became the chapel of the founder of the abbey.

Richard II., in the 15th year of his reign, renewed to this house a grant made by King Edward, his grandfather, viz., "the right of acquiring and holding for themselves and their successors for ever £20 of land and rents, and the advowson of churches in fee."—Pat. Roll 15, Richard II.

Henry IV., in the 13th year of his reign, 1412, confirmed all the possessions of Kells Monastery, and renewed the grant of its several churches and their glebe lands, amongst which are mentioned the Church of St. Keiran, otherwise called the chapel of their founder, the Church of Killynthy (Killinny), the Church of Kiltrany *alias* Brownechurch; the Church of Mailardstown, with its chapel; the Church of Ballagh, and the Church of Ballyetha, in the Diocese of Ferns, &c., with some thirty others. The list of priors of this Abbey, may be seen in "Archdall's Monasticon."

In 1415, Peter Barret, Bishop of Ferns, formerly Canon of Kells, was buried here. In 1426, John Mothell, Canon of Kells, was made Bishop of Limerick, in place of Cornelius O'Dea, who resigned in that year. Mothel himself also resigned in 1456.

Philip Howleghan, the last prior, surrendered the priory on the 8th March, 31st King Henry VIII., being seized of the said priory church, belfry and cemetery, a hall, a dormitory, four chambers, a kitchen, a granary, two stables, two orchards, and sundry other closes, all within the precincts thereof, and also of one castle, forty-five messuages, thirty gardens, sixty acres of arable land, forty of pasture, ten of wood, one hundred of underwood and moor, with a water mill in Kells and Blackeath, of the annual value, besides all reprises, of £14 6s. 8d., besides a large number of other possessions, which are given in "Arch-dall's Monasticon" under *Kells*.

The Prior of Kells was a lord of Parliament. The priory with two carucates of land and a water-mill in le Grange; two carucates and a water-mill, in Killeneth (Killinny; two carucates in Desert, with the town of le Grove (probably Grove near Desert), and the rectory of Kells, paying to the Vicar the annual rent of £5, or the third part of the rectory, was granted in capite to James, Earl of Ormonde, on the 4th January, 32nd Henry VIII. (1542).

From an Inquisition held at Rosbercon, on the 30th October, 1621, it appears that Richard, Viscount Mountgarrett, was seized *inter alia* of the manor of Kenlis, and of all its rents, &c., as parcel of the said manor, viz., the fortilage of Kenlis, and 20 messuages and gardens in Kenlis Godinscourt, and the lands [] Godin in Kenlis Cottelsland, in Kenlis, called the long garden; Garrynefinisheoge [], and 10 small acres of land appertaining to same, and of the Court Baron and Court Leet, parcels of the said manor; the tithe of 20 messuages, 1 garden and 200 acres of land within the townland of Kenlis, formerly belonging to the Prior of Kells; of the lands called Morishe Jones, his lands in Kenlis, 2s. 2d. per annum; for customs of the Bailiwick debited on the burgesses of Kenlis, 6s.; from William Shee, for his lands in Kenlis, 3s. 8d.; of the lands of Nicholas and James Butler, in Kenlisfields, 6d., &c. All the inhabitants and burgesses of Kenlis between the cross and Godinscourt owe Court Sec.

The cross here mentioned must mean the site of the market cross, erected to commemorate the chief festival of Kells after the English had taken possession of it, which was the "Exaltation of the Holy Cross," 14th September.

The ruins of Kells Priory, within an oblong area of several acres; its burgher's court flanked with strong towers, and protected with parapetted curtains; its spacious bawn of several hundred feet square, all grouped together on a gentle declivity by the water's edge of the Ooanree, are not only the most extensive our county can boast of, but even in the semi-military appearance stand almost unequalled, not only in our county, but in our country, as monuments of ancient magnificence and munificence, and of the unrivalled religious splendour of the Pale.

I cannot perhaps give you a better idea of those noble ruins than by quoting for you an extract from one of the unpublished letters of James Lecky to Paris Anderson, for which I am indebted to one of

THE KILKENNY



KELLS ABBEY. CO. KILKENNY.

our respected members of the Society, Mr. M'Creery, of Larch Hill. It reads as follows :—

Mountrath,

May 13, 1835.

DEAR PARIS,

. You ask me for a description of Kells Priory, and is there a place in our dear county more worthy of description than Kells, with its stern and picturesque monastic ruin, the soft wave of a gentle stream murmuring under its hoary walls, and a little higher up that river as calm as the summer's sky that summer brings over it, to see its beauty in the still waters, with here and there a tufted islet sleeping on the liquid mirror, and the hills come down to that soft stream, meeting in low, green grassy banks that stoop to the very waters with their verdure. Oh! I love to think of that sweet, lovely spot, and I never think of it but you are in my mind, and the happy days we spent there, and wherever time had spared a relic of the past. Well, for the description. The old town of Kells was once of greater importance than it is now; instead of a mean village of twenty or thirty houses it was once a walled town, with a constable and castle, and other attachments to a place of the kind. Part of its market cross is still to be seen, and, if you can believe tradition unsupported by history, it was at one time possessed of a college, or religious seminary, besides the magnificent priory, the ruins of which constitute its present claim to notice. The remains of this noble building are situate on the east side of Kells, and on the southern bank of the Oonrigh, or King's River. They stand upon the ascent of a hill, and are bounded at the northern extremity by the river. They are more or less in a state of ruin, and though some parts may be pronounced as being in excellent preservation there are others in a shattered and most dilapidated condition; dismantled towers with whole sides torn away, clad in a rich garb of ivy that sometimes completely shrouds the ancient masonry, broken arches, and immense masses of fallen fragments everywhere strewing the ground, present a most striking and imposing spectacle. The priory was comprehended within a large oblong enclosure divided into two courts, separated by a strong wall. The southern, or as it was sometimes called the Burgher's Court, is about 400 feet square, and was apparently never occupied by any building. At each of the northern angles, and in the centre of the northern and western curtains, is a strong tower, all in good preservation, fitted up with fire-places, closets and narrow stone stair-cases. The summit of the towers are provided with bartisans and machicolations for the defence of the doorways. Indeed this court, with its strong towers and wide compass of enclosure, reminds one of a military stronghold rather than a religious establishment. A branch of the King's River, with a high wall flanked by a strong tower judiciously placed in the centre divides this court from the other, apparently the prison for refractory monks. The brew-house, kitchen, and other

offices necessary to the accommodation of the priory were all contained within it, besides three other large towers, of which one is in good preservation and contained some convenient apartments. The main entrance to this monastery was the eastern side through a low arched gateway protected by a heavy projection or jutting. There was another but upper gate at the opposite side towards the town. It was much smaller and opened into the inner court. There was also a large gateway between the two courts besides several posterns, one of which opened upon the river.

Yours truly,

JAMES LECKY.

Next he gives name of founder and date of foundation as already.

The castle attached to the south-eastern angle of the choir seems one of the strongest and most perfect of the towers, the ground apartment of which may have answered for a Sacristy or the accommodation of the church ornaments and utensils, whilst the middle and top floors may have served for the residence of the Prior. Its close connection with the church readily suggests such arrangement. The enclosure of the burgher's court having had no trace or foundation of modern or ancient buildings, must have been utilized as a bawn where the cattle of the community rested safe at night from the predatory attacks of the enemy in disturbed times. Standing in the midst of this bawn how thoughtful and interesting the scene around you!

"Here" says the author of "Nooks and Corners of our County," "you are surrounded by the ruins—some parts of which are in such excellent preservation that they remain almost as if yesterday deserted, others in a shattered and dismantled state, some of the many towers fearfully dilapidated and threatening, whole sides of some torn away, others clad in most luxuriant robes of ivy, whilst on every side are scattered large masses of the iron-cemented mason work, built one would say for eternity, yet overthrown by the violence of man, or the not less sparing tempest. How curious too appears the combination of domestic edifices, religious buildings and military fortifications thus grotesquely grouped together, the ivyclad walls of the abbey mill, which with the course of its now dried mill-stream may be discovered amongst its domestic appliances, contrasting strangely with the frowning embattled towers, and the tall gables, Gothic arches, and slender window mullions of the ecclesiastical buildings all now broken into confused masses, and stern and sombre in their desolation. . . . The centuries that have passed over all in silence are evidenced by the broken arch by the crumbling wall and broken window, and by many other things which sleep together the belted knight, mitred prior and all that were of the present, now all alike forgotten."

(5)—BALLEEN.

The following site of Balleen, the ancient seat of the Mountgarrets, in the present parish of Lindowney, appears amongst the Ordnance

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BALEEN CASTLE, CO. KILKENNY.

Survey Letters, vol. I., p. 93, the writer of the letter being O'Curry :—

“Of the Parish of Balleen (Ord. S.L., vol. I., p. 93).

“The parish of Balleen is bounded on the north-east by the parishes of Ooolcaashen and Sheffin ; on the south-east and south by those of Freshford, Olomanto, Borrismore, and Feartagh, and on the west by the parish of Feartagh and that of Garnamanna. The name of the parish is not of ecclesiastical origin, and the Irish speaking people say that it means nothing more than the little town or village, *Ballin*, Balleen diminutive of *Baile*, i.e., a village, town, or residence. The old church of Balleen is 48 feet long, 10 broad, the walls 10 feet high and 3 thick. There is a breach in the north wall where the door must have stood, as there is no doorway to be seen anywhere else. There is a breach in the east gable, which has carried away the window, if any there was. There is a small window high up in the west gable, about 3 feet high and 2½ feet wide, covered with a flag inside, about 2 feet 10 inches high and 3 inches wide, outside formed by five cut stones. One square tower partially broken, and one end and part of side wall of Balleen Castle stand near the old church, surrounded with walls of defence, &c., the pride and splendour of the Butlers of other days. Several fine square windows, with solid stone sashes, remain in the square tower.


“I am, your obedient servant,

“EUGENE O'BRY.”

A considerable portion of the fine old Castle of Balleen has of late years fallen from the effects of over-grown ivy, and it is to be regretted that the living representative of the Mountgarret family has not done something to guard so proud a ruin from further destruction.

INQUISITION XXXII.

“The Sessions House, 6th February, 1621.

“ICHOLAS SHORTALL, late of Upperclaragh, in the Co Kilkenny, was seized of the fee of the manor, castle, town and lands of Upperclaragh, at West-claragh, Walterstown, Smithstown, at Ballingowne, Kilmogan, at Grageadin and Blackrath, in the county aforesaid, containidg 3 carucates of land, which are held from the Earl of Ormande, as of his manor of Gowran, by knight's service save and except for ever to Thomas Shortall, of Rathardmore, the parcel of land known by the name of “Quarter,” of Claragh [], the aforesaid Nicholas was seized as of the fee of the town and lands of Aghe, in the county aforessid, with their parts and appurtenances, viz.—Monevanihin, Reiske at Reiske, Mustermarricke,

Farrensheshire, Banegary, Drimenyne—the moieties [] of Kildron and Ballinvollin *al* Glanballinvollin, which are held from the Earl and Countess of Desmond *as* of their manor of Kildne *al* Kyndie, containing 1 carucate of land; of Higginstown and Lissingill, containing 2 carucates of land, which are held *as* of the manor of Jowell, 8 messuages and 1 quarter of land in St Martin's, in the county aforesaid, which are held from the Earl of Ormonde *as* of his manor of Gowran; a fair annually at St. Martin's on the feast of St. Martin, and for the day immediately preceding the aforesaid feast; of the manor, castle, town and lands of Tibbin *al* Tibbrudbrittaine, in the county aforesaid, and of the old ruins of the castle and town and lands of the Loghes, a parcel of land called Moiaigirrishe, all containing 2 carucates of land, and held from the king by knight's service *in capite*—of Oradockestown *al* Ratheradocke, in the county aforesaid, containing 2 carucates of land, which are held *as* of the manor of Kildrinagh, the annual rent of 5s. issuing out of Loghenaltie *al* Walesloghe; 4s. 6d. out of 5 acres in Kilferagh, presently in the possession of Robert Forstall, of Kilferagh, and known by the name of Bowdall; 6d. and 4 pieces called "Whitegrotes," issuing out of the lands of Knockemenebondally, near Claragh, presently in the possession of Thomas Shortall, of Rathardmore; 3s. 4d. out of the parcel of land called Farrenrowckal, parcel of Brickinclaragh; the annual rent issueing out of Claraghtample; 6d. out of the croft in Brickinclaragh, called Oroghtimehochie, which are due to the manor of Upper Claragh; the annual rent issueing out of the lands of Kildrinagh, Garranconnell, and Charnegeale, which rents are due to the manor of Tibbrien (Tubrid). The aforesaid Nicholas, amongst others, by his writing dated the 13th September, 1595, feoffed Daniel McKartie, of Kil-Brittaine, in the County of Cork, and others, their heirs and assigns, of all the manors, &c., aforesaid, to the certain uses specified in the said writing, the tenor whereof followeth in the original:—Peter Fitz-Gerald and Katherine, his wife [] son and co-heir [] lately deceased, who was [] co-heir of Nicholas Shortall, deceased; Daniel O'Rian and Ellin O'Rian *al* Archdeakin, his wife [] another son and co-heir of the said Katherine Archdeakin *al* Shortall."

THE SHORTALL FAMILY.

See Inquisition ix., p. 150—Inquisition xvii., p. 226.

The following notice of Blackrath, Clara, and St. Martins is from the "Survey Letters," vol. 1, p. 246, &c., the writer of the letter being J. O'Donovan.

(1)—BLACKRATH, &c.

"Blackrath, Clara and S. Martins—The first is called *Rathdubh* or *Blackfort*—2nd, *Clarach*—a flat or level—and the 3rd, *Teampull Martain*, *i.e.*, the Church of St. Martin. There are no primitive Irish antiquities in any of them except some earthen forts not worth description. There is no old church in Blackrath. St. Martin's Church, two


miles east of Kilkenny, is twenty feet wide and seems to have been considerably long, but as both gables are totally destroyed, I cannot say how long it was. It had a nave and choir, and the arch of the latter remains, and shows it to have been a very rude and modern building. It had two doors in the pointed style opposite each other. One south, still nearly perfect; the second, in the north wall, was destroyed about twenty years ago by one who felt the effect of the vengeance of St. Martin. Traditions say it belonged to the Vicar's Choral of St. Canice's Church. The priest said Mass in this ruin on every St. Martin's day, until about thirty years ago. St. Martin's Well is in a bog 200 yards north-east, at which stations were held on the 11th November. This church was the burial place of the Shortalls of Rathenmore, who were dispossessed by Cromwell. Their castles about here were Lyrath, near Sir Wheeler Cuffe's house, Rathduff or Highrath, Clifden Castle, anciently called Rathgarvan, the Castle of Clara and Castle of Rathenmore, which was situated in a townland still retaining the name about half a mile to the south of the old church of St. Martin's. It stood near a fort, but both are now level with the field. All the people agree that Rathenmore is the name of a townland, and is set down as such in the engraved map of the Down Survey, but there is no such on the name book. The Boundary Surveyor will be held responsible for error of this kind in one of the many instances of wrong sub-divisions. But as I have said so much on the subject of wrong names and sub-divisions already, I shall drop the subject, well knowing that if *Terminus* himself, the tutelary Divinity of bounds, landmarks, and sub-divisions were to descend from the clouds, or from wherever he is, and point out the true boundaries of Irish townlands, he would not be believed. All I have to do with the townlands is to point out the proper syllables of which their names are to consist, and to collect the history of each locality as well as I can from tradition or written monuments. The boundary surveyor *alone* is accountable for the proper position of their names on the maps and the extent of land which they are to embrace. When, however, such an important place as this, which gave the title of lord to an ancient family of the Pale, is omitted, I think it my duty to report it. In the choir of St. Martin's Church are two tombs of the Shortalls with the following inscriptions in Gothic characters: (See page 227).

"Charles O'Connor, in his map called 'Ortelius Improved,' erroneously places the Shortalls in Iverk. Clara Church, an erection of the 14th or 15th century, has nave and choir, a window in the east gable in the round, narrow style, and a rude doorway in the south wall. All other features are destroyed. The east gable appears much older than any other part. It was probably built by the Shortalls."

"J. O'DONOVAN."

INQUISITION XXXIII.

"The Sessions House, 17th September, 1622.

 OHN ROTH FITZPIERS¹, of the 'City of Kilkenny, *Ald.*, was seized of the fee of the estate (mortgaged for £180) of, and in the town and lands of Aghenowrlin, in the County Kilkenny; and by his writing, dated the 20th September, 1615, he gave the said town and lands to one William Shee, James Cleere and others, to the use of the said John Fitzpiers during his life, and after his decease to the use of his will—. On the last of March, 1619, the aforesaid John made his last will, and devised the profits of the town and lands aforesaid to the use of his daughters, who at the time of his death were unmarried—viz., Anastacie Katherine and Elicie Roth. The aforesaid town and lands contain one-half carucate, and are held from the king *in capite* by knight's service. The aforesaid John was also seized of the fee of the estate, mortgaged for £40, of the town and lands of Sheepstown, in the County Kilkenny, containing one-fifth carucate of land, which are held from the Earl of Desmonde, as of his manor of Knocktopher, by *fealty* only. The aforesaid John died on the last of January, 1620. Peter Rothe Fitzjohn is his son and heir, and was then 30 years of age, and married to Leticia Lawless, daughter of Walter Lawless, of the City of Kilkenny. The aforesaid John was seized of the fee of 1 messuage, 1 garden, and 1 stang of land, within the town of Gowran, which are held from the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Gowran by *fealty*; and of 2 messuages and 2 gardens, within the town of Thomastown, of which 1 is held from Patrick Denn, as of his manor of Grenan by *fealty*; and the other is held from the heirs of Richard Archdeacon *al* Maccody, as of his manor of Dangan, for a head rent."

(1)—THE ROTHE FAMILY.

That the Rothe family had settled in Kilkenny at a very early date there can be no doubt. In the "History and Antiquities of St. Canice Cathedral," p. 294, we have mention of John Roth, who purchased the murage of Kilkenny for two years in 1373. We have also given the names of Thomas Roth, who was sovereign of the town in 1403, and of John, who filled the same office in 1440, 1449, and 1465. Where did the family first come from? In the appendix to the "Confederation of Kilkenny" Father Meehan has inserted a sketch of the family from then pen of the late Rev. John Shearman, who surmised that the Rothes were of Flemish origin, and were settled in South Wales.

In the "Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association," vol. 7, p. 501, and c (1885-6), George D. Burtchaell, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-Law, has published the most exhaustive and reliable information on the several branches of the family that has yet been given to

the public. In the "Appendix," p. 535, Mr. Burtchaell gives "The Pedigree of the Familie of the Rothes since the Norman Conquest," which was compiled by one Robert Roth, a professional lawyer. He was also agent to Thomas (Black) 10th Earl of Ormonde and 3rd of Ossory, and wrote a "Register containing the pedigree of the Honourable Thomas, late Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, and of his ancestors and cousins, both lineal and collateral as well, since the conquest of Ireland, as before, and containing many of the memorable services done and performed by the said Earls; and also their matches and what honours, offices, and promotions were granted to them from time to time, and a note of the several purchases made by them—all which were collected and gathered out of the several chronicles and pedigrees, and out of sundry records and evidences in the year after the Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour Jesus, 1616."

It was from this MS. of Robert Roth's that Carte drew most of the material which compiled his account of the Ormonde family, as given in the first volume of his "Life of James, Duke of Ormonde." His great-grandson, Robert Rothe, an attorney, drew up a "Pedigree of the Rothe Family" in 1699, the earlier part of which Mr. Burtchaell thinks was copied from one by the above Robert, the author of the "Ormonde Pedigree" and the "Antiquities of Kilkenny." In this pedigree he states that the first of the house was Sir Walter Rothe, of Northon Rothe, in Lancaster, Knight, who was of the Saxon race or origin.

Between this Walter and John Roth, who, the pedigree states, came to Ireland at the time of the invasion, there are nine intervening generations, a thing incredible in the space that intervenes between 1066 and 1171, that is, between the periods of the Norman Conquest of England and the landing of Henry the Second in Ireland. On the other hand, if the said Sir Walter lived anterior to the Norman Conquest, Mr. Burtchaell thinks it "impossible to suppose that anyone rejoicing in the name, style, and title of 'Sir Walter Rothe, of Northon Rothe, Knt,' could have existed in Saxon times." It is right, however, to remark that the title "knight" was not unknown to the Saxons, and King Alfred conferred the order on his son, Athelstan. The word "knight" is evidently derived from the Saxon *cnicht*, i.e., a *servant* or *attendant*, and amongst the Teutons or German race it was *knecht*, which means a *servant* also.

Amongst the Latins the "knights" always served on horseback and wore gilt spurs, and hence were called *equites aurati*—and under the feudal system in England the knight in his full suit of ringed or plate armour, invariably mounted his "charger" and followed his king to battle heedless of danger in his proud, martial panoply. Later on in his pedigree Robert Rothe makes a chronological mistake which Mr. Burtchaell has noticed, and which, more than other, compels one to reject him altogether as inaccurate. He says:—"John Rothe, grandson to William Rothe, of Northon Rothe, who came first into Ireland in ye company of ye said Theobald Ffitzwalter, nephew to ye said St. Thomas of Canterbury, had issue by his sd wife, Walter Rothe, which

Walter had issue, John Roth, of Ballyraghton, in the barony of Gowran, and County of Kilkenny, and realme of Ireland, which John Rothe had issue, Sir William Rothe Fitz-John, priest, who was Archdeacon of Ossory in the time of King Henry the Second, and was afterwards Lord Bishop of Ossory in ye 9th yeare of ye reigne of ye said king, and in ye 16th yeare of ye sd king he was Archbp of Cashel, as appears by divers deeds and records."

Henry the Second died in 1189, and William Fitzjohn was not Bishop of Ossory till 1303. His translation to the See of Cashel took place in 1317.

The "Rothe Pedigree," therefore, in making him Bishop of Ossory in the 9th year of King Henry the Second antedates by 140 years, an error which cannot be reconciled with the scholarly attainments of the compiler, nor free him from the suspicion of fiction. For those who may be curious enough to examine the "Rothe Pedigree," compiled in 1699, and who may not have an opportunity of perusing Mr. Burtchaell's able paper on the "Family of Rothe" I hereby briefly append it.

Sir Walter Rothe, of Northon Rothe, County of Lancaster, Knight = daughter of Sir Robert Sudworth.

2—John = daughter of Sir William Malbanke.

3—William = daughter of Brereton, and had issue, William, Thomas, and George of Wholey.

4—William the eldest = daughter of Baron Tifton.

5—Robert = daughter of Basbrick.

6—Edward = daughter of Sir Thomas Morlix.

7—John = daughter of Warburton of Arley.

8—John = daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft, and had issue, William and Robert, chaplain to Sir Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.

9—William the elder = daughter of Norton of Norton.

10—Thomas = daughter of Sir John Worthington—John, brother of Thomas, and second son of William, married the daughter of Brereton, widow of Anderton, and came to Ireland with Theobald FitzWalter about 1171—and had issue by his said wife.

2—Walter, who left a son and heir.

3—John Rothe, of Ballyraghton, in the Barony of Gowran, and County of Kilkenny.

4—William, who was Bishop of Ossory, and Archbishop of Cashel.

5—Gilbert Fitzjohn, brother of William.

6—Walter.

7—Thomas = to Ellen Purcell of Ballyfoyle.

8—John = to Lettice Chamberlaine.

9—1 David = to Oatherine Sherlock, and 2nd Jenkin, ancestor of the Jenkin Rothe family in Kilkenny.

10—Robert FitzDavid = to Ellen Butler of Powellstown (Paulstown).

11—1 David = to Anstace Archer, and 2nd, John, from whom descended David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory—Thomas Rothe, Dean of St. Canice, &c.

12—Robert FitzDavid = Ellen Comerford, Callan.

13—1 David = to daughter of Sir Richard Shee, and 2nd, Peter Rothe, ancestor of the Rahely and Ballydonnell Rothes.

14—Sir Robert, son of David = Joan Butler of Kilconnel.

15—David = daughter of James Butler of Dangan, by whom he had issue.

16—Robert Rothe.

(Endorsed)

“The Pedigree of the Rothes,
Given unto Mr. Abraham
Rothe by Robert Rothe,
Attorney in the Exchequer,
Ye 3rd of July, 1699.”

We may take it for granted that nothing certain can be ascertained regarding the first settlement of the Rothes in England, and their introduction into this country seems equally obscure. John Roth, who, according to the *Liber Primus*, the earliest of the City books of Kilkenny, farmed the murage of the town for two years at the rent of nine marks of silver, appears to have been the first of the name who settled in Kilkenny. William Fitzjohn, who is said to have been a Rothe, and was Bishop of Ossory in 1303, and subsequently Archbishop of Cashel in 1317, is of doubtful surname. Cardinal Moran, in his account of “The Bishops of Ossory from the Anglo-Norman Invasion,” (Ossor. Arch. Soc., vol. 2, p. 223) does not say of what family Bishop William Fitzjohn was. His Eminence merely states that he was canon of St. Canice, and having been elected by his brother canons to fill the vacant See, the election having received the confirmation of the Crown, he was consecrated in his own Cathedral on Sunday, within the octave of the Epiphany, 1303. It is clear though the name *John* was common with the Rothe family, it was not exclusively theirs, and there were many other families who had *John* and *Fitzjohn* general amongst them. It was so with the Langton family of Kilkenny, and Nicholas Langton, who left a genealogical manuscript of his family, and was deputed by the Corporation of Kilkenny, to wait on King James the First, to obtain the great charter creating Kilkenny a city in 1609, describes himself “Nicholas Langton *Fitzrichard-Fitzjohn*. William Fitzjohn might have been the son of a John Langton, John Fitzgerald, or any other, as well as of John Rothe, and it is quite possible that Mr. Rothe, in compiling the pedigree of his family, saw in his lordship a Melchisedechian opportunity of claiming for the name a religious as well as civil distinction. The “*Liber Munerum*,” under the date 1302, vol. 2, page 44, has the following entry regarding him:—“William Fitzjohn [Writ of Restitution *Pat* 17—E.J. mem. 7—] Resigned 1317.”

“He had to sue out a second writ, however, for his temporalities (*Pat*. 31, E.J.) By Papal provision he was translated to Cashel, there being three others at the time elected for that See. He was made Deputy to Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, 6th May, 1318, or rather the 6th March before. About the same time he was made Chancellor. The King wrote a moving letter for him to the Pope to obtain delay in

paying dues from the See, urging as the occasion of the application the devastation committed by Bruce and the Scots."

In this we have nothing to show that his lordship was a Fitzjohn Rothe, and as yet, in my opinion at least, it must remain doubtful of what family he was. It is accordingly with good reason that Mr. Burtchaell, in his account of the "Family of Rothe," remarks:—"We are strongly inclined to suspect that the John Rothe of 1376 (above mentioned as having farmed the murage of Kilkenny) was the first settler of the name in Ireland, and was father of Thomas Rothe, the first of the family, who was Sovereign of Kilkenny."

Be this as it may it is from this latter that the spread of the family takes its rise. He married Ellen Purcell, but whether she was daughter of Baron Purcell, of Loughmoe, County Tipperary, or of Purcell, of Ballyfoyle, appears uncertain. Thomas left issue, seven sons, viz.—(1) John; (2) William; (3) Edmund; (4) Walter; (5) Oliver; (6) Marcus; (7) Richard. John, the eldest, married Lettice, daughter of John Chamberlain, and left issue—(1) David; (2) Jenkin; (3) Edward; (4) Pierce. The second son, Jenkin Rothe Fitzjohn, left a son, Geoffrey, his heir, and probably also, according to Mr. Burtchaell, a second son, John, or Jenkin, of New Ross, who left a son, Piers, father of John Rothe Fitzpiers, mentioned in the above Inquisition.

From Lodge's Parliamentary Register (Lib. Muner, vol. I, p. 21), we find a John Rothe and Ellice Shee elected M.P.'s for Kilkenny in 1595; and as the above John Fitzpiers, *alderman*, was at the time wealthy, it is likely that he is the same who was returned.

When Kilkenny was created a city by the Charter of James the First, in 1609, amongst the eighteen aldermen are the names of Robert Rothe, Edward Rothe, David Rothe, and John Rothe Fitzpiers. John Fitzpiers was also elected Mayor of the city in 1613. In 1594 he built the family mansion in Coal Market, which is thus described in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society," vol. 1, page 45:—"This building exhibits a most interesting and nearly perfect example of the urban architecture of the period, affording ample accommodation to the opulent merchant's family, his apprentices, and servants, together with storage for his goods. The front elevation of the house presents a gable in the centre crowned by an ornamental chimney, and flanked by a parapet running along the whole front at each side with small pinnacles at the angles; a bay window corbelled out from the wall formerly existed in the first floor. In the internal arrangements of the house there are no party walls used; each floor runs the whole extent of the building, and, resting as it does on massive oak beams, is well calculated to support the several internal partitions, which are invariably of oak timber. In the principal rooms capacious chimney-pieces of polished Kilkenny marble canopy the ample hearths. The rooms were, and in some instances still are, wainscotted with panelled oak; indeed no other description of timber was originally used throughout the entire structure."

There was also an arcade of five arches fronting this building, a contrivance usual in Elizabethan times for exhibiting goods just as

they are now displayed to public gaze in tall shop windows. In one of the two inner courtyards is a well faced with masonry and of considerable depth, having the following carved on the pediment :—

“Orate pro animabus Johannis Rothe mercatoris et uxoris ejus Rosae Archer qui puteum hunc et haec aedificia fieri fecerunt.”

Translation—“Pray for the souls of John Rothe, merchant, and his wife, Rose Archer, who had this well and these offices constructed.”

He died on the 31st January, 1620. On the 31st March, 1619, he made his last will, “a lengthy document covering nine leaves of closely written paper, and is as follows :

WILL OF JOHN ROTHE FITZPIERS.

EMANUEL,

In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and Holly Ghost : three persons and one God. I, John Roth Fitzpiers, of the cittie of Kilkenny, Alderman, being (God be thanked) in pfect health, and memorie, considering the frailtie of man's life, and yt nothin is more certaine then death, nor more unncertaine, then the houre theirow : do make this, my last Will and Testamt in manr following : Hereby revoking and adnulling all formr will, and wills, by me made.

Ffirst I bequeath my soule to almighty God, and I humbly pray the B. Virgin Mary, and all ye holly copany of heaven to pray to his divine Matie for the salvacon of my soule, and do will that my boddy be buried in ye chappell lately erected, and built by myself, between ye Crosse Church and the northern porch of St. Mary Church of ye said cittie, wch chappell I have dedicated to ye glorie, and honor of ye most holly and individuall Trinitie.

And my will is, and so I bequeath yt it shalbe evrmore called the Trinitie Chappell, and that it shalbe upheld, mainteyned and repaired in all necessarie points, and respects fro tyme to tyme, and at all tymes needefull by myne haeires forevr, both for the honor of Gode, the regarde they owe by nature to theire owne, and theire auncestors monums and that they and I are obliged in yt behalf to ye Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of St. Canice in the said Cittie of Kilkeny, of whom I purchased the ground, or roome of the said chappell.

Itim my will is, yt ye inventorie of my goods, chattels and debts be duly taken by my loving wife, Rose Roth, *alias* Archer, my son and haeire apparent, Peter Roth, and my overseers, as speedily after my buriall as the same may be conveniently don. And that my said wife, my apprentises, and such as have charge and dealing of my goods, be sworn before my said overseer to mak [hole in paper] inventorie thereof, so farr as shalbe in them.

There is a note of all my purchases, aswell the fee simples, and mortgages as my leases for yeares (as neere as I could remember thm) in the later ende of my whyte paper booke subscribed with myne owne hand.

*The demise
to the hæire.*

And where I have by my deede indented bearing date the twentieth day of September, in ye yere of or Lo ; God 1615, enfeoffed William Shee, James Clere, James Langton, Walter Daniel, and John Naish of all the towne, castle, lands, tenemts and hæreditamts of and in Aghnenurlyn in the count of Kilkenny, and of divrs other lands, tenemts and hæreditamts in ye saide cittie of Kilkenny, to the use and behooffe of my self during my naturall life, and after my decease to such use, and uses, pfts, and behoofes as I should declare in my last Will, and Testamt: nowe, as touching the disposicon of my lands, tenemts and hæreditamts, my Will is, and so I bequeath and devise to my said son, and heire apparant Peter Roth, all and singular my lands, tenemts and hæreditamts as well in ye said cittie of Kilkeny and count of Kilkeny, as elsewhere within ye realme of Ireland (saving and excepting to my said wife during her life only, her interest and title of dower to all the prmises vidlet the third pt. theiroy during her life onely, whereunto she is, or shalbe intituled uppon my death, by lawe; as her dower, or wifes third pt. And likewise saving and excepting, what other interest in the prmises or in any pts. soever thereof I shall, or will lymit, or devise unto her, or unto any other by this my last Will and Testamt) to have, and to hold all and singular ye prmises (except ye pr. excepted) unto my said son and hæire Peter Roth, and to the hæires males of his boddy lawfully begotten, and to bee begotten. The remainder to my second son, John Roth, and to ye hæires males of his boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and for lack of such hæires males the remainder to my third son, Matthew (if he shall not be preest, and to the hæires males of his boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and for lack of such hæires males the remainder to my fourth son, Michael (if he shall not be preest) and to ye hæires males of his boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and for lack of such hæires males ye prmises to remayne to ye hæires males of myne owne body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and for lack of such hæires males the prmises to remayne to my daughter, Margaret Roth during her naturall life and after her decease to the hæires males of her boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and for lack of such hæires of her boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; the prmises to remayne to my second daughter, Marrior Roth during her naturall life; and after her decease to ye hæires males of her boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and so successfullly to the eldest of my daughters one after an other; and for lack of such hæires of all and evry of my daughters, all and singular ye prmises to remain to ye hæires males of the boddy of my brother David Roth Fitz-Geffrey of New Rosse; and for lack of such hæires to ye rightfull hæires foeur of my saide brother, David Roth.

And where I have by my deed indented dated the last day of August in ye yere of or Lo: God 1615 geven, granted and confirmed unto William Shee, James Cleere, James Langton, Walter Daniel and John Naish all the interest, and terme, of yeres, wch I have unexpired in and uppon ye Parsonage, and Viocarrage of Rathkyran, and in and

uppon divrs other Parsonages, and Viccarrages and tieths in ye diocesse of Ossorie, and county of Kilkeny, and also all the goods and chattles, wch I have, or of right ought to have by any meanes within ye realme of Ireland. To the use and behooffe of my self during my naturall life, and after my decease to such use and uses, as I should by my last Will and Testamt, expresse and declare.

Now as touching my disposition of those fermes *vidlt* all those lands, tenemts, and haereditamts wthin the said realme of Ireland wherein I have but an estate, or interest for terme of yeres in use or possession wth their apptences. I do will and bequeath those fermes to my said son and haire, Peter Roth (excepting such pt. and pcell. cf the prmises, as I shall hereafter by this my last Will and Testament otherwise dispose and devise).

And where likewise I have be my deede indented dated the tenth day of January, 1610 geven, granted, and confirmed my mansion house in the said cittie of Kilkeny, wth certaine uther pcells of land unto Mr. Walter Lawles, and other feoffees to the use, and behooffe of my self during my naturall life, and after my decease to the use of my said son and haire apparant Peter Roth, and the haieres males of his boddy. In regard whereof I am now disabled to passe or assigne unto my said wife any certaine place or pporcon of my saide house for her dwelling after my decease, other then to leave her to her dower or wifes third pt. thereof.

Wherefore I am to pay Mr. Walter Lawless, and the rest of my feoffees in that respect, and I require my said son, Peter, uppon my blessing (aswell for continuance of naturall love betweene her and him, and for avoiding of ye confusion and dissention that may arise betweene her and him, if she be driven to take up her dower of the said house confusedlie in any place) that they pmit and suffer my said wife to have, hold and enjoy during her naturall life the portion and lymitacon of my house hereafter following *vidll*. The middle cross house or building (parcel of my said dwelling-house) lying from Nicholas Daniel, late deceased, his house in ye south, unto the pynnion or crosse wall next myne owne bedchamber in ye north, the passage or entry fro the gate to the close under the said cross house, excepted wch I will to be in comons betweene both ye houses. And yt likewise

The demise to she may have to her owne use the kitchin in ye east
my wife. ende of the outscale or building next my said bedchamber, and a third part of all other ye roomes of the said outscale. And also yt she may have to her owne use the great cellar under ye forestreete building of my saide house and the entry and roomes wthin my forestreete gate together with ye use of ye staires leading downe from the said roomes to the said cellar. And likewise yt she have a third parte of the new house, or building next my garden, and of th'other roomes betweene that building and the garden, and a third part of both ye quadrangles, or backsides, and a third parte of my gardens and of the castle, and pigeon house in ye west ende of ye saide gardens; wth free ingresse, egresse, and regresse, at all convenient tymes fro the high streete of ye said citty of Kilkeny unto all them

places through ye comon highway, yt entreth to my saide mansion house. And that ye great kitchen, and gyle house in the said new house or building next ye garden, with ye necessarie furniture of both them places for brewing and other purposes, together wth ye kyll in ye said building, and ye well and cistern in ye back side be in comons betweene both ye houses, and the usses of them places in comons to be taken by such a naturall, kinde and neighbourlye respect by both ye houses as by taking their turnes alternatively, and framing their occasions and employmts accordingly, no distraction or disappointmt of busynes unfitting a mother and her son may at any hand arise to their owne sinne and shame, and scandell of others, provided that my saide wife shall hold herself contented wth this division or apportionmt in recopence of her third pt or dower of my said house wth th' apptences. And yt she shall demand no other pt theirow, but what is heretofore lymited, provided likewise yt if my said son and heire, or his feoffees, refuse to yelde or allow unto my saide wife the full benefit of this lymitacon.

Then my will is, and so I bequeath, yt my saide wife shall have and take her dower or third pt of my saide house, and also a third pt of all the bedstedds, boordes, chairs, stooles, and of all and evry uther the stuffes, furnitures, and utensils of my saide house to be used and disposed of by her owne best use, and availe, where, if my saide son yeld to this my request concerning her porcon by me lymited of my house, I will the said furnitures and utensiles to be intirely kept to the use and ornamt of said house as I shall hereafter lymit.

And forasmuch as none is more likely to be so charie and careful of my yong and tender children, both male and female as their own mother: Therefore for her better encouragemt and furtherannce to maintaine my said yong children wth copetent, meate, drinke, lodging and apparrell, and for breeding of thm in literature until they shalbe respectively prferred or pvided fr in their riper yeres. I will, and so I bequeath, and devise unto my said wife the use of the third pt. of the Parsonage and Viccarage of Rathkyran, the third pt. of my porcon of the tieth corne of eleven villages in the parish of Tulleroan and Ballicawlan, the third pt. of the moytie of the rectorie of Balleyne, and the third pt. of the moytie of the rectorie of Kilkeasy, in ye diocesse of Ossorie, and count of Kilkenny; my third pt. of the rectorie of Aghebo, in ye Queenes count, and diocesse of Ossorie; and the third pt. of my porcon of ye tieths of Killurree neere Gawran in the diocesse of Leighlin during the yeres yet to ron and unexpired of my leases of the prmisses respectively, if she hap to live so long. Provided if she shall not sell or alien the prmisses hereby devised unto her, or any pt. or pcell of them, but during her naturall life and no longer. And my will is, that my saide wife shall have all ye prmisses rentfree and that such of my sons to whom I shall devise the other two pts. of the prmisses, or any pt. or pcell of them shall pay and discharge yerely the whole rent issuing and going out of the prmisses during my saide wifes viduitie, continent life and maintenance of my yong children as aforesaid. And in case, she hap to marey or know carnally the boddy of any man

willinglie. Then my Will is, and so I bequeath, that she shall pay a third pt of the rents wch after such her marriage or carnall knowledge shall grow due out of all and singular the prmisses.

Item, my will is, and so I do bequeath and devise, that my saide son and haire shall have and hold, and enioy the residue of the yerres wch shalbe unexpired at the tyme of the death of my said wife of all such pcells of the saide rectories, viccarages and tietha, wch hereafter I shall not lymit otherwise to others of my children.

Item, for further help of maintenance of my saide children, I bequeath and devise to my saide wife, the now preeston mylls wth ye grove, inah, and apptences theirof, together with any myll yt I shall build or erect, or have built or erected within yt place, and pinct. Likewise I bequeath unto her the parke I have in the Coldgrange, to have and to hold to her during her viduitie and continent life, and after her intermarriage or carnall knowledg of any man, my will is, and so I bequeath and devise that my said wife shall only have a third pt of the premisses during her naturall life, she paying a third pt of the rent issuing and going out of the prmisses. And that ye two uther pts of prmisses shall uppon her intermarriadg and incontinenie of life be and remaine to my said son and haire, and the haieres males of his boddy, and so to the rest successively in the formr remainders of my inheritances as is heretofore pticularly and plainly lymited in yt remainder.

Item, I will and bequeath to my saide wife the use and pfites of my ferme of the moytie of Coldgrange in ye count of the said cittie during the yerres unexpired of my lease theirof (if so long she live), and the remaine after her decease to my said haire.

Item, I bequeath unto my saide wife a third pt of all my cattle, and the third pt of my plate, together wth the third of all my pewter, brasse, batry, iron, beddings of feathers and flocks, and of all other my household stuffs and utensils whatevr, saving and excepting such pcells as hereafter I shall dispose of otherwise. And this I do out of a confidence I have in the goode inclinacon of my saide wife that she will uppon her decease leave those to such of my children as shall best deserve it of her by their dutye and observance.

Item, I bequeath to my saide wife all her iewells of gold and silvr and the third pt of all my diapr, holland, and lynin, being confident, as aforesaid, she will dispose of them to such of my children as she shall like best of.

Item, I bequeath to my said son and haire my
To ye haire. tapistrie courlet, and the sey greene hangings, or
ourtyns, of both my best bedstedds.

Item, in full recompence of his principalls, or haieres loames, I will and bequeath to my said son and haire during his naturall life, and after his decease to the haiers males of his boddy lawfully begotten and to be begotten, all the parcells of household stuffs and other goods hereafter specified, and my will is, yt he shall exact no other principalls; *vidl*, all my drawing tables, bedsteeds, cupboords liuery, cupboards, virginalls, wainscott, seelings of my hall and chambers, benches, long-stooles, scabbetts, ioynets-tools, chairs, my great cipresse chest and

cipresse countr, as they lye and stand in my saide dwelling-house. And for lack of such haieres of the boddy of my saide haire my will is that the said pcells shalbe and remaine unto ye next of my saide sons, to whom I have devised in remainder all my lands, tenemts and hereditamts to ende ye prmises may fro tyme to tyme (so long as they shall endure) serve the use and ornamt of my saide house, for so is my intent, and true meaning, provided that my saide haire yeld to ye porcon I formerly lymited of my saide house unto my saide wife in lieu of her dower theirof, otherwise my will is (anything heretofore said to the contrarie notwithstanding) that she shall have a third pt of all the premises mentioned in this article.

And in case my saide haire yeld to yt porcon, I will yt he leave such and so many of the said parcells as lye and stand in the saide porcon of the house to the use of my saide wife during her naturall life.

Itim, I bequeath unto my saide haire th'other two pts of all my pewter, brasse, batry, iron beddings of feathers and flocks, and of all uther my household stuffs. Likewise the two pts of all my plate, the two parts of all my cattle, and the two parts of all my diapr, holland, and lynyen, and this is in considreacon my saide haire shall speedily after my decease discharge and pay all such legacies as I shall make hereafter in this my will, I meane such legacies as I shall not lymit to be paide by himself or my said wife ioyntlie, or sevrally, but shall leave at large without setting downe any speciall course of payment of them. And also in consideracon that he shall discharge duly a rent-charge I shall leave and impose on him.

Itim, I will and bequeath to my second son, John
The demise to ye Roth, all my messuages, gardens and tofts wthin
second son. Irishtowne, and Upphill in the said cittie vidit.

The toft or voide place nere the Bregagh, and the High towne gate, a messuage with a garden thereunto annexed in ye saide Upperhill. My porcon of the cellar undr the chambers of the Viccars Choralls, and ppetualls of the comon hall of St. Canice, and all my messuages in the Greene Streets of the Irishtowne aforesaid.

To have and to hold to the said John, and ye haieres, males of his boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten, and for want of such haieres, the remainder to my saide son and haire, Peter Roth, and the haieres males of his body lawfully begotten, and to be begotten, and so successively to the rest whom I put formly in remainder of all my lands, tenemts and haereditamts forever. The said John Roth and the haieres males of his boddy yerely yelding and paying the rents issuing out of the prmises to the Lorde of the ffee.

And likewise yelding and paying in token of chieffrie out of ye prmises unto my said son and haire, Peter Roth, and ye haieres males of his boddy six shillings and eight pence currant mony of Ireland yerely forevr at the usuall feasts of paymt vidit at Michaelmas and Easter. And if the said rent of vjs viijd Irish, or any pt. or pcell theirof, shall hap to be behinde and unpaide after or our the space of one moneth next, and imediatlie ensuing any the said feasts. Then it may and shalbe lawful to and for the said Peter Roth, and the haieres males of

his boddy into all and singular ye prmisses or into any pt theirow to enter, and distreigne and the distresses there founde and taken, to leade, drive, beare, carryaway and detaine wth him and them, vntill of the said rent and the arrearages theirow (if any be due) he and they shall be fully satisfied,

And likewise the said John Roth, and the haeires males of his boddy and his and their tenents dwelling in, and uppon the prmisses making suit from tyme to tyme to my mylls comonly called ye preesten mylls wthin the count of ye said cittie forevr, unlesse the said John, or the haeires males of his boddy shall have a myll of their owne in fee, or in ferme for twenty and one yeres at the least wthin the said cittie; in wch case I will the said suit to my mylls to surcease if it be in fee *bona fide*, if in ferme during the continuance theirow onely, and after the expiracon theirow to revive agayne and enure to my said mylls. And my will is, and so I bequeath that my said son, John, and the haeires males of his boddy and his and their tenents dwelling in and uppon ye prmisses shall duly from tyme to tyme make suit to my said mylls, and the tucking myll thereunto annexed, untill yt the said John, or the haeires, males of his boddy shall have mylls of yat kinde bona fide in fee, or in ferme as aforesaid. Uppon paine of sixpence st. forfecture for evry default made by the said John, or his haeires, males or his or their tenent or tenents totiens quotiens, for wch forfecture it may and shalbe lawful to and for my said wife during her life, naturall, to distreigne in any pt. or pcell of ye prmisses mentioned in this Article. And after her decease it may and shalbe lawful to, and for my said son and heire, and the haeires males of his boddy to distreigne likewise forevr.

Item, I Will and bequeath to my saine son, John, all the yeres wch shalbe unexpired of the moytie of the rectorie of Balleyn, wch I hold of the Deane and Chapter of St. Canice Church, of Kilkenny, at such tyme as the said John shalbe of the "full adge of twentie and fowre yeres, wch is the tyme I will that he shall begin to have, and take ye benefit theirow. And in the interim before he com to that adge of twentie four yeres, my will is, that my wife shall have and enjoy the same, she paying the rent growing out thereof while she receives the pfits. And when my said son John shall com to ye sd adge my will is, my wife shall have a third pt of ye prmisses, conforme to my former lymitacon in yt behalf.

Item, I will, and so I bequeath and devise that
The demise to ye my third son, Matthew Roth shall have, hold, and
third sone. enjoy the mortgadge I have uppon St. Peter's lands in Kilkenny, aforesaid, fro John Walsh of Waterford, provided yt whensoever my said son and heire, Peter Roth, or ye heires of his boddy, shall tender and pay in one or two paymts. the sum of fiftie pounds st., currant mony of and in England, to my said son Matthew: Then my bequest and demise of the prmisses to my sd son Matthew shall be meere void, and then it may and shal be lawful to and for my said haeire and ye haeires males of his boddy, and to the rest in remainer after them ut supra (and not before) into the said mortgadge to enter, and ye same to have hold and possesse, any thing heretofore saide to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Provided likewise, that if I shall hap to purchase ye absolut inhaeritance and fee of the said St. Peter's lands of ye saide John Walshe, or his 'haire, the same 'shalbe, and remain to my said son Matthew, for and during his naturall life, uppon this condicon, that whensoer my saide son Peter, or ye haieres males of his boddy, or for lack of such haieres the next haieres in remainder after them ut supra, shall pay in one intier or two seurall paymts unto my said son Matthew the som of fiftie pounds st currant money of any in England; then (and not before) it may and shalbe lawfull to and for the said Peter, and to and for ye haieres males of his boddy and for lack of such haieres, to and for the said next haieres in remainder after thm ut supra, into the said St. Peter's lands to enter and ye same lands to have, hold, and possess for ever, any thing heretofore said to the contrarie notwithstanding.

And to cut of any ambiguitie that may arise of any or both these lymitacons, it is my intent and true meaning that my said haire and the rest in remainder who are to take benefits of this devise shall pay ye said som of fiftie pounds st in one or two paymts to my said son Matthew, before that he, my said haire, or any of the next in remainder, shall enter into the said mortgadg, or into the fee of ye pmisses (if I shall hap to purchase ye same). And not that my said haire, or any of the rest in remainder, shall pay the said som of fiftie pounds st before their entrie into ye said mortgadg, and fiftie pounds st more before their entrie into the fee; ffor if he, or any of them, satisfie fiftie pounds st once in one or two paymts to my said son Matthew in the respect aforesaid, it is all I require at their hands in yt behalf. Moreovr, it is my intent and true meaning, and so I will devise, yt if the said John Walsh, his haire or assignes, shall acquit ye said mortgadg, and pay the money of acquittal to my said haire, or ye heires males of his boddy, or for want of such haieres to ye next in remainder after them, then my saide heire, or ye heires males of his boddie, or the next heires in remainder after them, that shall so receive the said money of acquittal shall prtlye after such receipte satisfie and pay unto my saide sonn Matthew the said som of fiftie pounds st in one intier payment. And in regard the said mortgadg is above the woorth and value of ye said St. Peter's lands, if it shall hap, yt the said John Walshe, or his heires, shall for some greate or small consideracon release their condicon of reentry into the said lands to my saide heire, or ye heires males of his boddy, or ye next heir in remainder after them, my will is, and so I bequeath 'and devise, yt uppon any such release my said son Matthew shall not be defrauded of the said fiftie pounds st, but yt my said heire, or his heires males, or ye next heire to them in remainder, yt shall purchase such release to drowne the said mortgadg, shall imediatlye uppon such a release so purchased, satisfie and pay the said som of fiftie pounds st to my said son Matthew in one entier paymt uppon paine to be for their fraude secluded fro any bequest, or bequeste made, or hereafter to be made by me unto them, according the purport of a genrall clause I shall hereafter make in this my will to yt effect.

Item, I will and bequeath to my said son Matthew ye lease I hold of Mr. Robert Roth of a messuadg in the Graiefreryn streete, or lane, in Kilkenny aforesaid, to have and to hold, to him during the years yet unexpired of the said lease, if so long he live, and after his decease ye remaine of the said lease (if any shalbe) to my said son Michael.

Item, my will is (yt notwithstanding anything aforesaid) if my said sonne Matthew shall foliow his studdie of learning in any schoole or uther place of literature out of the said cittie of Kilkenny, then for his better maintenance, and furtherance thereunto, he shall have, hold and enioy the two third pts of the pfts of the moytie of the rectorie of Kilkesy during my lease theirof, if so long he shall live. But while the said Matthew continues at Kilkenny, my will is yt my said wife shall enioy the saide two third pts, together with her owne third pt, untill the said Matthew shalbe 24 yeres of adge. At wch tyme, and not before, my will is, he shall have and enioy the said two third pts of the saide moytie of the said rectorie, and my wife th'other third pt theirof onely, according my formr lymitacon; my said son Matthew discharging the whole rent issuing out of the pmisses when the said two third pts shall com into his hand. Provided, and so is my will, yt if my said son Matthew shall decease (wch God forbid) before the said lease shalbe determined, then the residue of ye yeres not incurred theirof shalbe to the onely use and behooffe of my fowrth son, Michael Roth, his exrs and assignees, excepting' and reserving to my saide wife her third pt theirof as I formrly lymited.

Item, I will and bequeath to my said fourth son, *The devise to the fourth sonne.* Michael Roth, my message nere to St. Mary's Church in Kilkenny, aforesaid, and my message called Gerrott's Court, with the orchiard and garden thereunto annexed, and also my toft, or voideroome of twenty-eight yards long and seventeen yards broade, in the new key, streete or lane, in Kilkenny, aforesaid, to have and to hold, all and singular, ye pmisses wth th'aptences unto the said Michael, and the haeires males of his boddy lawfully begotten, and to be begotten. [Here follow similar remainders and oonditions as to rent, chiefry, distress, suit to the "mylls," as in "the devise to the second son," John Roth, in almost identical words.]

males of his boddy, and his and their tenent, and tenants that shalbe fonde faultie in the said respect, anything heretofore said to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Item, my will is and so I bequeath and devise, *The devise for the daughters unpreferred.* that eury of my daughters that shalbe unpreferred, or not ensured to husband at the tyme of my death shall receiue and take of the issues and pfts of my mortgadge uppon the castle, towne, and lands of Aghnenorlyn in ye said count of Kilkenny, and of my ferme of the Rectorie of Ologhmantagh, in ye said count of Klikeny, the som of one hundred pounds st currant and lawfull silvr mony of England, to evry of them that shalbe so unprferred or not ensured respectively

And that before the full paymt and satisfacon thereof accordingly neither my saide son and heire, nor any in remainder before specified shall take any use 'comoditie or profits of the said mortgadge or Rectorie or of any pt or pcell thereof.

Item, I will and so I bequeath that my saide sons John and Michael ouer and besides my bequests made heretofore to them and either of them respectively shall when eche of them coms to the adge of 24 yeres have and receive (any thing aforesaid to the contrarie notwithstanding) of the issues and plits of the said mortgadge of Aghnennorlyn and of the said ferme of the Rectorie of Cloghmantagh the som of twentie pounds st. currant and lawful mony of and in England, to eche of them respectively for a stock or help to advance, and set forward themselves in their trades or pfections. Provided that either or both of them to whom I shall hap in my life tyme to give any such stock or help, shalbe seclued and debarred fro taking benefit of this Legacie, as if none such had bene made at all.

And my Will is, that if in my life tyme I hap not to give the said stock to my said sons that wthall convenient speede possible it be paid unto them when eche of them coms to the said adge of 24 yeres, and that they be not delaied or staid for ye pfermt of any my yong daughters, for considering the disparitie of my said sons and daughters in their sevrall adges, this may well be afforded, that my daughters, as they shalbe reddy for marriadge, and my said sons as they shall arive at 24 yeres may sevrallie in their turnes be paid the soms lyमित to them respectively in regard the prfermt of the daughters must be paid by sevrall installmts answerable to the yerely profits of the said mortgadg and rectorie, wch I recomend to the kinde care and discretion of my overseers, and the survivor and survivors of them. And in case the hundred and fowrscore st currant mony of England, wch is my mortgadg uppon Aghnennorlyn aforesaid, shalbe paid to my saide heire or his heires males, or to any the next heirs after them in remainder, before my said unprferred daughters shall have received their pfermts, and my said sons their said xx^{li} st a peece according my formr lymitacon: Then my will is, and so I bequeath and devise, that the mony so paid in acquittall of the said mortgadg shall be bestowed and employed by my saide wife and my heire or any of them, with the advise of my overseers, to ye prfermt of my daughters, or daughter, wch shalbe then unprferred, and to the stock of my saide sons, John and Michael, or either of them wch shall not have received stock before, ratable and respectively, according my formr lymitacon. And my will is likewise that the plits and issues of the saide ferme of ye Rectorie of Cloghmantagh shalbe added and ioyned to the said mony of the acquittall (if neede shall so require) for so long tyme as that the same and the said mony of acquittall serve and suffice for the full accomplishmt of this my formr devise and lymitacon.

Item, my will is, and so I bequeath and devise yt after my saide daughters shalbe prferred, and my said sons, John and Michael, shalbe stocked, aforesaid, my saide mortgadge of Aghnennorlyn shall immediatlie be and remaine to my saide son and heire, and ye heires males of his

body, and for lack of such heires to the next and rest in remainder as aforesaid (excepting and reserving to my saide wife her owne or third pts theirow during her naturall life. And if it chance yt the said mortgadge shalbe acquitted in the life tyme of my saide wife (the said prfermts and stocks being fully discharged as aforesaid) my will is, and so I bequeath, yt my said son and heire shall give and pay unto my saide wife the third pt of the mony of the acquittall, or ye third pt of so much theirow as shall remaine after the said prfermts and stocks discharged as aforesaid.

Itim, I will and bequeath that my said son shall satisfie and pay twenty pounds st currant mcney of any in England unto my said son John, and twenty pounds st of like money unto my said son Michael, when eche of them coms to the adge of 25 yeres and not before. And this is in con-

sideracon that I left no porcon of my goods to my saide children, but have legacied the two pts of them to my saide heire.

Itim, my will is, and so I bequeath and devise (any formr bequest or lymitacon by me made to the contrarie notwithstanding) that my said wife, and such of her children as after her decease shall by her appointmt and noiation have and enioy the issues and pfts of my saide

ferme of the rectorie of Cloghmantgh, shall, imediallie after my decease, yerely distribut and give among the poore people of the said cittie and the countie theirow either the sum of five pounds

st currant mony of and in England, or twentie and one busshells of porte corne of Kilkenny measure in thirds, viz., in wheat, oates, and pracas seven bgs of evy sort by moyties, the one half on Aishwensday, and the th'other half on goode Friday, during continuance of the said terme by ye direcon and discretion of my said overseers, or any two or more of them, and the survivor and survivors of them, whom I pray for the love of God to be verie carefull hereof according to the great trust I repose in them.

Item, my will is, and so I bequeath and devise, that after my saide daughters shalbe preferred and my saide sons stocked aforesaid, the yeres wch shalbe then not incurred of my lease of mye said Rectorie of Cloghmantagh shalbe and remaine to my saide wife during her viduitie and continent life onely and no longer. And in case she intermarry, or have carnall knowlodge of any pson willinglie, then I will and devise yt this, my bequest made unto her of ye saide lease of the said rectorie, shall imediatlie uppon such intermarriadge and carnall knowlodge of any man, as aforesaid, be meerely voide and of none effect unto her, as if none such had been made at all, saving onely unto her her third pts or wife's porcon, wch I intend and reserve unto her during her naturall life. And my will is, and so I bequeath, yt the yeres wch shalbe then unexpired of the lease of the said rectorie shalbe and remaine to such one or two of my saide sones, wch for their dutifull observance and carriadge towards my saide wife she shall, with th'advice and consent of any two or more of my overseers, noiat and appoint.

Item, my will is that (notwithstanding anything aforesaid) if my said son Matthew, or any other of my saide sons, shall enter into religion or becom preests, then he or they so becoming preest or religious shalbe secluded fro taking the benefit of ye said remainder, or remainders, lymited to him or them, as aforesaid, and yt the rest of my sons or uthers to whom the pmisses are lymited, and the heires males of their boddies, shall have and enioy the same according the lymitacons made unto them as aforesaid, as if the said Matthew, or ye rest so becoming preest or religious, had beene dead without heires males of their boddies, or as if they had not beene mentioned or spoken of in this my last will and testament; saving and reserving unto my said son Matthew, or other of my said sons so becoming religious or preests the full benefit of any pticular legacie made by me to him or them in this my will, during his and their naturall lifes only, by this my last will and testamt.

Item, I leave and bequeath to my saide wife my
To the wife. ferme of Carrynemean, in the saide count of Kilkenny, during the yerres wch are unexpired thereof, and do hope my hoble good Lord, the Lord Viscount Mountgarrett, for the long love and intercourse between us, will renew the said lease to my saide wife or my saide haire.

Item, I leave and bequeath to my daughters
The legacie to ye daughters prferred. Margaret Roth, Marrion Roth, Lettice Roth and Mary Roth, fowerscore bgs of porte corne to help them to buy jewells, viz., twentie bgs to evry of them, wch bgs I will to be paid to evry of them, of Kilkeny measure, in thirds, vidlt, in wheate, oates and praras by my said wife and my saide son Peter, that is to say, my saide wife to pay theone half theirof, and my saide son Peter th'other half, anything heretofore said to ye contrarie notwithstanding.

Item, I will and bequeath to my saide wife a third
To the wife. pt of the pfts (of the moytie) of the Rectorie of Bolick, in the Diocesse of Oashell, and Count of Tipperary, during my leases thereof, if she hap so long to live, provided that she enioy the third during her viduitie and continent life and no longer; the paying during her said viduitie and continent life fowre pds at towards the rent issuing out of the said rectorie to Mr. Netterfield yerely, while she shall so enioy the said third part theirof. And after her decease my will is my said son Peter, and the haieres males of his boddie, shall have and enioy the said third, and so likewise uppon her intermarriage or incontinecie of life, the said Peter, and the heires males of his boddie, are to have and enioy the same during my saide leases. And for the two other pts of the pfts of the said rectorie, I will and bequeath the same to my said son Matthew, provided that whensoever my said sone Peter, or the heires males of his boddy, or the next in remainder after them shall satisfie, and pay unto my said son Matthew in one intier paymt the som of twenty-five pounds at current mony of and in England, ovr and besides my formr legacies made to ye said Matthew. Then this my bequest to the said Matthew of the said two pts of the moytie of the said rectorie to be utterly voide, as if none

such had beene made, and the said two pts to remaine, and to my said son Peter, and to the heires of his boddy, and to the rest in remainder successively after them during my said leases.

To the poore of Sr Richard Shee, his hospital. Itim, I will and bequeath yt, notwithstanding any thing heretofore said, or any devise to my said wife, or to all or any of my saide children hereto by me made, the whole pfts and benefit of my lease of my tieth corn of Killurree, neere Gawran, shalbe

and remaine during the continuance of the said lease unto the poore men of the hospital lately erected in the said cittie by my cousin Sir Richard Shee, knight, late deceased, the said poore men paying and discharging the rents issuing thereout during that lease.

To the poore for ever 40s. Itim, I will and bequeath yt, anything heretofore said notwithstanding, my said son and heire, Peter Roth, and ye heires males of his boddy, and ye next and rest in remainder, of all my lands, tenemts and haereditamts wch shalbe resiant in my saide mansion house in Kilkenny, shall yerely forever delivr and distribut forty shillings st of goode silvr money evry feast day of all soules among the poore to pray for myne owne soule, my wife, children, father, mother, and all my ancestors soules, ffor pformance whereof I charge my saide wife and my said heirs fro tyme to tyme during their lifes, as they will aunswer ye contrarie befoe almightie God at the terrible day of iudgmt, viz., that my said wife during her life move my said heires thereto, and that they faile not to accoplish ye same accordinglye. And that my heires, and any of them respectively and successively, shall charge their heires herewith from tyme to tyme forevr. And yt the rather, because I left to my saide heire for ye maintenance of my said house certaine lands in fee, our and besides what I conveyed unto him uppon his intermarriadg with Mr. Walter Lawles his daughter.

40 bgs legacies to ye poore. Itim, I leave and bequeath fforty bgs of porte corn to ye poore women, widdowes and poore men of Kilkenny aforesaid, to be paid in two yeres in manr following, vidlt, twenty bgs the yere I shall decease and twenty bgs more the next yere after, wch corn I wish and will to be deducted and defraied by ye discretion of my ourseers out of such tieth corne as I bequeathed formly to my saide wife, heire, and others of my said children. And likewise I will the said corne to be geven and distributed to the said poore, according to the direccoon and discretion of my ourseers, my said wife paying the third pt theirof, and my saide heire th'other two pts, in thirds, yt is to say, in wheate, oates, and pracas.

To ye heire. Itim, I bequeath my scarlet gowne to my said son and heire,

A legacie to Mr. William Shee. Itim, I bequeath to my son-in-lawe Mr. William Shee either my (!) sigone cloath cloake, or my gowne of browne blew collar at his election.

Itim, for furtherance of the prfermt to marriage of one of my said

son-in-law, his daughters, I bequeath and devise unto the said Mr. William Shee either the mortgage I have upon the 4th pt of fflowings Rath, als Killballenowlynnee in the said count of Kilkeny, or els twenty pounds currant mony of Ireland at ye election of my said son and heire, I meane that my saide heire may and shall choose to let have the mortgage aforesaid, or pay the said twenty pounds Irish, and so enioy himself the said mortgage.

Item, I leave and bequeath the rest of my apparell not formly legacied to be devided among my frends by direccoon, and distribution of my ourseers.

Item, I leave my cousin, Mr. Patrick Archer, towards the making of a golden signet to remember me, fforty shillings st.

Item, I bequeath to my brother, Mr. Nicholas Langton, for ye like purpose, x^{li}. st.

Item, I bequeath to my consin, James Clere, for ye like purpose fferty s. st.

Item, I leave and bequeath to my brother, Walter Daniel, if there shalbe any debt or accopt due by him to me at ye tyme of my death, the som of three pounds st of that debt or accopt towards the like purpose of making a golden signet. And if there shalbe no such debt or accopt due by him to me, I bequeath unto him fforty shillings for to make such a signet.

Item, if there shalbe any debt to the som of ten pounds, or above, due to me by my brother David Roth, of New Rosse, at the tyme of my death, my will is and so I bequeath that my saide brother shalbe forgiven x^{li}. st. of any such debt, he wayving and releasing any undrtaking or pmiss I made unto him by Lre (!) or urtherwise in ye behalf of my brother, Mr. Helias Shee, for marrying Alson Shee, daughter of the said Mr. Helias. And if there shalbe no such debt due to me by my said brothier David at ye tyme of my death, then I will and bequeath unto him three pounds st to make him a golden signet.

Item, I leave to my sister, Ellenor Roth, towards ye like purpose xx^{li}. st.

Item, I leave to my sister, Beale Roth, towards ye like purrpose xx^{li}. st.

Item, I will and bequeath that my said son and heire, Peter Roth, and his tenants in ye said cittie shall from tyme to tyme during my saide wife's life make suit to my corn mills and tucking mill within ye said cittie upon paine of forfecting sixpence for evry default made by him or his tenants, or any of them, in that respect, ffor wch forfecture it may and shalbe lawfull to, and for my saide wife and her assignees, into all or any of the lands, tenements and hereditamts within ye said cittie of Kilkeny, wch I have by this, my last will, devised to my said heire to enter and there to distreyn, totiens quotiens, and the distresses there founde and taken to leade, beare, carry away, and detain until ye said forfecture shalbe fully satisfied from tyme to tyme.

Moreover, my will is, notwithstanding anything aforesaid, that if my said son and heire, Peter, or any others of my said sons, having ye seisin and possession of my devise and lymitatoon, by virtue of this my

last will and testament, as heires unto me, and likewise enioying the pmisses bequeathed as aforesaid unto the said Peter, and the rest of my sons, by vertue of this my will, shall take, exact, or demand any other porcon of my goodes and chattles saving what is or shalbe appointed unto him, or them, by this my last will and testament. And so likewise if my saide wife and heire, and any of the rest of my children, and of my executors, or either of them, shall willinglie and advisedlie contradict or gainsay this my will, or shall demand any other porcon or division of my lands, tenemts or hereditamts, goodes or chattles, then according ye lymitacon made by this my will. My will yt he or shee so contradicting, or gainsaying, or so demanding any uther porcon or division then yt wch is hereby lymited and appointed, and according my intent and true meaning shalbe secluded fro taking any benefit of any devise or bequest hereby made by me unto him or her and shall onely hold and enioy and content themselves with that wch lawe doth or shall utherwise appoint for them.

Itim, if any of my execs shall presume to alien, sell or dispose of any pt or pcell of my goodes or chattles, but according to my true meaning and intent declared by this my last will and testament, saving such pt or porcon xprslly belongeth unto him or her by lymitacon or devise made by me or otherwise, and likewise if any of them practize, or goe about to defraude one an uther of any their sevrall and xps porcons, then my will is that he or she so doing shalbe secluded fro taking the benefit of this my will by reason of any legacie or bequest made hereby unto him or her.

Itim, my will is and so I bequeath that my son and heire, Peter Roth, shall give undr the seale of office of the Maior of Kilkenny an exemplification of all such evidences, munimts, and charters wch concern any lands, tenemts, hereditamts, and fermes heretofore devised by me to any my younger sons, whensoever evry of my said sons shall reasonable require the same of my saide heire. And my will is he shall at his owne choice delivr freely to evry of my saide sons the exemplification of all the writings concerning evry of thm respectively, as aforesaid, being required thereto as aforesaid, or els to delivr thm the originalls concerning their sevrall estates, ffor so is my intent and true meaning by this my last will and testamt.

Itim, I will and bequeath, and so I devise, yt if any doubt, variance, or controvrisie shall arise betweene my saide wife and heire, or other my sons, or any, or all of them, touching any ambiguitie in ye construccon of any pt, pcell or clause of this my will, or concerning any seeming contradiction, or repugnancie in any pt, pcell, or clause theirot, then my overseers, or ye survivor and survivors of them, shall explaine my meaning, resolve ye doubt, reconcile the seeming contradiction or repugnancie, and determyn the difference. And my will is, and so I hereby declare, that if my forsaid wife, heire, and other sons, or any of them, shall obstinately refuse to stand and to abide the explanation, resolucon, reconciliation, and determinacon of my saide ovrseers in these doubts and seeming repugnancies, shall *ipso facto* be secluded fro taking any benefit of yt item, article, clause, proviso or other pt of

this my will, whereof any such doubt or difference shall have grown. The rather that som of my overseers are fully and throughlie acquainted wth my intent and true meaning.

Itim, my will is yt any pson indebted to me at ye tyme of my death (he being unable to satisfie ye debt) shall have such, and so long tyme for paymt theirof by sevrall installmts or otherwise as my overseers, in their discretion, shall appoint and allow. And that in the interim my executors, nor any others in their names or right shall draw or bring any such disabled pson into quastion or trouble of lawe for the said debt wthout ye privitie, and goode allowance of my saide overseers.

Itim, I do make, constitute and appoint my said well-beloved wife, Rose Archer, and my said son and haire, Peter Roth, executors of this my last will and testamt.

And do uppon my blessing will and wish my said son to be carefull to sue for my debts (if occasion shall require) in regard he is ye fitter pson for such busynest, and that I purposely ioynt him wth his mother as confident he would deale sincerely wth her and prserve her fro all troubles and disquietnes incident to the xecutorship.

Itim, I do will, and make my loving kinsmen, Mr. Overseers. Patrick Archer and Mr. Nicholas Langton, my sor-in-lawe, Mr. William Shee, my brethren, Walter Daniel

and David Roth, and my cousins, Thomas Howroghan and James Olere, overseers of this my last will and testamt, praying them for ye love I beare unto thm, and ye confidence and assurance I have of their loves and good wills towards me yt they and ye survivors of them wilbe carefull to see and cause this my last will and testament to be sincerely executed and pformed according the true meaning theirof and any intent wch is fully knowen to som of them selves my sd ovrseers.

In wittesse of all these nyne leaves before written to be my last will and testament, I have unto evry of them nyne leaves subscribed my name, and in confirmacon of all have hereunto laide my seale the last day of March, 1619.

JOHN (SEAL) ROTH
FITZ (I. R.) PIERS.

We whose names are underwritten were present when the said John Roth Fitzpiers, signed, sealed and declared these nyne leaves to be and containe his last will and testament,

NICH. LANGTON.
MAT. SHEE.
JAMES OLERE.

Mr. Burtchaell, B.L., to whom I am indebted for the foregoing, writes :—"It is an exact copy of the will of John Roth Fitz-Piers, made by me some time ago. The will is a curiosity in its way in some respects. Each line of my copy corresponds with the lines of the will

and re-produces all the peculiarities of spelling and punctuation. The original is apparently the work of two, if not three, different clerks. The signature of the testator occurs at the foot of each page of the original. I at first thought the will was in his own handwriting, as the first pages are so very similar, but I am inclined to think it is the work of clerks. It was evidently drawn by a lawyer. It seems rather strange although he mentions holding a lease from 'Mr. Robert Roth' he does not bring the latter in, in the limitations of the estate."

He was buried in St. Mary's, and his monumental slab, of which I have taken a rubbing, gives the following inscription, nearly identical with that given by Ledwich in his "Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny," p. 640 :—

"Hic jacet Joannes Rothus Petri filius civis praetorius civitatis Kilkenniae qui sacellum hoc cum monumento sepulchrali pro se, uxore liberisque ac posteris suis fieri fecit anno salutis 1612 . . . Ipse vere non tam obiit quam abiit 31 die mensis Januarii A.D. 1620. Necnon Rosa Archera Charissime, ejus conjux quae Vicessit magis quam decessit 1 die mensis—A. Dni, 16—quorum animabus propitiatur Deus."

He left four sons: Peter, John, Mathew, and Michael. He also left eight daughters, one married to William Shee, Margaret, Marion, Lettice, Mary, Austace, Katherine and Ellice.

Peter, his son and heir, was aged 30 at the time of his father's death, and was, therefore, born in 1590. On the 24th February, 1639, he was returned M.P. for Kilkenny City, his colleague being Henry Archer, Esq., Muckully.


He joined the Confederate Catholics in 1642, and was member of the General Assembly, and his name also appears among the Commons of the newly elected General Assembly of the 10th January, 1647. He was in consequence deprived of his property under the Commonwealth.

In the "Book of Survey and Distribution," p. 216, he is set down as having forfeited lands within the liberties of Kilkenny, in St. Patrick's parish, viz., Conyger, and Raggot's meadow. Also in St. Canice's parish, "the 9r. of land, from the Black Mill ford unto St. James' Green; 6r. which he held together with Henry Archer. Other portions of his property were likewise confiscated, and with the additional misfortune of an order to pass beyond the Shannon, he sunk to his grave in 1654. He left a son, Nicholas, who died without issue. Also he left three daughters, Rose, married to Richard Shee; Margaret, married to James Rothe, of Ross, and Mary.

Other branches of the Rothe family shall be noticed hereafter.

INQUISITION XXXIV.

"Ib. (Sessions House), same day, (17th September,) 1622.

"HOMAS DENN¹ of Grenan,² was seized of [] containing 2 castles, 1 covered stone house anglice, 1 alate house [], county measure of lands arable, bosky, meadow, and pasture, and 5 wears on the river Nore, 'anglice called 5 fishing wears,' []. 4 messuages, 4 gardens, 17 acres of arabie land, 1 water-mill, and 1 meadow adjoining it, [], messuages and 2 gardens, situate in the street called Carrick-street, within the town of Thomastown, &c."

(1)—THE DENN FAMILY.

The family of Denn seems to claim a remoter connection with Britain than the Norman period. Its principal seat was Denne Hill, in Kent, and the first notable was Robert de Den, who is said to have held the office of *Pincerna*, or cup-bearer to King Edward the Confessor (1042-1066). The "Pedigrees of the Families of Kent," by William Berry (London, 1830), a valuable genealogical work, which I have not the good fortune to possess, would, doubtlessly, clear up the point as to whether the *De Den*nes had been settled in England before the battle of Hastings and the overthrow of the Saxon kingdom. And if they had been so settled, were they descended from one of those who followed the fortunes of Hengist, A.D. 449, from the frozen shores of North Sleswick to the milder ones which surround Thanet; or were they imported into Kent, the old kingdom, and first English battle ground of the Jutes, at a much later period by one of the Saxon Kings holding intercourse with Normandy?

There is little doubt that the name *de Deie* savours of Norman origin rather than of Jute or Saxon, and if it had been planted in Kent previous to William the Conqueror's time, it may have been imported by King Edward the Confessor, who had been educated in Normandy, spoke the Norman French, and so filled his court with Normans and bestowed on them church preferments, that he was regarded by his subjects only as a half Englishman. The jealousies he thereby excited paved the way for the speedy obliteration of the Saxon dynasty. It is quite possible, therefore, that the above Robert de Den may have been the first of the name in England, that he was brought hence by Edward the Confessor from Normandy, and that the King bestowed on him the office of the *Pincerna* or chief butlerage, as already mentioned, with his usual kindness for those foreigners, who soon landed his kingdom in revolt.

That a member of the family accompanied the first of the invaders to Ireland is certain, for the name of *Den* appears amongst the list of names in an old metrical chronicle supposed to have been written by Maurice Regan, Dermot MacMurrough's interpreter, and translated into

French by one of his Anglo-Norman acquaintances. We have also in the "Book of Howth" *Robert Dene*, with John, Bishop of Norwich, Augustine, Bishop of Waterford, William Fitz-Andelm, Hugh de Lacy, &c., witnesses to a "grant by Henry II., at pleasure to Robert Fitz-Stephen and Miles de Cogan, of the custody of the City of Cork, with cantred of same, formerly belonging to the *Hostmen* of the same city; also grant of the whole kingdom of the said City from Cape St. Bride on the sea and Limoch to the water of Lismore, to be held of the King and his son John (the said city and cantred excepted) at sixty knights fees."—C.S.P., Book of Howth—aren., p. 346).

William de Dene or de Denne was probably the son of this Robert. His name is one of the subscribed witnesses to a charter to Dunbrody Abbey (O.R.P.C.H., 175). He was appointed justiciary of Ireland in 1260, and, according to Dowling's Annals, he died in 1261. William left a son, or probably a grandson, Reginald de Dene, knight, who is third on the list of the Irish magnates summoned on the 23 February 30th, Edward I (1302), to assist in the war against Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgo, historically known as the *Red Earl*. He was the founder or builder of Dene's Castle, in the Barony of Bargy, County Wexford, about the year 1290. Sir Reginald is also one of the witnesses to a charter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, to the Monastery of Rosbercon, County Kilkenny, in 1300 (*Chartae Privileg*, &c., Hib., p. 39). He left a son and heir, Thomas de Dene, or Thomas FitzReginald de Dene, who received a charter of pardon dated at Ross, 16th November, 13, Edward II. (1320) for transgressions of the peace, &c., except for adherence to the Scots. He also received a commission to treat and parley with felons, as well English as Irish, in Leinster (O.R.P., H. 26). He was summoned on the 18th October, 1325, to assist at the war in Aquitaine, and in the same year he is mentioned in the Close Rolls as one of the Barons who subscribed as witnesses of a "great treaty." For his services to the Crown he seems to have been knighted, for in the Inquisitions Sir Thomas de Dene, knight, is mentioned as holding the barony of Kayser of the King. Clynne mentions a John de Dene, who, with Patrick Lercedeken (Archdeacon), were slain about the feast of John the Baptist, 1316. In 1330 he also mentions that Lord Thomas de Dene was taken prisoner and wounded by the Irish, and many of his adherents slain before the Sunday of Annunciation, and on Tuesday following he, Lord Thomas, died from his wounds. He is likely identical with Sir Thomas de Dene above and with Thomas de Dene, who held lands in Kilcrone, barony of Iverk, Co. Kilkenny, in 1314. At his decease his lands were assigned to Fulk de la Frene till the majority of his son. Probably he had been married to Margery Freney. He left a son, Fulk FitzThomas de Dene, who became Baron of Chayer or Kayser, County Wexford. He married Tibilla Power, and left a daughter and heir, Ismay or Ismania, who married Philip Ffurlong of Honetown, County Wexford, and died about 1373. She left a son, Sir Fulk Ffurlong, who acquired in right of his mother the Castle of Kayser, County Wexford, and was sheriff of the county in 1400. On the 23rd December, 1356, there was a writ

directed to the escheator of the County Wexford, to inquire as to the lands the above Fulk de Dene held from the King *in capite*. In the same year Fulk de Dene is mentioned as holding lands in the County Kilkenny (O.R.P.C., H. 56).

In 1363 a Thomas Dene was Archdeacon of Ferns, and I believe became Bishop of Ferns also, and in 1388 a Robert Dene was Archdeacon of the same and Parson of Carrig Ohapel.

No regular pedigree detailing consecutively the different branches of the Denn family has ever been published, and hence the difficulty of tracing the connection of individual members with the founder. The same applies to most of the Anglo-Norman families, and the best a writer can hope to do is to give as broad a notice of them from all materials within his reach as will furnish a foundation for more particular and fuller inquiry. The Dennes of Grennan, near Thomastown, were the most conspicuous of the name in the Co. Kilkenny.

The first of them was married to one of the daughters of Thomas Fitz-Anthony, founder of Thomastown and Seneschal of Leinster. He must have been closely connected with Robert, already mentioned, as one of the witnesses to the grant of Henry II. of the custody and cantred of the city of Cork to Robert Fitz-stephen and Milo Cogan. He may have been his brother. To trace his decendants or heirs would be guess work for me at present until we come to Fulk Denn, of Grennan, who died on the 21st October, 1554.

He left a son, Patrick, who was enfeoffed on the 24th December, 1556. He is stated to have died on the 20th December, 1639, in a MS. of the "Anglo-Norman Families of Wexford," copied from one of the late Herbert Hore's, and at present in the library of the Archaeological Museum, Kilkenny. The true date of his death is more accurately set down on the 17th March, 1564, in the Beetham MSS (166-7), Ulster Office. He left a son, Thomas, and a second son, Fulk. Thomas, son and heir, is the subject of the above Inquisition. He held, besides Grennan manor, the moiety of the town and lands of Rahine, containing 5 *great* acres, arable and pasture, in mortgage from Edmond Fitzjames Walsh, of Donnemagin. He also held in mortgage from Edmond's brother, Richard Fitzjames Walsh, of Donnemagin, 2 messuages and 2 acres of land, arable, pasture, and meadow, in Rahine, and 2 tofts, 1 water-mill and mill-race thereof in the same townland.

On the 22nd May, 1615, he made a deed yielding the premises aforesaid to Patrick Fitzfulk Denn, of Fiddowe, and James Walsh, of Thomastown, their heirs and assigns, to uses expressed in the said deed. There is confusion confounded about this Thomas Denn. The copy of Herbert Hore's MS., already cited, states he was living in 1639 and married, and used to hold a court baron twice a year at Thomastown, with Archdeacon his co-heir. An Archdeacon originally possessed Dangan in right of his wife, who was a daughter also of Lord Thomas Fitz-Anthony.

Herbert Hore must have relied for his information on Inquisition 83—car. 1, dated Blackfriars, 13th August, 1637. In that Inquisition it is stated that Patrick Denn, on the 24th December, 1556, enfeoffed

Thomas Marshall and Richard Purcell, in certain premises which he held to certain uses. It then cites that the aforesaid Patrick Denn, died on the 20th December, 1639, leaving Thomas, his heir, who was of full age and married. Now, the very first words and date of the Inquisition openly contradicted this. The date of the inquiry is the 13th August, 1637, and opens thus:—"Patrick Den, *late* of Grennan, in the County Kilkenny, was in his lifetime seized of the manor of Grennan, &c." He was accordingly deceased in 1637, and the above date of his death, 20th December, 1639, is therefore an error.

Neither was his son Thomas living in 1639, for by an Inquisition taken at Thomastown, on the 4th June, 1623, we have:—"Thomas Den, *late* of Grennan," &c. He was therefore deceased before this date. I have above-mentioned that Thomas enfeoffed Patrick Fitzfulk Denn, of Fiddown, in certain premises he held in Dunnamaggin. This Patrick was likely his nephew, and as I cannot find that Thomas left any issue, Patrick may have succeeded him in his estates. He has been confounded with his grandfather, and he it was, and not the latter, who died on the 20th December, 1639.

He was married to Mary Shortall, and left 8 sons and 4 daughters, viz.—(1) Thomas, son and heir. (2) Augustine. (3) Robert. (4) Foulke. (5) Gilbert. (6) Arthur. (7) Rowland. (8) Piers. (1) Margaret. (2) Ellen. (3) Mary. (4) Margaret, who was the wife of Richard Lawless, of Kilkenny.

Thomas, son and heir, who succeeded, held a court baron with his kinsman, Archdeacon, twice a year at Thomastown. He took the side of his fellow-Catholics, in the civil war of 1642, which brought upon him subsequent ruin and confiscation, as may be seen by consulting the appendix to this volume.

His relative, Henry Denn, with Robert Dobbin and Owen Fennell, held in jointure 335 acres of the lands of Smythstown, and of this Christopher Hewetson got 194 acres; Thomas Burrell, 9 acres, and the remainder 132 acres was set down as demesne lands of the Duke of Ormonde.

It is curious that in connection with the confiscation of Grennan property there is mention made of a Theobald Den having been allotted 1 acre and 29 perches. What he was to Thomas, if not his son, I can't say, and how he came to be recognised for even so miserable a slice as an odd acre must have been because of some proof that he took no part in the Confederate war.

(2)—GRENNAN CASTLE—LEGEND OF.

This castle is situate on the brink of the Nore a little east of Thomastown. It does not represent its original height, and is said to have been built by Thomas Fitz-Anthony, founder of Thomastown, early in the 13th century.

Stanihurst mentions that Fitz-Anthony having had no male issue he divided his estate between his two daughters, one of whom married the Knight de Dene, and the other Archdeacon. This seems the origin of

the Dens of Grennan. The castle appears to have sustained a short siege in 1650, the garrison being commanded by Robert Burrell, who made terms with Oromwell. The latter having formed a junction with Ireton at Thomastown, says in his despatch :—"Our men attempting to take the town the enemy made no great resistance; but by the advantage of the bridge quitted the town and fled to a castle about half a mile distant off, which they had formerly possessed. That night the President of Munster and myself came up to the party. We summoned the castle, and after two days it was surrendered to us, the enemy leaving their arms, drums, colours, and ammunition behind them, and engaging never to bear arms more against the Parliament of England.— ("Oromwell in Ireland," p. 291—Murphy, S. I.)

Grennan is most likely the castle here alluded to, and the present ruin merely represents what escaped the guns of the besiegers. There is a tradition that one of the original Dens of Grennan, incurred the displeasure in some way of his monarch, who accordingly vowed vengeance against him, and would have no less than Den's head in a dish. It is supposed that the monarch was King Richard the Second, who visited Kilkenny in 1399, spending fourteen days in the city. How he was outwitted and his wrath appeased by the Castellan's Lady suggested the following ballad by the late gifted Kilkenny poet, Paris Anderson :—

LADY.

"Look out, my knight, my gallant Den,"

Who comes so proudly down your glen?
What trumpet-sound—what war steeds bound—

Why ride they on thy father's ground?
Oh! gallant Den, rouse all your men—
Can you yon waving banner ken?

KNIGHT.

"Yes, outspake Den, I know them well—

They are our proud King's Englishmen,
I know their sheen—*his* flag is out—
The king himself leads on the route,
The branded Den, the outlaw Den,
But ill can meet yon Englishmen."

[The lady again queries the knight, why come they on with so mighty a boasting?]

"See o'er our Nore, our river dear,
Waves the red cross, in sunlight clear,
Why is that hosting this way bound?
What do they on thy father's ground?"

[And the knight answers her, that the King comes to seek from him, his long withheld homage.]

"I know says Den, they come to seek,
My forfeit tribute—many a week,

And many a year it is, since I
Paid tax or tribute—but they lie,
Who tax the Den, within his glen,
For tribute to those Englishmen.
The outlaw Den, the outlaw Den,
Ne'er paid a cross to Englishmen."

[The knight asketh the lady why she turneth pale at his answer; and saith, he can seek some fastness, where though an outlaw, he may yet keep his freedom.]

"Ah, lady fair, why pales thy cheek—
Why falter so, the words you speak?
Sure Den can seek some cave or wood
Till cools the proud King's angry mood,

His Norman ancestors right well,
For Norman cause, in battle fell,
And won the lands whereon he stands
To view with scorn these Saxon bands.
And well he wots, what's'er he dree,
The outlaw Den shall yet be free,
Though here he stands, within his glen,
More Irish, than the Irishmen."

[The lady counselleth otherwise, and tells the knight to trust in woman's wit, to turn aside the choler of the King.]

"Yet stay, my lord, ' the lady cries,
While beams again her lustrous eyes,

Seek not thy cave, though stern and proud,
Yon horsemen come, with clarion loud,
Thy men to turn, thy keep to burn,
And leave me lonely here to mourn
For gallant Den—my outlaw Den—
To curse the hate of Englishmen !
Yet let them come ; for woman's wit
May turn aside, the angry fit,
That brought yon fierce King to our glen—
May shield thy life, my gallant Den."

PART II.

[Showing how the King was sold by the lady].

The King hath sworn a mighty oath,
Pallid with ire and foaming wrath,
That he will harry this fair glen,
And have the head of outlaw Den.
The lady heard it, from a far,
E'er rose that night the evening star,
And from Knocktopher's Abbey grey,
Each mile upon the monarch's way,
A butt of Spanish wine she plac'd,
That Richard's wrath might be effac'd ;
For well she knew, he did incline,
To revel deep, and loved good wine.

Yes, well he loved the Spanish wine,
And knew its smack of truth divine.
Each mile they ride he cries—"ah, ha,"
'Tis better than their Usquebah—
Who placed the good wine plenteous here ?

From tax and tribute he is clear—
From treason's pain, the wight is clear
Who broached the red wine sparkling here—

Except it be the villain Den,
For I have sworn to spoil his glen—
Were every cask of wine made ten
I'd have thy head, thou traitor Den !"

Now, as they near'd the castle fair,
Where Den's gay banner woos the air,
More plenteous grew the vintage warm,
Less choleric the King's fierce storm,
"In sooth," he cried, 'my merry men',
I fain would spare the outlaw Den ;
For an' I had not sworn my oath,
This generous wine so glads my throat,
That I would let him sackless go,
Though tax and chieftry, both he owe,
Yet may we spare his maids and men,
Vengeance alone is sworn to Den.

But, as they reach'd the paved causeway

That led into the castle gray,
The rugged pathway all was seen
Laid over with the velvet's sheen,
"What's here" ? the King cried, "faith,
my, men,"

This courtesy speaks fair for Den,
I would not now to have my wish—
His head, like Baptists, in a dish,
And as the long train drew anigh,
In the rude pomp of chivalry,
A lady waits to greet him then—
The beauteous Dame of outlaw Den.

And now a banquet fair is plac'd :
On oaken board by ladies grac'd
With wine galore, and plenteous malt,
And one great dish above the salt—
'Uncover,' cried the lady—when
Lo ! on that dish, the head of Den !
A dish well garnish'd—better tim'd—
The outlaw's head, with blood begrim'd,
Out spoke the King—"As grace be
mine,
I'm sorry for the good Knight's—wine.
I'd give a dozen of my men
For thy one life, bold outlaw Den !"

'I take thy word,' the lady said,
Still beats a heart for that grim head,
And, at her nod, stout varlets four
Draw back the tables on the floor,
And find the good knight, not disgrac'd
Because beneath the oak board plac'd—
For, through an opening, shewed his
head
On silver dish, all seeming dead.
'Ho,' says the King, 'by Mary mine,
'Tis rarer than the Spanish wine—
Match me this quaint device, my men—
To save the life of gallant Den !'

The outlaw kneels before his King—
With plaudits loud the rafters ring,
'I would not this good knight have
lost
For all the Irish ground I cross'd'—
Keep, then, thy castle, keep thy glen,
But keep my peace, thou varlet Den !
For, faith, upon this Irish ground
No gayer mansion have I found.
No better banquet e'er was mine—
No larger draughts of richer wine—
No lady subtler, to my ken
Than thy true Dame, my noble Den.

The Fiddowne and other branches of the Denn family will be treated of in the Inquisitions of Charles the First.

INQUISITION XXXV.

"Ib (Sessions House), same day, (17th September, 1622.)

EDMOND FITZGERALD, al Barron,¹ late of Brownsford in the County Kilkenny, grandfather of David Fitzgerald, al Barron, lately deceased, was seized of the fee of the several towns, lands, and tenements, of Brownsford, Cloun, Ballygubbe, and Coolenemucke, 1 'burgagery' in Rosbercon, and 2 messuages in Inistioge. Being so seized he enfeoffed Gerald Blansfield, late of Blaunvieldstown, Peter Buttler of Annaghes, Richard Butler of Cowlecreny, and James Barron, Vicar of the Rower, of the premises to use of the said Edmond Fitzgerald during his natural life, and after his death to use of Thomas Fitzgerald during his life; and after to use of David Fitzgerald, son and heir of the said Thomas, and the heirs male legitimately begotten of his body, and, in defect of such heirs, to use of Peter Barron, second son of the said Thomas, and the heirs male of the said Peter, and in defect of such heirs to use of Milo Barron, second son of the said Edmond, and, in defect of such heirs, to the use of the right heirs of the said Edmond in perpetuum, as appears by an inquisition taken at Kilkenny, the 25th of March, in the 27th year of the late Queen Elizabeth. The aforesaid Edmond and Thomas closed their last day before the death of the said David. After the demise of the aforesaid Edmond and Thomas, the aforesaid Peter Butler, of the Annaghes, and Richard Butler, of Cowlerenge (who outlived their co-feoffees aforesaid) Gerald Blansfield, and James Barron, by their deed, dated the 16th February, 4th year of the reign of the King being; enfeoffed the aforesaid David of some of the lands and tenements, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid David was seized as of the fee of all the towns, lands and tenements of Brownsford, containing 3 acres of land and 2 salmon wears on the river Nore, which are held from the Earl of Desmond and his wife, as of their manor of Iverk, al Granagh, by knight's service; of 2 messuages in Inistioge, 1 parcel of land called "Cowlisilly," containing 1 acre, and an annual rent of 5s. issuing out of the mansion house of Peter Baron of Inistioge, which are held from the said Earl of Desmonde and his wife; the burgage in Rosbercon, containing 3 acres, which is held from the said Earl and his wife; a certain parcel of land called "Barronsrath" in Ballynaboley, containing 2 acres of land and 1 stang of land, which Ciprian Horsfall now holds possession of by payment therefor—15s. annually, and the premises are held from the Bishop of Ossory, as of his manor of Logh; the castle, town, lands and tenements of Cloue, Coolnemuckey and Ballygobb, containing 7 acres, held from the king by knight's service; Ballynebarney, containing 1 acre, which is held from the king. The aforesaid David, seized of the premises by his writing, dated 20th March, 1606, enfeoffed Edmond Senteleger, of Tullaghanbroage, and Robert Persall, of Kiltseachrie, in the county

aforesaid, of the town, lands and tenements of Clone, Coolnemucky and Ballygobb, as also of the 3 aforesaid wears on the river Nore, and of 1 water-mill to the certain use expressed in the said deed, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. Ellicia and Ellinor Barron are married, and Margaret Barron, one of the daughters of the said David, is not married. Johanna Morris is still living and not married. The aforesaid David Fitzgerald, by his writing bearing date 20th August, 1626, gave to Thomas Fitzgerald, his second son, the town of Ballenebarne, with appurtenances (without having obtained the licence of the King), the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid David Fitzgerald closed his last day on the 14th April, 16 [].

"Edmond Fitzgerald is son and heir of the aforesaid David, and was then aged 30 years, and had been married in the lifetime of his father."

(1)—THE FITZGERALD, *alias* BARRON OF BROWNSFORD AND CLONE,
OR CLUAN.

This family was a branch or offshoot of the Fitzgeralds of Burnchurch, or more immediately of Overk.

David Baron, of Brownsford, was brother to Milo Baron, who was Bishop of Ossory from 1528 to 1550. His sister, Joanna, was married to Thomas Cantwell, of Cantwell's Court, Co. Kilkenny.

David left two sons, Edmund Baron, of Brownsford and of Coolnemuck, who died at Clone in 1583; and, second, James Baron, Vicar of the Rower, 1579. Edmund left two sons and one daughter, viz.—(1) Thomas, who succeeded; (2) Milo Baron, of Grenan, and Austace, married to Edmund Serment, of Lismacteige.

Thomas, son and heir, died at Clone, on the 3rd October, 1584, leaving two sons, David and Peter Baron, of Inistioge. David Fitzgerald *alias* Baron, of Brownsford, married Joan, daughter of Sir John Morres, and dying on the 14th April, some date after 1626, left five sons and three daughters, viz.—(1) Edmund; (2) Thomas, of Ballynebarney; (3) Richard; (4) James; (5) Walter, of Boherquill. (1) Ellice, m. to Patrick Forstall, of Ballyfrunke; (2) Eleanor, m. to Robert Freney, of Ballyreddy; (3) Margaret.

Edmund, son and heir, joined the Confederates of 1642, and was one of the Commoners of the General Assembly of 1647. He married Eleanor, daughter of Piers Butler, of Cayer, Co. Wexford, and left a son and two daughters, viz., Thomas; (1) Mary, married to Arthur Kavanagh, second son of Morgan Kavanagh, of Borris; (2) Jane, married to James Bolger, M.P. for Inistiogue, 1689.

Thomas was one of the Confederates of 1642. He was living at Clone in 1664. He left a son, Edmund Fitzgerald, who was M.P. for Inistiogue in 1689, or 1690, and died at Anghrim, 12th July, 1691.

The foregoing pedigree of the Fitzgeralds of Brownsford and Cluan, was kindly sent me by the compiler, Mr. Bartchaell, B.L. There is a tradition that when the last baron fell at the battle of Anghrim his steel escaped from the field and returned ridless to Cluan. I have found amongst some old writings an antiquarian left by the late Canon

Moore, P.P., my predecessor, the following ballad, founded, of course, on the said tradition :—

I.
There stood beside the winding Nore
A castle fair to see,
It was the home of the Geraldine
And a valliant knight was he.

II.
And though the woods again grow
green
And clear the Nore flows on,
Yet Cluan's tower for aye shall be
A ruin gray and lone.

III.
Cluan's lord was a valliant knight,
He fell amid the slain,
The first in fight for his king's right,
On Auhgrim's bloody plain.

IV.
Three summer nights had scarcely
pass'd
Since that last fatal day,
When Cluan's lady mourning sat
For her good lord away.

V.
Oh ! heavily and wearily
She sat within her hall,
And startles, as in fancy's ear,
She hears the wonted call.

VI.
And now she listens eagerly,
For hark ! there comes a sound
Of footsteps, and her anxious eye
Is looking all around,

VII.
The sound grows loud and nearer,
It is the well-known track,
Can it be true that her good lord
Is well, and safe come back ?

VIII.
Ho ! valets, all awake in haste,
And on your lord await ;
There's tramping on the pavement
Beside the outer gate.

IX.
Thus had she spoke in ecstasy
And well did all obey,
And quickly did the gate unbar,
Ere yet began the day.

X.
Down comes the Lady Ellinor,
All trembling for joy,
And brings to welcome back his sire,
Her sleeping infant boy.

XI.
But oh ! what a dismal sight,
The gallant steed is there,
But her good lord is not come back,
To greet his lady fair.

XII.
Oh ! was he taken by his foes,
Or slain amid the fight,
Or why comes back his gallant steed
In such a woeful plight.

XIII.
Why stands he thus impatiently,
Without either curb or rein,
There's blood upon the harnessing
And foam upon the mane.

XIV.
Oh ! woe is me that lady cried,
Sure this must bode of ill,
To see those startling drops of blood,
My very soul doth chill.

XV.
In vain they looked, they searched in
vain,
Around both town and tree,
Yet the lord of Cluan's wide domain,
They never more shall see.

XVI.
One summer's day of dread and doubt
Had scarcely passed away,
When a youth rode by in fearful haste,
With looks of wild dismay.

XVII.
Oh ! noble youth wilt thou not deign,
To speak one word to me,
What means this look of wild despair
Or whither dost thou flee ?

XVIII.
I am the lady of this tower,
You may find shelter here,
Friend or foe which e'er you be,
You shall have nought to fear.

XIX.
Friend or foe which e'er I be,
With thee I cannot bide,
A woeful tale is mine to tell,
A tale I fain would hide.

XX.
Our rightful king has lost his crown,
And all our hopes lost we,
Naught now is ours whilst proud the foe,
Exults in victory.

XXI.
I saw thy lord fall by my side,
Amidst the heap of slain,
While swiftly flew his gallant steed
Across the battle plain.

XXII.
Thus having said he turned his rein.
No more she heard him speak,
The tears were streaming from her
eyes
And pallid grew her cheek.

XXIII.

And well might she both wail and weep
To leave her kin and home,
To seize upon her lonely tower
The ruthless foe is come.

XXIV.

Tho' Cluan's woods each year grow green
And clear the Nore flows on,
Yet Cluan's tower shall ever be
A ruin grey and lone.

INQUISITION XXXVI.

"The Blackfryers, 17th April, 1623.

FULCO OMERFORD was seized of the fee of the manor, town and lands of Inisholeghan, in the County Kilkenny, with the advowson appertaining to the church thereof, which manor and town, aforesaid, contain 38 acres, great country measure, and Brownestowne's 8 acres, which are held from the King *in capite* by knight's service; of the annual rent of 6s. 8d. issuing out of Goslingstowne, in the county aforesaid, for commonage of pasture by the tenants of Golingstowne, on the lands of Inishio'echane 2 messuages and 40 acres, arable and pasture, small measure, in the town and borough of Roshavean, which are held from the aforesaid Earl, as of his manor of Rosbarcan; 9 messuages, 8 gardens and 21 acres in the fields of Callan, now in the occupation of one William Meares, which are held from the Earl of Desmond, as of his manor of Callan, by fealty only; 2 other messuages, 2 gardens and 2 orchards in Callan, called "Trodde's land," which are held from the aforesaid Earl. The aforesaid Fulco Omerford leased to William Meares the aforesaid messuages, lands and tenements in Callan, except the messuages, gardens and orchards called "Trodde's land," by his indenture bearing date 11th October, 1618, for the term of 21 years, for the annual rent of £10. The foresaid Fulco died the 2nd February last. Gerald Omerford is his lawful son and heir, and was then eleven years old and unmarried."

For notice of the Comerford family, already given, see notes on Inquisition 4, Elizabeth, p. 61.

(INQUISITION XXXVII.)

"Thomastown, 4th June, 1623.

PIERCE BUTLER¹ was seized of the fee of two-third (the third part expectant after the death of Ellen Power, his mother), of the town and land of Turrinaspug, in the County Kilkenny, containing 3 acres, small measure, the manor and messuage of Castlecomer,² and 2 crofts containing one acre, small measure, and one water-mill in Castlecomer, aforesaid. He died

on the 25th July, 1614. Richard Butler is son and heir of the said Pierce, and was then nine years of age and unmarried. Ellice Bowen al Butler, was the wife of the said Pierce. The premises in Turnipaspug and Ballilonan are held from the Earl of Desmond, as of his manor of Donmore, and in Castlecomer from the King *in capite* by knight's service. The aforesaid Pierce Butler was also seized of the fee of the town and land of Cowlenclyne, one acre, great measure, and are held from the Earl of Desmond. Being so seized he made a free grant of the premises to Edmond Tobin Fitz-Walter and his heirs in the year 1612, in consideration of £60 subject to redemption."

(1)—THE BUTLER FAMILY.

Of this branch of the Butler family, I have not been able to gather much. Sir William Betham's MSS., Ulster Office, Dublin Castle, supply only the most meagre account of the Butlers of Castlecomer. Under Letter H—p. 304, Sir William has only the following entry on them :—

"Butler, Castlecomer, left two sons, viz.—James, of Castlecomer, County Kilkenny, and Richard, who died about the 22nd May, 1689." Richard seems to have left no issue, and Elizabeth, daughter and heir of his elder brother James, inherited both her father's and her uncle's estates. It seems likely that the above Butler, the father of James and Richard, was Richard, son and heir of Pierce Butler, the subject of the above inquisition.

(2)—CASTLECOMER.

Amongst the "Ordnance Survey Letters," County Kilkenny, R.I.A., the following deal more with the social habits of the people in 1839 than the local antiquities :—

(Letter, vol. I., p. 4, &c).

"Castlecomer, Ireland,

"13th August, 1839.

"T. A. Larcom, Esq., E.C.

"SIR—We arrived here from Tullow on yesterday evening, and on this morning commenced operations as far as we could do in the absence of a map and diagram. Mr. O'Keeffe went through the parish, Anthony O'Curry through Abbeyleix, as you shall hear more at large in a day or two. I date this letter from *Ireland*, and I am certain, with great propriety, as well as with much gratification to myself, for I do feel that I am now on Irish ground, not so when at the east side of the Barrow, where they have nothing but bad English, white frieze, good potatoes, and the girls all wearing shoes, stockings, and bonnets, but here, glory to them, they all speak fine Irish and English, wear blue frieze, drink whiskey, dance and fight, the girls all going bareheaded and barefooted; in short, here is every good manner and custom that ought to distinguish every decent country town in Ireland. If we can survive this month here, there is no fear that any real Irishman will

ever die of eating the oldest and most Connaught lumper potatoes that ever any country produced. We want as soon as possible that portion of O'Huidhrian's (Prof. O'Heerin's) topographical poem, which relates to all places from the Barrow to Cashel. As well as I remember it begins on the fourth page of O'Clery's copy in the Royal Irish Academy, and commences with Ossory. We also want every reference to Saint Fintan Corach, of Leamhchoille, in Leix, whose church has been made out by Mr. O'Keeffe. Let the *Leabhar Breac* be closely examined for this, and particular notice taken of any note that may happen to be at the bottom of the page. If it is usual to furnish out carpenter's rules for the measurement of ancient buildings on this business we will thank you for two—one for Mr. O'Keeffe and another for myself; there is no such thing to be got here, nor until we go to the fair town of Kilkenny.—I remain, sir, your very obedient servant,

"EUGENE CURRY."

(Letters continued, vol. I, p. 7).

"Castlecomer, 14th August, 1839.

"T. A. Larcon, Esq., C.E.

"SIR—I regret to find that the maps, &c., for this country have been sent to Tullow. I did not leave any order for re-direction with the postmaster, because, in the first place, I had reason to think that he would not act on such order, and, secondly, as I had given sufficient notice of my intention to leave Tullow on Monday for this place. I wrote, however, this day requesting the parcel to be forwarded to me, but I do not expect that my letter will be answered, so that I think it would be better you should write at once on the subject. It has rained incessantly and heavily here since eight o'clock yesterday evening up to this, so that we have not been able to go out of doors this day. O'Keeffe has no longer any complaint, but his usual debility; his appetite is very good, and I think that as much as may be expected from him now as at any former period, considering the general cold temperament of his body and mind. I cannot give any opinion of the meaning of *cros-and-var*, which you were pleased to refer to me, until I be told the county in which it lies, that I may judge from local idiom what the pronounciation may be, but, as far as I may venture now, I would take it to be *cros-ana-moir*, i.e., great or big Ana's Cross. I wish to know if there is any reference in the Irish Calendar or other authorities to the churches of Muchalee or *Macalighe*, or any other form of it, or to the Church of Disert, Mun or Munna, or anything bordering on that name.—I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

"EUGENE CURRY."

From the above letters it is plain that the staff of the survey had not to hand the books, implements and other materials, which would enable them to discharge their duties effectively and arrange properly the several items of local and monumental antiquities. The rapidity,

too, with which the members of the staff were hurried from place to place, as is apparent from the entire mass of letters, and which, I believe, was bitterly complained of by O'Donovan, can leave little doubt that their occupation was less than half relished by the Whig Government of the time.

The foregoing letters of Eugene O'Curry give no information on the local antiquities, ecclesiastical or otherwise, of Castlecomer or its vicinity. They describe nothing more than the local state of the inhabitants, the coarse dress and rural mannerisms which with a truly Irish people have been so well known to resist the action of time, and the influence of English policy and politeness. Since 1839, however, a change has been wrought, and the social and intellectual progress made, has long since advanced Castlecomer to the position of a wealthy little town, which in neatness, intelligence, education, and patriotism, ranks the foremost of its population within the province of Leinster. The following "Survey letter" by Mr. Keffe gives us much more interesting information on Castlecomer than those written above by O'Curry (MS. p. 42):—

"Castlecomer, August 19th, 1839.

SIR,—The parish of Castlecomer, in which is the town of the same name, is situated in the Barony of Fassadineen, and is bounded on the north by the parish of Abbeyleix and Ballinakill *alias* Dysertgallen, barony of Cullenagh, Queen's County; on the east by Rathasbuck, baronies of Slievemargie and Fassadinan, Queen's County and County Kilkenny; on the south by the parish of Tullocreen, County Carlow, and Desert and Kilmacar, Barony of Fassadinan, County Kilkenny, and on the west by the parishes of Abbeyleix, Donoughmore, Attanna, Ballyragget and Kilmacar, barony of Fassadinan, County Kilkenny. The Irish pronunciation of the name is *caisleán a chumair*, i.e., the castle of the cumar, or meeting of streams, though *cumar* is said by the inhabitants to signify a hollow. The inhabitants also say that the old name was *caisleán eadar dha cumar*—the castle between the two cumars. This would agree well with the situation, for part of the town lies between the meeting of the streams called *Clochog* and *Aughmucky* (so called from the townland through which it passes, called also the *gleann a druman* river, as I have been informed) with the river *Dian*, the former to the north-east, the latter to the south-east of the town. There are, however, no ruins of a castle in the town or townland of Castlecomer, nor is the site of the building which gave name to the place well remembered traditionally. Some would seem to suppose that it stood near the spot now occupied by the seat of the Hon. O. Wandesforde, towards the east of the town, at the meeting of the *Dian* and *Aughmucky* rivers.

"At the entrance to the demesne belonging to Mr. Wandesforde's house is a large earthen work of an elliptic form with some stone work at the top, called by the people the 'garrison.' To the east of the house, in the middle of a thick plantation on elevated ground, is, what is called by the inhabitants, 'Cromwell's Pit.' It is apparently an

artificial hollow, and it is said that Cromwell from this besieged the 'garrison.'

"There is a tradition that a battle was fought at a place called *Bothar Caill* (Boherkyle) *via Sylva*—in the townland of Kiltown, in this parish, between the Earl of Ormonde and Brennan, the ancient chief of the district, in consequence of the latter refusing to pay the earl his tributary rents. It is said that the place was originally a wood (whence its name). A road in Kiltown townland retains the name to this day. This engagement is supposed to have taken place shortly previous to the forfeitures in 1640-2—when the lands of the Brennans fell to the Wandesford family. In the same townland of Kiltown there is the ruin of the chimney of an ancient mansion said to have belonged to the Brennans. It has the appearance of some antiquity, and it is said that portion of the adjoining walls existed in the memory of man. In Kiltown townland is likewise a small burial ground used only for still-born children, and about one-eighth of a mile North-west of this is a holy well, called *Tobar Philp*, where there was a 'patron' held until about sixty years ago. It was discontinued in consequence of a man named Byrne having been killed there. In the townland of Ardra is one square tower and part of an external wall of a ruined castle. A great part of the tower is of brick. Inside it measures 12 feet 2 inches by 10 feet, and is about 30 feet high. There is a large moat in Feroda Upper townland. It is not perfect, a part having being removed for manure.—Your obedient servant,

"P. O'KNEFFE."

"T. A. Larcom, Esq."

So early as the year A.D. 965, we find mention of Comer in the annals of the F.M. In that year they tell us that "an army was led by Murchadh, son of Finn, King of Leinster, into Osraighe (Ossory), where he remained four nights after having plundered Magh-Raighne; but Mathghamhain and the men of Munster overtook him as did the Deisi and the Osraighe from *Ath-Buana* to *Commur*, but Murchadh escaped from them in safety without leaving horse or man behind." *Mathghamhain*, pronounced *Mahon*, who, with the Munster men, was engaged in this pursuit of Murchadh MacFinn, King of Leinster, was the brother of the famous Brian Boru, and son of Cineidi (Kennedy), of the Dalcassian or North Munster race. He achieved many brilliant successes against the Danes of Limerick, in which his brother Brian also took part, and trained himself for that signal display of valour which later on at Clontarf immortalised him as the "saviour" of his country.

In 1328 Clynn mentions that 'Comer was burned by Lord William Bermingham. "Item eodem anno (1328) scilicet ultimo die Februarii, die Martis combustum est *Cumbyr* per dominum Willelmum de Brimegham."

In 1428 a dispute arose between Brother William Stackboll, Prior of the Augustinians, Kilkenny, of the one part and Walter Comys, chaplain of the Diocese of Ossory, of the other part, regarding the

spoliation and unjust detention by the latter of the parochial church of Castlecomer, which occasioned the fulmination of the following document by Bishop Thomas Barry on behalf of the friars:—

“Thomas permissione divina Ossorien’ ep’us dilecto nobis in Christo Waltero Comys Cappellano nostre Diocesis Ossorien salutem et n’ram benedictionem. Tua discrecio non ignorat quod nos in quadam causa spoliaco’is Eccl’ie parochial de Castlecomer Diocesis predictae et injuste detencionis ejusde Ecclesie prout in libello supor his confecto et in indicio oblato plenius continetur que nuper certebatur inter religiosos viros Fratrem Wilhelmum Stakboll, Priorem Domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis, Evangeliste, juxta Kilkenn’ Diocesis, antedictae et conventum ejusdem domus ordi’s Sancti Augustini ex parte una et te Walterum predictum ex parte altera cognoscentes, auditis et cognitis hunc unde propositis et allegatis tandem contra te prefatum Walterum sententiam tulimus diffinitivam justicia mediante in que te condemnamus ad restituendam dictam parochialem Ecclesiam predicta domi Hospitali et eidem Priori et conventui ejusdem loci necnou Decimas oblationes fructus et proventus universo quos de pred’ta Ecclesia Parochial per decem annos p’ximo preteritis precepisti et precipera potuisti si per tunc existent alicuin lorum estimacioem coram nobis [] per te Confessam usque quadraginta marcas legalis monete et postquam ante dicta sententia in rem transivit, indicatam quo ad dictam parochialem ecclesiam fecimus eam execucioni mandari. Nos igitur volentes, predictam sententiam nostram plene exequi ut tenemur te Walterum prenominatum auctate ordinaria qua fungimur in hac parte primo secundo et tertio peremptorie requirimus et monemus et tibi in virtute sancte obediencie et sub pena infra scripta districte precipiendo mandamus quod infra sex dies a presentatione publicatione sen notificacione presentium tibi facta immediate sequentes quorum quos pro primus quos pro secundo et reliquos quos tibi pro tertio et peremptorie tertio monici neque canonica prefigimus et etiam assignamus quod decimas oblationes fructus obventiones et proventus universos quos de predicta parochiali ecclesia per decem annos supradictos precepisti et precipere potuisti si extant aliquin earum estimacionem premissam usque quadriginta marcas legale monente supradicto Priori nomine dicte domus sueque et conventus ejusdem loci, plenarie et integre resti utas alioquin in te et contumacem et rebellem ex nunc prout ex tunc in his scriptis sent’iam excommunicationis majoris ferimus et etiam pronnigamus, monemus in super mode et forma premissis generaliter omnes et singulatis nostre. Dioc predictae cujuscum—que dignitatis status gradus Nel condicionis existant ne prefatis Priori et Conventui quominus dictam Parochialem Ecclesiam cum juribus et pertinenciis universis integre et pacifice assequantur et pacifice valeant possidere et ipsius Ecclesie fructus redditus et Proventus libere cum integritate percipere, impedimentum aliquod prestent per se vel alium sen alios publice vel occulte et impediencie ipsos in aliquo dent auxilium consilium vel favorem: alioquin tam in impediencies predictos priorem et conventum super premissas in aliquo ant impediencies ipsos dantes scientim consilium auxilium vel favorem publice vel occulte nisi infra

predictum terminum a Die scientie computandum a contradicione rebellione impedimento auxilio vel farore hujusmodi omnino destiterint et mandatis nostris in hac parte cum effectu p'u'int ex nunc pront ex tunc singulariter in his scriptis excommunicationis sententiam prædictarum sen dierum canonica monitione premissa ferrimus et etiam promulgamus. Ceterum cum ad execucionem faciendam ulteriorem in presente negotionequeames quoad presens aliis perperiti negociis personaliter interesse. David Whyte, et Johanni Oweyn Capellonis et eorum cuilibet in super alteriori execucione dicti mandati nostri omnium que premissorum tenore presentium committimus vices nostras mandantes quatenus et eorum quilibet qui super hoc fuerint requisiti sen fuerit requisitis ad te Walterum prenommatum Ecclesiamque parochialem predictam et personas ac loca alia de quibus ubi quum et quotiens expediens fuerit personaliter accedant seu accedat ac ha nostras literas omniaque et singula in eis contenta tibi Waltero predicto et aliis personis supra designatis prout te et eos concernant legant intimeat insinuent legat intimet insinuet ac intimari insinuari et publicari fideliter procurent sen procuret. In quorum omnium et singularum testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum quo utimur ad mayora fecimus afferri. Datum in Manerio nostro Episcopali apud Oghtrath YVio. die Augusti Anno Domini, MoOOOCo. Vicessimo octavo."

From the foregoing we are enabled to infer that the *castle* from which 'Comer' derives its present name, Castlecomer, was built previous to 1428, the date of the document wherein its church is called the parochial church of Castlecomer. Whereas, in 1328, when the town was burned by Lord William Bermingham it was called Comer, or Cumbyr, simply by Friar Olynn. The castle must, therefore, have been built between 1328 and 1428. Where did such a castle stand? From the survey letter above it clearly puzzled Mr O'Keeffe, the writer, to find the site, and he left it, as it was a matter of conjecture.

In the east side of the moat inside the demesne gate there is evidence of very ancient masonry supporting a comparatively modern superstructure. This is believed to have been used as a temporary keep by the Wandesfords till the completion of the present mansion. The Chief O'Brennan may have strengthened the moat by a stone structure with some pretensions to a Norman castle, for his better protection, and this, subsequently remodelled by Wandesford, may account for the older masonry of the foundation part.

Ardra Castle, within the demesne, could hardly be said to belong to the 14th century, but either it or the moat just mentioned must have been in all probability the site of the ancient castle. I have heard, too, that the Irish name of this moat is *cushlaun cumber*. If so, it settles the question, for *cushlaun* is evidently a corruption of *caislean*, a derivative of *caisiol*, which means a stone building, and from which the word castle or cashel. This then would be the exact site of the *castle cummer*, and not Ardrah, and near it, too, was the old church of *cummer* or *cumar*, whilst the town is in Donnegyle, though anciently called after the church. There is a tradition, too, that the battle of Boherkyle,

mentioned in Mr. O'Keeffe's letter, was fought on a Sunday *not* with Ormonde, as Mr. O'Keeffe states, but between the O'Brennan and Wandesford.

The people are said to have rushed out of the church before having heard Mass to join in the conflict, and to the great annoyance of the officiating priest, who predicted their defeat for such unholy conduct. Boherkyle is said to have extended from Mr. Dobbs' gateway, on the edge of the town, to Mr. Murphy's, of Loon; and I believe on the farm of the latter large quantities of human bones were dug up not many years ago.

The castle of Comer was besieged by the Confederates in 1641. The garrison was commanded by Captain Fferrer, and sustained a siege of eight weeks. Lord Mountgarret and Sir Richard Butler of Paulstown, Captain Brennan, with those of his clan, Captain Bryan, of Whiteswell, and Captain Purcell, were the leaders of the attacking party. One act of cruelty is set forth against the O'Brennans in the depositions of 1641—namely, that “one of them did, in a most unchristian and savage manner, with his sword, cleave in sunder the head of a poor childe, viz., one Richard Bernard, and, before quite dead, hanged him on his father's tenter hooks.”

Excesses will always follow in the track of war, but I have heretofore alluded to the “depositions” as a heap of fabrications and falsehoods totally unworthy of reliance. If the O'Brennans were so blood-thirsty on the occasion would they have taken Wandesforde's wife and children under their protection, and conducted them in safety to the English garrison at Ballinakill?

The garrison, after a brave resistance, surrendered on fair terms, and were to have protection till safe under the English quartered at Ballylinan, Queen's County. A mutual oath was taken that they should be safe from the Confederates, and the escorting party should also be protected in case they were met by any of the English companies on the way. At a distance from Castlecomer Captain Dempsey, who headed the “rebels,” came up with Captain Graham, of the Ballylinan garrison, and, having faithfully discharged his oath, he was on his way back when suddenly he was pursued by Captain Graham, and in violation of their oath by the English he had conducted. Dempsey and his party found safety in flight, and some of Graham's men, unable to keep up with the main body on their return to Ballylinan, were surprised by the “rebels,” and in retaliation were marched into Comer and hanged.

INQUISITION XXXVIII.

" Ib. (Thomastown) same day (4th June), 1623.

" **T**HOMAS DEN, late of Grenan, was seized of the fee of the moieties of the town and lands of Rahine, containing 5 acres, arable and pasture, great measure, which lands the aforesaid Thomas held in mortgage from Edmond Walsh Fitz-James, of Downemagon, in consideration of £80. The said Thomas was also seized of 2 messuages and 2 acres of land, arable, meadow and pasture, in Rahine, and 2 tofts, 1 water-mill and mill-race of the same in Rahine, aforesaid—which premises he held in mortgage from Richard Walsh (al Brannagh) Fitz-James, of Downemagon, in consideration of £100. Being so seized of the premises by his deed, dated 22nd May, 1615, he yielded the premises aforesaid (together with other lands within the burgh of Downemagon, aforesaid, which are held in tenure burgage) to Patrick Denn Fitz-Foulke, of Fiddowne, and James Walsh, of Thomastown, their heirs and assigns, to certain uses expressed in the said deed, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The premises are held from the King *in capite*."

For notice of the Den family, see Inquisition 34, Jac. 1. note, p. 398.

INQUISITION XXXIX.)

" Ib. (Thomastown) 4th June, 1623.

" **J**OHAN GRACE,¹ late of Courtestown,² was seized of the fee of the manor of Tullaghroan, *alias* Tulleroan,³ and of the town and lands of Tulleroan, containing 8 acres, great measure; Courtestowne, *alias* Ballinecourt, Rahine and Ballicanvore, parcels of the manor aforesaid, containing 14 acres of the measure aforesaid; Lysnelea and Killvallyoghtrerie, 10 acres of the measure aforesaid; Huntetowne and Curraghbreoncke, 10 acres; Ouldtowne, *alias* Shanbally, 8 acres; Ballycuddihy, 8 acres; Brittasmore; Trenchardstowne, Archboldstowne, and Davidstowne, 8 acres; Ballibehagh and Tourboy, 8 acres; Gortnegrosse, *alias* Gortnegappe, 5 acres; Bogan, 8 acres, Rathmegan, Glassane and Ballinhowe, 6 acres; Prowtestowne, *alias* Lisballyprowte, Oralcott, and Taylertown, 10 acres; which are parcels of the manor of Tulleroan, and are of the measure aforesaid; 8s. annual rent issuing out of a parcel of land called Briscslagh, situate between the lands of Ballycuddihy and Ouldtowne, parcel of the manor aforesaid; 13s. 4d. out of Uncestowne,

parcel of the manor aforesaid ; the town of Killaghie, Newtowne, and Rathflughe, 12 acres ; Brittas-marris, *alias* Brittas-flugh, Englishtowne, *alias* Ballinegaule, Glenevedocke, the moieties of Wallstowne and Remynduffe, 16 acres ; Glanviclorace, *alias* Dowrath, 5 acres, the moieties of the town of Uncell's Inch and Crohill, 6 acres, all of which are of the measure aforesaid. The aforesaid John Grace being so seized of the premises by his deed bearing date the 28th December, 1590, enfeofed Sir Richard Shee, *Knight*, Helias Shee, Thomas Archer, Thomas Browne, Patrick Archer, and Mathew Shee, to certain uses in the said deed expressed, the tenor of which deed followeth in the original. The aforesaid John Grace died the 27th March, 1602. Robert Grace is son and heir of the said John, and was then 22 years of age and married. The aforesaid Sir Richard Shee, *Knight*, and Helias Shee, Thomas Archer, and Thomas Browne, co-feoffes, aforesaid, died. The aforesaid Patrick Archer and Matthew Shee survived them, and so being seized of the premises to the uses aforesaid, the aforesaid Robert Grace, Patrick Archer, and Matthew Shee, by deed dated the 20th December, 1615, leased to Marcus Shee, of Washe's-hayes, the town of Shanbally, *alias* Oldtowne, for the term of 31 years, and for the annal rent of £9, as by deed aforesaid more plainly, appeareth the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The manor of Tullaghroane, and all the towns and lands, aforesaid, at the time of the aforesaid John's death, were held from the late Queen Elizabeth *in capite*, and are now held from the King by the service aforesaid. Killaghie, Newtowne, and Rathflugh are held from Oliver Shortall, of Claragh, as of his manor of Moharis by fealty only. Brittas-maris, *alias* Brittas-flugh, Englishtowne, Glendevocke, Wallstowne, and Reminduffe are held from Viscount Mountgarret, as of his manor of Byalinyrnaruffe in *common socage* ; Glanviclorace, *alias* Dowrath, is held of the Earl of Desmond as of his manor of Ballicallan in *socage* by fealty only ; and Uncell's-Inch and Crowhills are held from the same as of his manor of Kilkenny."

(1)—THE GRACE FAMILY OF COURTTOWN.

The origin of the Grace family I have already traced in my notes to Inquisition 22, Jac. 1, p. 242. It is involved in obscurity, but according to the most reliable information which Sheffield Grace could obtain, it was due to the Princes of Tuscany. Nothing that I know of has yet been put forward in contradiction of this opinion, and we may therefore assume with the author of the "Grace Memoirs" that it was in the valley of the Arno was first cradled this family of the highest antiquity—and amongst the most powerful and active of those which allied with Fitz-Stephen and Strongbow, subsequently reduced Ireland. Since the time of King Edward the Confessor, Otho, a powerful baron, has been the recognised stem of the family tree, which numbered amongst its branches the English houses of Windsor and Carew, whilst in Ireland, after the invasion, the illustrious houses of Courtstown, Kildare and Desmond, no less reflected the brilliant dignity of their

noble founder.* The immediate ancestor of the barons of Courtstown was Raymond FitzWilliam de Oarew, surnamed, *Crassus* or the corpulent, and in Norman-French *le Gros*, which by corruption became *le Gras*, and subsequently *Grace*, which it has since retained. He was precursor of Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, surnamed *Strongbow*, in the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, and he was the great favourite of the army because of the unrestrained licence with which he allowed his men to pillage, massacre and devastate. Having landed at Waterford, in May, 1170, he proceeded in conjunction with Hervey de Montemarisco, Strongbow's paternal uncle, to erect a fort at Dundonnell, from which a Dano-Irish force from Waterford, attempted to dislodge them. The attempt failed and a number of the citizens were taken prisoners, had their limbs broken, and were then cast from the precipice. When Strongbow, after having landed and seized Waterford, marched on Dublin, he was met by St. Lawrence O'Toole, who negotiated with him and Dermot MacMurrough, on behalf of the citizens. During the parley Raymond le Gros withdrew and with Milo Cogan, having stealthily entered the city, they inhumanly fell upon the unarmed citizens and butchered them in the streets. On the Earl's leaving for Normandy at the request of King Henry, to quell his Majesty's rebellious sons and subdue the insurrectionary spirit of his Gascon nobility the soldiers who had been given in command to Mountmaurice, clamoured for their favourite leader—Raymond.

Strongbow, on his return, had to yield to their wish, and Raymond, at the head of the army, wasted Offaly and Cork, where he defeated the McCarthys. For this service Raymond demanded of Strongbow the Constablership of Leinster and the hand of his sister, Basilia de Clare, in marriage. Both requests being refused, Raymond drew off and returned to the Welsh borders. By his tenure Strongbow was bound to assist the King when ever required with one hundred equipped knights. To comply with such a condition it was necessary to parcel out his lands amongst his adherents.

To clear the natives and maintain possession where they could, to harass them and exact rents; to be unsparing of the sword and unscrupulous in the means necessary to subdue them, such was the policy of the newcomers, and such they knew was the aim and interest of the Crown.

The prosecution of such intents produced severe struggles between the invaders and the invaded, O'Brien, with the men of Thomond, defeated Strongbow one side of Thurles in 1174. The Earl, unable to

* There was a close relationship between the Graces and Fitzgeralds, and many of the most notable of the English invaders. Nesta, a princess of South Wales, had, as mistress of King Henry, a son, Henry, the father of Robert and Meyler FitzHenry. By her husband, Constable Stephen, she had Robert FitzStephen, who was the first that landed at Bannow, in May, 1169. Finally Nesta married FitzWalter of Windsor, by whom she had William, the father of le Gros, immediate ancestor of the Graces of Wexford, Courtstown, and Mountmaurice of Kerry, second, Maurice, ancestor of the Geraldines of Kildare and Desmond, and third, David Fitzgerald, who became bishop of St. David's in 1147.

recruit his forces was so straightened that he was obliged to induce Raymond le Gros to return to his relief by granting him those requests which he had so lately spurned. Arriving at Waterford with thirty knights, one hundred men-at-arms, and about three hundred archers, Raymond rescued Strongbow and the remnant of the garrison, closely besieged in Reginald's tower, thus timely saved from extinction, took vengeance on the assailants in turn, and demanded their subjection under stringent conditions.

After his marriage with Basilia, Raymond resolved to retrieve Strongbow's recent defeat at Thurles, and accordingly marched on Limerick, which he captured and reduced to a heap of carnage. The successes which invariably smiled on Raymond, and heightened his military renown, excited the jealousy of his enemies. The king's ear was caught and filled with evil suggestions about Raymond's exploits, and it was even hinted that he laboured for the popularity of the army, that by its strength he might one day dictate the terms of an usurper to his Majesty, and rescue from his grasp the latest accession to the kingdom.

Raymond had no sooner left Limerick to answer the charges of his enemies before the King in Normandy than O'Brien infested it, and compelled him to return by the advice of his Majesty's commissioners, lest a town so important should be re-captured by the men of Thomond, and the English garrison suffer annihilation. On the approach of Raymond, O'Brien moved towards Cashel, and here again victory favoured the former, and the latter, after the slaughter and flight of his army, was obliged to submit. Strongbow meantime fell sick at Dublin, and died of an ulcer in 1176. By his wife, Eva, he left an only child, Isabel, little more than an infant, and heiress of his vast estates. He was attended in his last moments by his sister, Basilia, and he enjoined the presence of her husband, Raymond, at his obsequies. Basilia despatched at once the following message by a trusty servant :— "To Raymond, her most loving lord and husband, his own Basilia wisheth health as to herself. Know you, my lord, that the great tooth in my jaw, which was wont to ache so much, is now fallen out : wherefore if you have any care or regard for me or of yourself, you will delay not to hasten hither with all speed."

Raymond devined from this epistle that her brother had died, and that his death was being kept a secret lest the hostile Irish should pluck up courage at the news and attack the English settlers. To reach Dublin without the protection of his garrison was too risky for Raymond, and, having sent for O'Brien, he pretended to resign the trust of the city to him, which he was to hold as one of the king's "barons."

Donnell O'Brien, with the hot blood of Thomond in his veins, and of a spirit fired by the warlike traditions of his race, was not the man to brook such mockery, at a time especially when his warmest yearning and strongest hopes of breaking the back-bone of the stranger's power and of purging his native soil from his infectious presence were gloomed by the afflictions of his late reverses. He accordingly feigned,

as Raymond feigned, and no sooner had the latter crossed the Shannon with his garrison than Donnell applied the torch, and Limerick went up in flames. "Never again," said the Kincora chieftain, "shall this city of my sires be the nest of the foreigner."

After the burial of Strongbow, Raymond le Gros was appointed by the Colonists governor pending the royal pleasure. When the news of the Earl's death reached his Majesty, then at Valognes in Normandy, he nominated William Fitz-Andelem de Burgh his Viceroy for Ireland, and despatched with him as coadjutors. Jean de Curci (John de Courcy), Robert Fitz-Estevane (Fitz-Stephen), and Milo de Cogan, who had distinguished themselves in the king's service during the late years of his troubles both in England and France. Raymond hastened to surrender the insignia of his temporary office, with such towns, castles, and hostages as he then held to the new governor. The trysting place was on the confines of Wexford, and as Raymond approached with a large staff of caparisoned, bright armoured knights all of his own kindred, Fitz-Andelem was heard to say he would repress their pretensions and scatter the emblazoned shields of those Geraldine adventurers.

It is stated that Fitz-Andelem ever after kept his word, and sowed the first seeds of rancour and jealousy, which ultimately produced such a ripe harvest of conflicts between the House of Geraldine and the Crown. Nor did Fitz-Andelem himself escape, for the Geraldine chroniclers depict him as *corpulent, full of guile and hypocrisy, though plausible and courtly, a cunning, repacious exacter, corruptible by and fond of gold, a drunkard and luxurious profligate.*

Henceforward Raymond le Gross acquires little attention in Anglo-Irish History. In my notes on Inquisition (22), Jac. 1, I have already stated that the precise year of his death is unknown, and also that Archdall's mention of his burial in the Abbey of Molana on the Black Water is made doubtful by the following entry in the archives of Thomas's Abbey, Dublin:—"Reimond Fitz-William and his wife, Basilia, daughter of Earl Gilbert, directed their bodies to be buried in this abbey, and granted to them the Churches of St. Mary and St. David, and all the tithes of their Lordships of Fothard (Fethard, Co. Wexford), and also a carucate of land, a mill, and fishery therein excepted." Raymond was one of the chief supports of English power in Ireland, indeed, Oam'brensis styles him "the notable and chiefest pillar thereof."

In the Carew MSS. (Book of Howth) p. 48, he is thus noticed:—"When he (Earl Strongbow) heard the King's pleasure, he prepared him against the summer, and in the beginning of May he sent before him into Ireland a knight, that was Raymond le Grace, with ten knights and forty squires, and four score bowmen, a man full hardy and stalworth and well proved in fight." He got with his wife, Basilia, the Baroness of Idrone in Carlow, and Fethard and Glascarrig in the County Wexford. He erected the strong Castle of Enniscorthy beside the Sianey, which at a later period, Cromwell besieged and battered down.

Raymond le Gros left by his wife Basilia de Clare, three sons, viz.,

- (1) William FitzRaymond, senior; (2) William FitzRaymond, junior;
- (3) Maurice FitzRaymond, who became the founder of the FitzMaurice

family of Munster. The district which was allotted to Maurice, his father, was situate in the County Kerry, with Lixnaw for its centre, and was then reckoned part of the Kingdom of Cork. It was obtained not by conquest, but as a gift, in this way. After Raymond le Gros had defeated Donnell O'Brien at Cashel, and established himself in Limerick, as already mentioned, Dermot McCarthy, King of Cork, requested his aid, with fair promises, to chastise his son Cormack, who had treated him with unfilial severity, and had cast him into prison. Raymond complied, and having marched against the rebellious Cormack, he delivered him a prisoner to his father, who confined him, and soon after beheaded him. Thus freed from the unnatural disturbance of his son and restored once more to his throne, he fulfilled his promise to his deliverer and granted to Raymond le Gros, the above district of Kerry, which the latter fixed on his youngest son Maurice, ancestor of the FitzMaurices, Lords of Kerry. Thomas, 21st Lord Kerry was created by George the First, Viscount OlanMaurice, and Earl of Kerry, and on the death of Francis Thomas, 3rd Earl without issue, early in the present century, his title devolved on the Marquis of Lansdowne.

It is right to remark that some writers maintain on the authority of *Cambrensis* that Raymond left no issue by his wife Basilia, but had a natural son, Maurice FitzRaymond. Others again at variance with Sheffield Grace, affirm that the issue of their marriage was Maurice, his heir, and Hamon le Gros, from whom sprung the Courtstown family. That there was a Hamon Grace holding lands in the vicinity of Wexford, there can be no doubt, for Hollingshed mentions that:—In 1304 Sir Gilbert Sutton Steward, of Wexford, was slain by the Irish near to the farm of Heimond de Grace; which Heimond bore himself right valiantly in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped; but afterwards in 1315, was killed valiantly fighting against Edward Bruce and the Scots who had invaded Ireland, and were over-running the province of Leinster." (Lodge's Peerage, vol. 11, p. 185, Archdall).

In the Carew MSS. Book of Howth, p. 133, there is notice of this Hamon Grace as follows:—"By reason of which contention (a division in the camp of Lord Edmond Butler), there was a noble and faithful subject to the Prince and his realm slain, whose names were Hamon le Grace, Esquire, and William Prendercasse, who then fought with the Scots." This Hamon could not have been the son of Raymond le Gros, because as Raymond married in 1174, his son, if possibly living, would have been too advanced for "valiant" fighting in the wars of the 14th century, and especially in the one with Bruce at Ardscoil, some distance from Athy, where Hammon was slain. It appears to me that Sheffield Grace, is nearer the truth in making William le Gros, first baron of Courtstown, a son of Raymond le Gros, than those who would have him son of Hamond, son of Raymond. Raymond married in 1174, and William le Gros was Governor of Leinster in 1197 and 1202. He built Grace's Castle, now the County and City Courts in Kilkenny, about 1202, and erected Courtstown Castle, of Tullaroan, about the same period. He died in 1219, and if he was not the son of Raymond le Gros, but of Hamon, son of Raymond, he would have been of too boyish

an age to be Governor of Leinster or a builder of castles during the forementioned periods. Who then was the Hamond Grace, of Wexford? If there was a Hamond there previous to him who fell at Ardscoil in 1315, he may have been an illegitimate son of Raymond, if not, the latter must have sprung from the Courtstown family, or was an importation from the old Welsh settlement. Raymond le Gros received from Strongbow on the occasion of his marriage with Basilia de Clare the extensive tract of country denominated "cantred of Grace's country." "This vast tract of land, originally comprehending it is said the three contiguous baronies of Cranagh, Galmoy, and Shillelogher, extending northwards by the liberties of Kilkenny, and the river Nore to the borders of the Queen's County, and thence southwards by the borders of the Munster river to the liberties of Callan, forming a district between eleven and twelve miles in length, and between six and seven in breadth."

The original surface of Grace's country was consequently about eighty thousand Irish acres, and a considerable portion of it still continues to commemorate its former lords, not only in its general, but in its particular denominations. Thus we have laid down on the county surveys a *Ballyroe-Grace*, a *Brittasmore-Grace*, a *Kilagh-y-Grace*, and a *Rathealy-Grace*, in Tullaroan or Grace's Parish; a *Ballyfrank-Grace* and a *Knocken-Grace*, in Ballycallan; a *Coolestil-Grace* and a *Knock-Grace*, in Three Castles; a *Grace-Graigue* and a *Bally-sheam-Grace*, in Olomanto; a *Rathmoyle-Grace* and a *Lough-Grace*, in Ballynamara, etc. But in looking over the denominations of townlands situated in the more limited district of Tullaroan, or Grace's Parish, in which the castle of Courtstown stood, we are at once struck with the prevalence of the Celtic language and the significancy of the terms descriptive either of the feudal consequence of the proprietor or of the character of the place. In fact, the seat of an ancient baron represented all the features of a royal court, though of course upon a smaller scale. Thus in the instance of Grace's parish, there is a townland of the physician (*Lisnaliagh*), of the Huntsman (*Ballyfiaguidhe*), of the tailor (*Toiltailleur*), and, in short, of every necessary dependent. The hawker and his portion (*Ballysealgran*), allotted in another part of the cantred; but swineherd (*Knocknamuck*), a somewhat more useful, though less magnificent adjunct, was nearer the castle.

The extent of scenery of "Grace's country," with its numerous glades and vales, fringed with the sylvan shades of woods and groves, and intersected by a thousand rivulets, have been commemorated in an Irish ballad, commencing, "A Tir na Grausa," an English rendering of which, though feebler, I hereby append:—

I

Country of Grace! by Heaven divinely plann'd,
Well till'd and peopled is thy fertile land,
From narrow Nore's bright stream, extended wide,
By smooth Momonia's gay and flowery side,
Thence (widening far where Munster river flows),
To famed Kilkenny, powerful o'er its foes.

II.

Thy fields are spacious and the meadows green,
 And snow-white lambkins gambol o'er the scene ;
 Thy groves, delightful, decorate each glade,
 And, widely spreading, form a grateful shade ;
 While wavy Autumn gilds the fruitful soil
 To recompense the hind's industrious toil.

III.

Through golden vales thy crystal rivulets flow,
 There silvery fishes leap and sport below,
 With hounds and horn chased o'er the mountain's height
 Thy native roebuck flies from morn till night,
 And fox and hare, the nimblest of their race,
 Are hunted down and wearied in the chase.

IV.

Country of Grace ! by Heaven divinely plann'd,
 A cloudless sun illumines thy smiling land ;
 Each good is thine that Nature can bestow,
 And every other bliss enjoy'd below,
 But, ah ! what woes these iron times impart—
 Woes that must sadden every feeling heart.

V.

Ill-fated land ! thy joyous days are o'er,
 Thy good, thy generous chieftians are no more,
 Whose mighty arm pour'd vengeance on the foe ;
 Who laid the invader in the battle low ;
 Whose hardy valour ne'er was known to yield,
 But triumph'd ever, in the ensanguin'd field.

VI.

Whose castle towers in feudal splendour rise,
 Whose sacred abbeys glisten to the skies,
 Who rear'd the fort and rear'd the palace halls,
 Where festal merriment oft rung the walls,
 Where mantling wine in golden cups went round,
 And Erin's harp pour'd forth its silver sound.

VIII.

Where ceas'd the dance, the tuneful harper done,
 A minstrel sung the praise by Raymond won—
 Illustrious Raymond ! author of that race
 Which settling here first, took the name of Grace,
 When to Ierne's shores the warrior came,
 And crown'd his followers with immortal fame.—*Grace's Memoirs*

The family of Grace was one of the most powerful and respectable, closely connected with, and attached to, William Earl Marshall, who by his marriage with Isabella, Strongbow's daughter, and sole heiress, succeeded to her father's broad possessions in Leinster. Strongbow's acquisitions, excepting the maritime towns, were given him in perpetuity by King Henry the Second, and these same were confirmed by King

John to Earl Marshall. Raymond le Gros having married Basilia de Olare, Strongbow's sister, as before mentioned, there was accordingly a close family alliance between the Marshalls and Graces, and hence we find William and Haman Grace as subscribed witnesses to a charter of the earl to St. John's, Kilkenny, and also attesting with Amnar Grace, his charter to the city. Besides the larger possessions confirmed by Earl Marshall to the Grace family within his principality of Leinster, which contained, it is said, 2,792,450 Irish acres, he also bestowed on them large tracts in Suffolk, where the descendants of Anselm Grace branched into the adjoining counties and acquired considerable importance.

In 1302 King Edward the First directed his writ to Geoffry de Geynvill requiring him and John Wogan, Lord Justice of Ireland to convene a Parliament and treat with Richard, Earl of Ulster, and the other Irish nobility and magnates to aid him in his wars against the Scots. Amongst the Barons summoned who held in capite by knight's service were Anselm de Gras, David de Gras, and Edmund de Gras. William le Gras, above mentioned as witness to the charter of St. John's, Kilkenny, was second Baron of Courtstown. He married Isabel Carew, and left two sons, Edmund, his heir and successor, and, 2nd, Richard, who was keeper of the great seal of England and Lord Abbot of Evesham, where he died in 1252.

Edward, third Baron of Courtstown, is said to have founded Rosbercon Monastery in conjunction with the Walshes of Castle Hoell, for Friars Preachers, and dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. He left by his wife, Sibia Fitzpatrick, daughter of Mac-Giolla Patrick, of Upper Ossory, William, who succeeded him, and Oliver, who possessed lands in the County Dublin. William, fourth baron, is said to have built the old church of Tullaroan, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

The ruins of this church are still in fair preservation, and indicate the period of its erection as of the thirteenth century. He was Governor of Carlow and Sheriff of Tipperary in 1279, and is named as the founder of Castle Grace, near Tullow. He married Mary, daughter of Donnell Oge Kavanagh, son of Donnell, son (illegitimate) of Dermott MacMurrough, King of Leinster. He left a son and successor, Edmund, fifth baron, above mentioned, as having been summoned to assist the king in the wars against the Scots, with horses, men and arms, according to his tenure. He married Elena, sister of John Bermingham, who commanded the English forces in the ever-memorable battle of Faughard, near Dundalk, in which he defeated Edward Bruce, and carried or sent his head to King Edward II., which ghastly, more than chivalrous trophy, obtained for him the Earldom of Louth (1318). He left two sons and one daughter, viz., William and John, who was made a Knight of the Bath in London in 1326. Sibil, who married Maurice Fitz-Thomas, first Knight of Kerry.

William, sixth baron, married Catherine, daughter of Sir David Roche, knight, ancestor of the Lord Fermoy family Co. Cork. He left a son William, and a daughter Johanna, who married Walter Wall of Coolnemuckey, County Waterford.

William, seventh baron, was Justice of the Peace for the County Kilkenny in 1355, and sheriff thereof in 1357.

Olynn mentions some facts regarding the Grace family previous to this date. In 1327, he says Grace's Castle was destroyed by fire lasting eight days, with all the territory around. A violent feud had occurred at this time between the Geraldines and Lord Arnold Poer, which involved the entire country in excitement and alarmed the Crown. Maurice FitzThomas, afterwards Earl of Desmond, assisted by the Berminghams, burned the town of Kells and almost the entire barony. The sept of the O'Brennans, seeing the "rogues" at dagger's end, thought it a favourable opportunity to get an honest man's share, and so fell upon Simon Purcell, Sub-sheriff of Kilkenny, and slew him with a score others.

Who it was that burned Grace's Castle and their territory, Olynn does not mention; but it seems not improbable that the owners had mixed themselves up in the quarrels of the Poers and the Geraldines, and met with vengeance from the offended party.

In 1345.—Olynn also mentions that the Irish of Slebanie (Slievebloom), on the feast of the Innocents, burned Bordgwyl (Bordwell), and slew Robert le Gras and other English. 1346, Nicholas le Gras was slain. William le Gras, seventh Baron, married Honora, daughter of David Barry (Viscount Buttevant), County Cork, and left a son, John, eighth Baron who received a commission in 1382 to inquire into sedition in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Tipperary, and Kerry. He was murdered by the Fitzpatricks. He left by his wife Alice, daughter of John le Poer, Baron of Donhill, County Waterford, one son, Almaric le Gras, the ninth Baron of Courtstown. He is the first of his house who obtained a royal licence to marry an Irish lady contrary to the famous or rather the infamous Statute of Kilkenny, passed in the 40th year of the reign of King Edward the III. (1367). That statute is so often quoted by public speakers and writers as the most oppressive and odious of English enactments against the Irish that it may be useful here by way of digress to give Sir John Davies' succinct account of its origin or causes and its intents. Lionel, third son of King Edward the III., was from 1361 to 1364 Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. On his return to England in the latter year he was made Duke of Clarence, and in the following year was again Lord Lieutenant.

In 1367 he undertook to reform the degenerate Irish, and make them more obedient to, and observant of, English laws and customs. "To that end," says Davies, "in the forth yeare of King Edward the III. he held that famous Parliament at Kilkenny wherein many notable laws were enacted, which doe show and lay open how much the English colonies were corrupted at that time and doe infallibly provee that which is laid down before: That they were wholly degenerate and faine away from their obedience. For first it appeareth by the preamble of these lawes that the English of this realme before the coming over of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, were at that time becom meere Irish in their language, names, apparel, and all their manner of living, and had rejected the English lawes, and submitted themselves to the Irish, with

whom they had many marriages and alliances, which tended to the utter ruine and destruction of the Commonwealth. Therefore, alliance by marriage, nurture of infants and gossipryd with the Irish are by this statute made high treason. Againe, if any man of English race should use any Irish name, Irish language, or Irish apparel, or any other guise or fashion of the Irish ; if he had lands or tenements the same should be seized till he had given security to the Chancery to conform himself in all points to the English manner of living. And if he had no lands, his bodie was to be taken and imprisoned till he found sureties as aforesaid. Againe, it was established and commanded that the English in all their controversies should bee ruled and governed by the common law of England ; and if any did submit himself to the *Brehon* law (which the Statute calls a wicked and damnable law), or *March* law he should be adjudged a *Traytor*."

Almaric le Gras having obtained royal exemption from the provisions of the "Statute of Kilkenny" married Tibina, daughter of O'Meaher, the head of his sept in territory of Ikerrin, Co. Tipperary. He was interred in the Priory of St. John's, Kilkenny, of which he had been a benefactor. The effigy on the table of his tomb is encased in the armour of the period. A hood is drawn over the head. The face is uncovered, the hands joined in the attitude of prayer, and the feet resting on a dog. The following is the inscription :—

"Hic requiescunt dominus Almaricus Gras baro et Tibina O'Meagher uxor ejus qui."

He left a son and successor, John Gras, 10th Baron of Courtstown, and a daughter Katherine Gras, who married Thomas Fitzmaurice Purcell, of Ballyfoyle and Ologhrinka, in 1400 or thereabouts.

John, tenth baron, was *Custos Pacis* for Kilkenny in 1410, and left by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Wall, of Coolnemucky Castle, County Waterford, a son, Anselem, and a daughter, Ellenor, who was married to Henry Forristall, County Kilkenny.

Anselem, the eleventh baron, was surnamed *Gadulennic* or the *long awarded*, and according to Sheffield Grace, was appointed Sheriff of Kilkenny, in 1421, and attended the Parliament held at Naas by James, Earl of Ormonde, 1441. He married Alice, daughter of Sir James Lateragh, County Tipperary, and left a son and heir, Oliver, 12th baron, surnamed *Feasog*, or the *bearded*. He was devoted to Lancastrian interest during the wars of the "Roses ;" was *Custos Pacis* of Kilkenny in 1470. He was drowned in the Nore, near Inchmore Castle, and left by his wife, Ellen, daughter of Anthony O'Moore, who was dynast of Leix, two sons, John, his heir, and Oliver, who was Lord Abbot of Jerpoint.

John Gras, thirteenth baron, was surnamed *Crois-iaran*, or the iron-belted. He joined the Earl of Ormonde in suppressing the rebellion of Silken Thomas. The latter having failed to induce the Earl's son, James, to join his standard, he with O'Neill, Sir Richard Walsh, and other allies, entered the territory of Ormonde, laying waste the country as far as Thomastown.

Ormonde had concentrated his forces at Jerpoint, but was unable to

withstand the impetuous advance of the young Geraldine. James Butler, son of the earl, was conveyed back to Dunmore, badly wounded. Whether John Grace, who was the adherent of Ormonde's, fell in the engagement I cannot say, nor have I seen any account of his burial place.

It is probable he was buried in Tullaroan Church, as an old tombstone, with floriated cross in relief, records the date of his wife's death as follows :—

Er dus de Coraghmor que obii nativitatís ble. Maria, A.D. MCCCCCXIII.

As Baron Grace was married to Katherine, daughter of Pierce, Lord Poer of Curraghmore, County Waterford, it is clear the above inscription refers to her, and filled up would read :—

“And for the soul of his wife, Katherine, daughter of (Po-) er. lord of Caragmor, who died on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, A.D. 1514.”

He left by his wife, two sons, viz., John, who succeeded him, and second, Oliver, who was knighted, and having settled at Ballylinch, near Thomastown, became the founder of that branch, which has been already noticed under Inquisition 22, Jac. 1, p. 242.

John, fourteenth baron, was called the *Great Baron*. He is mentioned by Sheffield Grace, as having been elected M.P. for the county of Kilkenny on the 17th January, 1568, in which year he states he died. He is, however, incorrect, as his monument in St. Canice gives 1552 for the date of his death. The monument is described by the late Rev. J. Graves, in his “Antiquities of St. Canice,” as a table one “supported at the side by slabs, each carved into six niches, enriched with figures of the Apostles, the spandrills filled with foliage; at the head is sculptured the crucifixion, and at the foot a *lion rampant* for Grace. The effigy has a shirt or hauberk of ringed mail furnished with sleeves, over which plated mail shows to the thighs with sword fastened by a belt and resting in scabbard with point downwards under his left side. The inscription is as follows :—

“Hic jacent Johes Gras Miles baro de Courtistown et Onorina, brenach ux ei Ad. Dn. MCCCCCLII. VIII. die mens.”

“Here lie John Grace, knight and baron of Courtstown, and Honora Brenach (Walsh), his wife, A.D., 1552, on the 8th day of the month.”

Mason, in his “Parochial Survey,” vol. 3, p. 557, has the following notice of him :—“If Baron John Grace Fitzjohn of Courtstown, acquired the reputation of piety by founding Grace's Chapel at Tullaroan (1543), so did he merit that of a splendid and martial spirit by greatly enlarging and strengthening the castle of Courtstown (al. Tullaroan), characterised by tradition as being then the noblest residence in this part of the country, and exceeded only by the Earl of Ormonde's castle at Kilkenny. The hospitality, likewise, even lavish and certainly habitual, then practised may easily make us believe the prevailing tradition that Queen Elizabeth's Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and a numerous retinue were magnificently entertained for several

weeks together at this castle The great power and intrepid exploits of an Grasagh More Ballynacourty (the great Grace of Courtstown), the common appellation by which he was known, are to this day spoken of in the parish, and the establishment he is said to have made of an English colony for the purpose of more widely diffusing their language, industry and civilization among his followers and dependents receives some confirmation not only from the many English names that still remain among the peasantry, but from the townland of Brittas-more-an-Grassagh (Great Brittas Grace), having 'New England' for one of its sub-denominations."

He is also said to have been the founder of Tubrid castle, but this tradition is erroneous, as Tubrid was built by the Shortalls, who were the original proprietors. Grace's chapel attached to Tullaroan church was built by him, as appears from the inscription over the doorway:—

"Orate pro anima baronis Gras Johannis filli olim qui me fieri fecit et pro anima Onorine brenach uxoris ejus ano Dini. MCCOCLXIII."

"Pray for the soul of Baron Fitzjohn Grace, who lately had me erected, and for the soul of Honora Brenach, his wife. A.D., 1543.

He left by his wife aforesaid, seventeen sons and five daughters, according to Sheffield Grace (Mem. Grace Family, p. 3, Pedigree). The Betham MSS., Ulster Office, Dublin Castle, do not, however, assign him more than Oliver, his heir, surnamed *Sacsach*, or Englishman, whose name appears as one of the witnesses of a complaint made by Sir Edmund Butler, of Ologrennan, before the Earl of Ormonde, at Kilkenny, "of cruel and ill-usages of my Lord Deputy and Sir Peter Carew, who (as he said) were not only contented to spoil him of all his land and living, without any order of law, but also did what they could to bereave him of his life, and proclaimed him traitor to the Queen's Majesty, which grieved him most of all, &c.," It was the treatment here complained of that drove Sir Edmond to join the FitzMaurice insurrection in Munster for which he suffered a temporary imprisonment after his submission to the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sydney. In the Carew MSS., at 1570, there is a list of the "names of all the gentlemen inhabiting the comit (county) of Kilkenny, with their lands valued by estimation."

In the Manor of Kilkenny we have as follows:—The Viscount Mountgarrett, £100; Gerald Archdeken, £30; Richard Archdeken and his kinsmen, £30; Oliver Sartall (Shortall), £80; The Bishop's lands, 100 marks; John Smythe, £20; Richard Grace and Onselle Grace, £10; Piers Sartall, £6; John Olynton, £10; William Bourdes, £4; John Richforde, £20; Lawn, £20; Richard Shete (Shee), £20; David Rothe, £10; Walter Archer, £6; Edmonde Shete, £6; Piers Barons, £6; Piers Ragged, £5; Robert Senleyer, £13; Oliver Grace and his kinsmen, £120; James FitzRichard Butler, £13 13s. 4d. Total, £596 16s. 8d. By comparing the above estimated values we find that Oliver Grace had more property by one-fifth than Viscount Mountgarret. He was appointed Governor of the Barony of Oranagh in 1575, and dying about 1580, was interred in St. Canice's. He left by his wife, daughter

of Sir Henry Davells, Killisheen, Queen's County, a son and heir, John of whom presently. The Betham MSS. set down six others as sons of his, but I am inclined to think they were his brothers, at least some of them. Their names are (1), Piers, (2), Richard, (3), Walter, (4), Patrick, (5), Philip, and (6), James.

I find in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, p. 364, Art. 3—"Pardon to Peter Grace FitzJohn Kerin, indicted as one of the band who attacked John FitzGerald, *alias* Baron of Burnechurche, a Justice of the Peace for the County Kilkenny in the sixth year of Edward VI. (1553), at Maillardeston (Mallardstown, near Callan), when the said John was murdered by Edmund Moor (More) O'Clery." "Also to said Peter and William Grace FitzJohn Kern, for having with others, in the first year of the Queen (Mary), at Dengenmore, County Kilkenny, burned five houses and four stacks of corn value £100, belonging to the divers faithful subjects.

Those names assigned by the Betham MSS. as sons of Robert FitzJohn may therefore have been his brothers, and of the 17 sons which Sheffield Grace mentions as the issue of John Grace, the *great* Baron, and his wife, Honora Walsh. Oliver, the eldest, was as stated, called the Englishman (Sacsnach), for what reason I cannot say unless it be that he had been educated in England, or that his civil deportment was unlike that of his younger brothers who loved better the native Irish customs, and the reckless chivalry of their fights and forays. John FitzOliver, 16th Baron, is the person named in the above Inquisition. There is nothing remarkable recorded of him except that he multiplied the festive gatherings of his ancestral castle to such a pitch that he was called the "generous." He was married to Lettice, daughter of Sir Richard Shee, of Bonnetstown, founder of Jesus' Hospital, Rose-Inn-street, Kilkenny. He died on the 27th March, 1602, and was interred in St. Canice's. He left by his wife Lettice, six sons—(1) Robert, his heir, (2) Richard, (3) Redmond, (4) Oliver, (5) Gerald, (6) John.

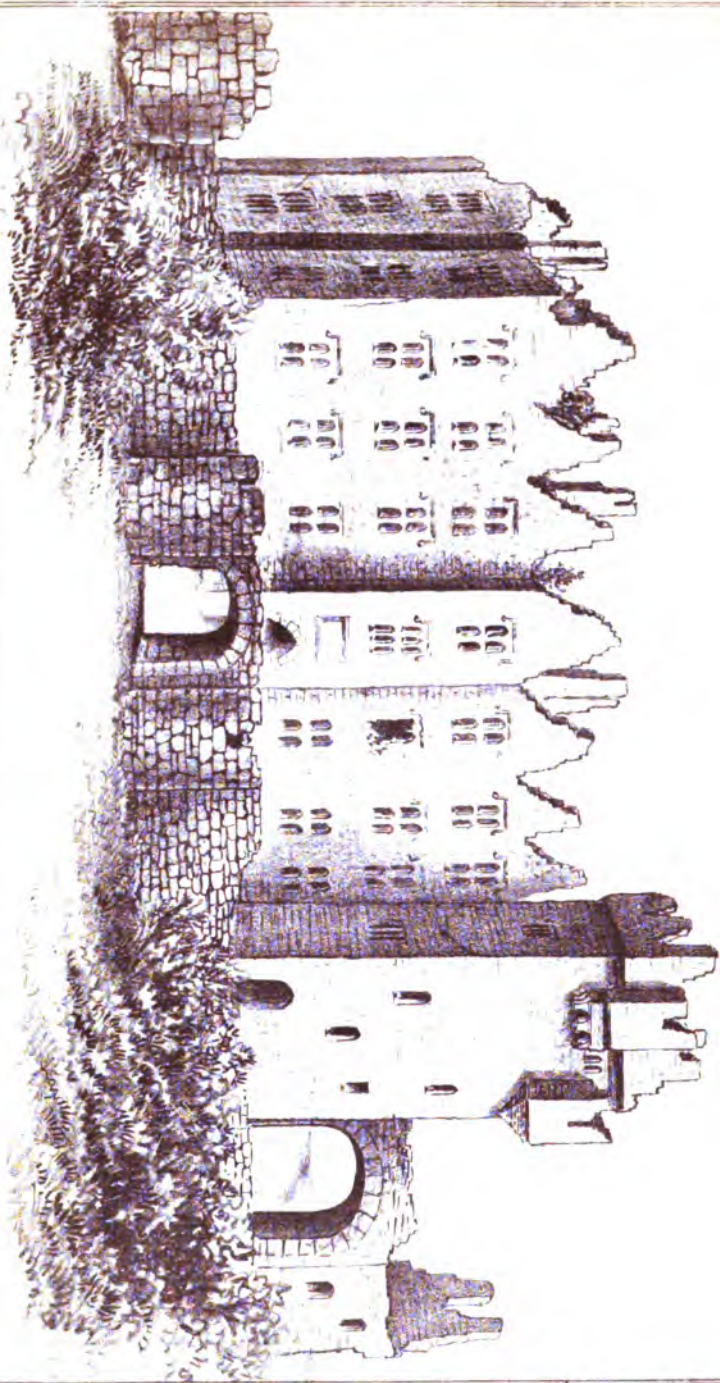
Robert, surnamed *beulblinneach* (orator or sweet-tongued), 17th Baron, was 22 years of age at the time of his father's death, and was accordingly born in 1580-1. He was M.P. for Kilkenny County. in the Parliament of James, which met at Dublin, on the 18th May, 1613. It was a Packed Parliament, designed by Orchester, to overawe the Catholic element and influence. New Boroughs were created for the purpose, and of 232 members returned the "Court" or Protestant party assembled to the number of 125 against 101 "recusants" or Catholic party, whilst 6 were declared absent. The "Recusants" fearing a design to overwhelm them with new grievances stigmatised the numerical strength of the court party as factious and illegal with the result that Parliament was prorogued after a severe tussle on both sides for possession of the speaker's chair.

A deputation of the Catholic party was next appointed to wait on the king with a memorial of their grievances, and the document bears the signature of Robert Grace, and Lucas Shee, M.P.'s for the county, and of Patrick Archer, and Nicholas Langton, the city members. The

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INCHMORE CASTLE IN 18TH CENTURY, CO. KILKENNY.

Royal despot received them insultingly and imprisoned Talbot and Luttrell, two of the delegates. The Parliament was dissolved on the 24th October, 1615, and during its two years of existence seems to have enjoyed one of those calms which succeed angry storms.

Robert Grace was elected a second time M.P. for the county in 1634. He died about 1640, and was interred in St. Canice's. He left by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Patrick Condon, Co. Cork, five sons, (1) Oliver, his heir; (2) John, (3) Patrick, (4) Richard, (5) Luke.

Oliver FitzRobert was, during the life-time of his father, who survived him, settled at Inchmore, near Lismaine; beside the river Nore. The fine old Castle of Inchmore no longer exists, but a portion of a high wall either of the garden or bawn may still be seen. He was surnamed the *Poet*-(file). He died the 6th July, 1637, and was interred in St. Canice. He left by his wife, Joan, daughter of Cyprian Horsfall, *Knight*, Inisnag Castle, County Kilkenny, four sons and two daughters, viz.—(1) John; (2) Redmond; (3) Cyprian; (4) Robert; (1) Margaret; (2) Ellen. His younger brother, Richard FitzRobert, is famed in history for his devotion to the ill fated Charles the First, and still more for the heroism he displayed in his more advanced years in the defence of Athlone where he fell. Recommended to the special notice of his Majesty by Ormonde, he landed with the Irish force at Mostyn, in North Wales, in September, 1645, and from thence to the flight of the King from Oxford, on the 26th April, 1646, he faithfully adhered to his Royal Master, and shared the perils of his wavering fortunes.

When the King had thrown himself into the hands of the Scots Colonel Grace returned to Ireland, where his reputation and family influence collected to his standard an army of from 3,000 to 5,000 men.

In one of the despatches of the Council office, dated 23rd September, 1651, we are informed that Charles Reynolds and his regiment had pursued Lord Dungan's and Colonel Grace's parties from the Shannon to Glamaliere, and thence through Wicklow. That Grace who had entrenched himself near Tecrohan had carried off the cattle and burned the corn in that quarter, with imminent danger of his "doeing more mischief" and of taking the garrison of Tecrohan, "which is a very considerable place, and if taken will be of much advantage to the enemy."

He defended a pass near Galway with 3,000 men, but was dislodged by the superior forces of Colonel Ingoldshy. In this sanguinary engagement he lost two colonels, seven captains, and 800 soldiers, he himself having escaped across the Shannon. The Parliament and Cromwell offered £300 for his head, and although again defeated by Colonel Sankey, he was considered formidable enough to receive honourable terms, whereby he was allowed to embark for the Continent with 1,200 men, money and other necessities for the voyage to be supplied him. He was the last notable person who held out for the Royal cause against the Republican power in Ireland, and when all hope for his king and country vanished in the reduction of the most important

strongholds, such as Limerick, Ross (Killarney), and Galway, he accepted the terms of his capitulation, and embarked with his little army to signalize themselves still more in the Spanish service.

The Spaniards seem to have used them ill, and Colonel Grace, notwithstanding, kept faith with them and sustained his reputation to the close of the campaign.

Finding himself in charge of an important castle on the frontier of Catalonia, with half his little army lost, he resolved to leave the Spaniards and go over to the French, where he had heard of the favourable reception of his exiled King, Charles II. But in leaving them he would leave them honourably, albeit his bad treatment. He accordingly notified to D'Hocquincourt, the marshal of the French army in Catalonia, that on a certain day he would march off his men on the following conditions:—

1st. That his regiment obtain the same position as the other Irish regiments then in the French service.

2nd. That they should be permitted to serve their king whenever his affairs required them.

The French Marshal was willing to accept those conditions provided Colonel Grace would deliver the castle to him.

Betray his trust! "Never." He gave notice to the Spanish garrison of his intention, and requested that 200 men be sent to take possession of it as soon as he had marched out of it. The Spaniards complied, and as soon as they were permitted to enter the front gate Colonel Grace and his men passed through the opposite, and, with some French horse awaiting, rode on in safety to their garrison.

When Marshal Turenne led his army, composed of English and French to the siege of Dunkirk, Colonel Grace got the command of an English battalion belonging to the Duke of York, afterwards King James II., who, with the Prince of Conde, had gone over to the Spaniards from their discontent with the French Court.

In the battle of Dunes, which followed, Colonel Grace is said to have greatly distinguished himself, and the complete victory gained by Turenne over Don Juan and the Spaniards led to the capitulation of Dunkirk, followed by a peace advantageous to the interests of France (1658). On the Restoration, in 1660, he accompanied the Royal Family into England. His Majesty favoured him with a pension of £100, and in the Act of Settlement names him "to be presently restored" to his estates on account of his "faithful services at home and abroad."

In addition to his castle of Moyelly, and lands in the King's County, he got a grant of the reversion of the castle, town, and lands of Ballyna, Cadamstown, Clough, Martinstown, Thomastown, Morrestown, Nurney, Kilincrebagh and Ballynet, being in the Crown, in "consideration of his faithful indefatigable services in the late wars both in England and Ireland, and his faithful and constant adherence and important services beyond the seas during the usurpation until the king's restoration."

He had been from the beginning of his military career the personal friend of Ormonde, whose party on that account easily secured his adherence in their hostility to the Confederates. In a letter of the Duke's

to the Earl of Essex in 1673, he assures his Excellency that as Colonel Grace "had no part of the rebellion of his countrymen, so he served the late king in the English war with much fidelity and ability, and our present Master abroad very usefully."

King James II. in 1685 rewarded him with a further pension of £300 a year, in consideration of his services, losses, and the inadequate recompense he had received. In the Jacobite wars he displayed the same enthusiasm and military ardour for the royal cause as characterised his attachment from early manhood to the vicissitudes of the House of Stuart. He was made Governor of Athlone, one of the most important Jacobite posts in Ireland at the time.

After the battle of the Boyne, William directed his course towards Limerick, whither the greater number of Jacobites had hastened. He at the same time ordered Lieutenant-General James Douglas to lay siege to Athlone, thus dividing his force into two parts or sections, operating simultaneously against the two strongest posts at the extreme ends of the Jacobite line on the Shannon. On the 9th of July Douglas moved onward with three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and ten of infantry. He allowed his army to plunder the peasantry in their route, who fled to their mountain fastnesses with what cattle, provisions, and goods they could carry with them. "Nor was their propensity for plunder exercised on the Jacobites alone; for even the very Williamites in the neighbourhood, who were living in security because they had James's protection there upon the rude banks of the Shannon, were in turn victimized by the ruthless barbarians of an army formed of the supporters of that cause to which they were devoted; so friends and foes were created alike by men who had all the vices without any of the virtues of party."

The conduct of Douglas on this occasion is in striking contrast with that of Colonel Grace, who so enforced the protection given by King James to the Williamites of the neighbourhood that he executed ten of his soldiers for violating it. Athlone was built on both sides of the Shannon, with a strong castle on the Connaught side. The walls of this Colonel Grace lined with earthwork, threw up breastworks by the river, burned that portion of the town on the Meath side, partially destroyed the bridge, and, with mounted ordnance, sternly awaited the arrival of the Williamite soldiery.

The forces under him are estimated by Storey, as three regiments of foot, nine troops of dragoons, and two of horse, while he had a greater supply of cannon than Douglas. But the reception which Douglas met with was enough to make Storey exaggerate. On the 17th July, Douglas, having completed his entrenchments, summoned Grace to surrender. The latter replied by discharging his pistol, saying, "these are my terms, and when provisions fail, I will defend till I eat my boots."

Thereupon Douglas opened fire on the castle, which was answered from the battlements with telling effect, whilst the heavy earthworks defending the walls rendered harmless the iron rain from the besieger's mortars. Douglas spent a week wasting his powder and provisions

without being able to silence the castle or pick down the blood-red flag which floated from the fortress as an emblem of defiance.

He, moreover, heard that Sarsfield was approaching with a large army to assist the besieged, and to escape annihilation between two fires, he resolved to raise the siege and rejoin William before Limerick. "This was the first check given to the victorious army of the Boyne," says Dr. Cane, "and by it Grace gained time for the Jacobites, preserved Connaught from a Williamite army, and made the Shannon for one year more the boundary between the contending kings and the bulwark beyond which his countrymen were again rallying. By that resolute and successful defence Colonel Grace taught his soldiers to feel that, though often beaten, they could win, and be victors yet. Had he been beaten there Douglas's army would have marched through Connaught on to Limerick, and with their aid William would have taken it at that first and memorable siege, in which its defenders had gathered courage from Grace's spirited defence of Athlone."

The following year, June 1691, Ginkel invested Athlone with 18,000 men, and the heroism displayed by the Irish garrison against such overwhelming numbers was still resolute and unbroken after the town had been reduced to a heap of rubbish by the besiegers, at an expenditure of high 50 tons of powder. The loss of Colonel Grace on this occasion greatly contributed to Ginkel's final success. His body was found amongst the slain after the English had possessed themselves of the Leinster side of the town, and his epitaph as follows is an interesting summary of his history:—

"This inscription is consecrated to Colonel Richard Grace, of Moyelly Castle, in the King's County, a younger son of Robert Grace, Baron of Courtstown, in the County of Kilkenny, a man who reflected on ancient birth the splendour of illustrious character; and who, opening his way by the efficacy of talents and virtues to the confidence of princes approved himself true under every resolution of fortune to the trust which they reposed in him, and magnanimously faithful to the cause which was sanctioned by the decision of his heart. The friend of Strafford and of Ormonde, he conciliated the personal favour of his Sovereign, Charles I., and he fought by the side of that monarch till the surrender of Oxford in 1646, announcing that any further support of his royal master in England was altogether hopeless, he transferred his unconquerable loyalty to Ireland, where the contest was still living and vigorous. On this new scene of action he distinguished himself at the head of very inferior forces against the armies of the Republic, and he gloried in being the last leader of his party who submitted to the irresistible power. The conditions on which he capitulated, bore testimony to his consequence as an adversary and retiring from the war with 1,200 of his faithful followers, he maintained an air of dignity in his defeat. In Spain the country to which he first removed with his attached, he displayed to the eyes of foreigners that chivalrous valour and that high soul of honour which had renowned him in his native land, and he was everywhere acknowledged to be the same Richard Grace, who had struggled so fearlessly against the formidable and fortunate Cromwell, whose sceptre compelled the homage of Europe.

On the restoration of the Monarchy he accompanied the Royal Family to England, as chamberlain to the Duke of York, and when Ireland was again to be steeped in blood by the contest between the King of his fealty, James II., and William, the elected Sovereign of Britain, Colonel Grace, under the impulse of his loyalty, hurried instantly to the conflict, and, replacing the helmet on his hoary head, he discovered all his juvenile ardour in battle, and all that contempt of fortune and of life as light in the balance with duty which he had manifested in the pride of his age.

In this war, as in that against the Republic, his high destiny appointed him to be amongst the last who yielded to the victors, and yielded only with his life. Whilst he survived, Athlone, which had been confided to his government, was impregnable however powerfully assailed. When he felt it was immediately lost, and with it one of the last hopes of sovereignty to James. For *valour* and *fidelity* we must look to the example of Colonel Richard Grace: For *success* and *fortune* to the history of others. But he died gloriously, and the termination of his life consummated its renown. He was buried in Athlone, where he fell on the 20th day of June, in the year 1691, and honour sits enthroned upon his tomb.

John Fitz-Oliver Grace, being a minor on the death of his father, Oliver Grace, of Inchmore, in 1637, his wardship was granted by King Charles the First in that year to Sir Cyprian Horsfall, his maternal grandfather for a fine of £300.

"To this fortunate circumstance," says Mr. Burtchaell, "he owed the preservation of his estates from the general confiscation which befell the landowners of Kilkenny, Sir Cyprian Horsfall also being a Protestant, son of Dr. John Horsfall, Lord Bishop of Ossory."—"Members of Parliament for Kilkenny," p. 67).

On the death of his grandfather, in 1640 he succeeded to the family property, which was seized by the Commonwealth after the execution of King Charles I., and officially surveyed for partition amongst the Cromwellian soldiers. "The spoliation and cruelties inflicted during this unjust and violent intrusion," says Sheffield Grace, "were marked by more than Republican sternness. Every description of property found within the walls of Courtstown Castle, including even pictures and title-deeds, was either plundered or wantonly destroyed. Tradition has also preserved many particulars exhibiting the ruthless spirit of the fanaticism, avarice, and oppression to which the inhabitants of Grace's country were the victims."

Baron Grace seems to have gained the good will of the Protector, who stated in a Public Ordinance of the 30th August, 1654, "that John Grace, of Courtstowne Castel, in the Countie of Kilkenny, in Ireland, Esqr, was in the yeare 1641 (when the late horrid rebellion broke forth) in ward and under age, and in the time of the said rebellion he did relieve diverse of the English, &c."

Many proposals to accept of an indemnity in Connaught had been urged on Grace, but he spurned them alike, and nothing could induce him to relinquish his claims to his patrimony, nor part with the stately

hall of his ancient castle, where the poet and minstrel for upwards of 500 years rehearsed the chivalry of his ancestors, and fired the ambition of each successive baron and his adherents to emulate the past, and in peace and war add new honours to the name. It was this strong attachment to the well-known place of his birth which made Grace so firm in the resolve to regain his baronial domains and return to those early scenes of childhood so replete with glorious history and brimful of pleasant memories, which alone could soften the severity of his fate.

"The parted bosom clings to wonted home." "His high spirit, generosity of character, and singularly prepossessing character," excited, as already stated, "a fortunate and efficient interest" in Cromwell himself, by whom he was restored to his estates, and who, as Ludlow observes, "was not displeased with his manly defence of them."

Accordingly, on the 9th August, 1655, he directed the following letter to his son-in-law, Charles Fleetwood:—

DEARE CHARLESS—The bearer, Mr. Grace, having obtained an ordinance from ourselfe and councill in reference to his compounding for his estates, and being by reason of sickness hindered from going over into Ireland to prosecute the same, the perfecting of his commission hath been retarded; and being now going over thither, hee hath besought me to recommend his case to you, that he may have a speedy and favourable despatch of that business, which I most earnestly desire of you, upon the merits and equity of his case, hee being, I think, the only person that the late lord-deputy did so particularly recommend to favour upon the account of his forwardness and readiness to assist the English forces and interest.

I rest, your loving Ffather,

OLIVER P—— (Protector).

White Hall, August 9, 1655.

Baron Grace had got back possession of most part of his estate in 1656, and Cromwell further befriended him by interfering to lessen the amount of his composition and prolong the time for its payment. On the restoration of Charles the Second, he was confirmed in possession of nearly all his property by the following proviso in the Act of Settlement and Explanation of 1662:—

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the Commissioners for the execution of this Act shall forthwith restore unto John Grace, of Courtstown Castle, Esquire, and Colonel Richard Grace, and their respective heirs, all and singular, the messuages, lands, tenements and hereditaments, except impropriations and appropriate tithes, and except the houses in Kilkenny, which they, or any of them, respectively had held or any other person or persons in trust for them or either of them respectively had held or enjoyed upon the two and twentieth of October, 1641 and from and after such restitution, so made as aforesaid, the said John Grace shall hold and enjoy to him and his heirs, all and singular the lands, tenements and hereditaments, so to be restored anything in

this or the said former act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Sheffield Grace states in his "Memoirs of the Grace Family," that he was, in 1648, a "member of the Supreme Committee of the Confederate Catholics."

This seems to be a mistake. His name is not on the list of the temporal Peers of the General Assembly of 1647, nor was he a member of the Executive of the Supreme Council chosen in 1648. By patent of King Charles II. in 1647 his estate was exempted from Crown and quit rent, and in the same year he was appointed a Justice of Peace for the county. In 1682 an address of the nobility, gentry, and Grand Jury of the County Kilkenny, agreed to be presented to the King, was signed by Baron Grace, his son, Robert, and eight others of the name. In 1686 he was appointed High Sheriff and Deputy Lieutenant of Kilkenny, and was one of its representatives in the Parliament of 1689.

On the revolution he raised a regiment of foot and a troop of horse at his own expense for King James, and further assisted his Royal Highness with money and plate to the amount of about £14,000. In his "Memoir of the Grace Family" Sheffield Grace thus characteristically alludes to the high principles which actuated him on the eve of the revolution:—"Possessing a high character and great local influence, he was early solicited with splendid promises of royal favour to join King William's party; but, yielding to the strong impulse of honourable feelings, he instantly, on perusing the proposal to this effect from one of the Duke of Schomberg's emissaries, seized a card accidentally lying near him, and returned this indignant answer upon it:—

"Go tell your master, I despise his offer; tell him that honour and conscience are dearer to a gentleman than all the wealth and titles a prince can bestow."

This card, which he sent uncovered by the bearer of the rejected offer, happening to be the "six of hearts," is to this day very generally known by the name of "Grace's card" in the City of Kilkenny. He died about 1690, leaving by his wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Walsh, of Castle-Heol, a son and heir, Robert, who succeeded as 19th Baron of Courtstown. (2) Sheffield, who married the widow of 5th Viscount Dillon and died in 1684.

Robert Grace was M.P. for Thomastown in the Parliament of 1689. In 1687 he was appointed sole governor and *custos rotulorum* of the King's County, where he succeeded to extensive property in right of his wife, Frances, sole heiress of Colonel Richard Grace, of Moyelly Castle. He was lieutenant-colonel in his father's regiment of foot. He fought at Aughrim, where he was taken prisoner, and having been included in the articles of Limerick, where he died in 1691, his remains were transferred from thence and buried in Grace's Chapel, Tullaroan.

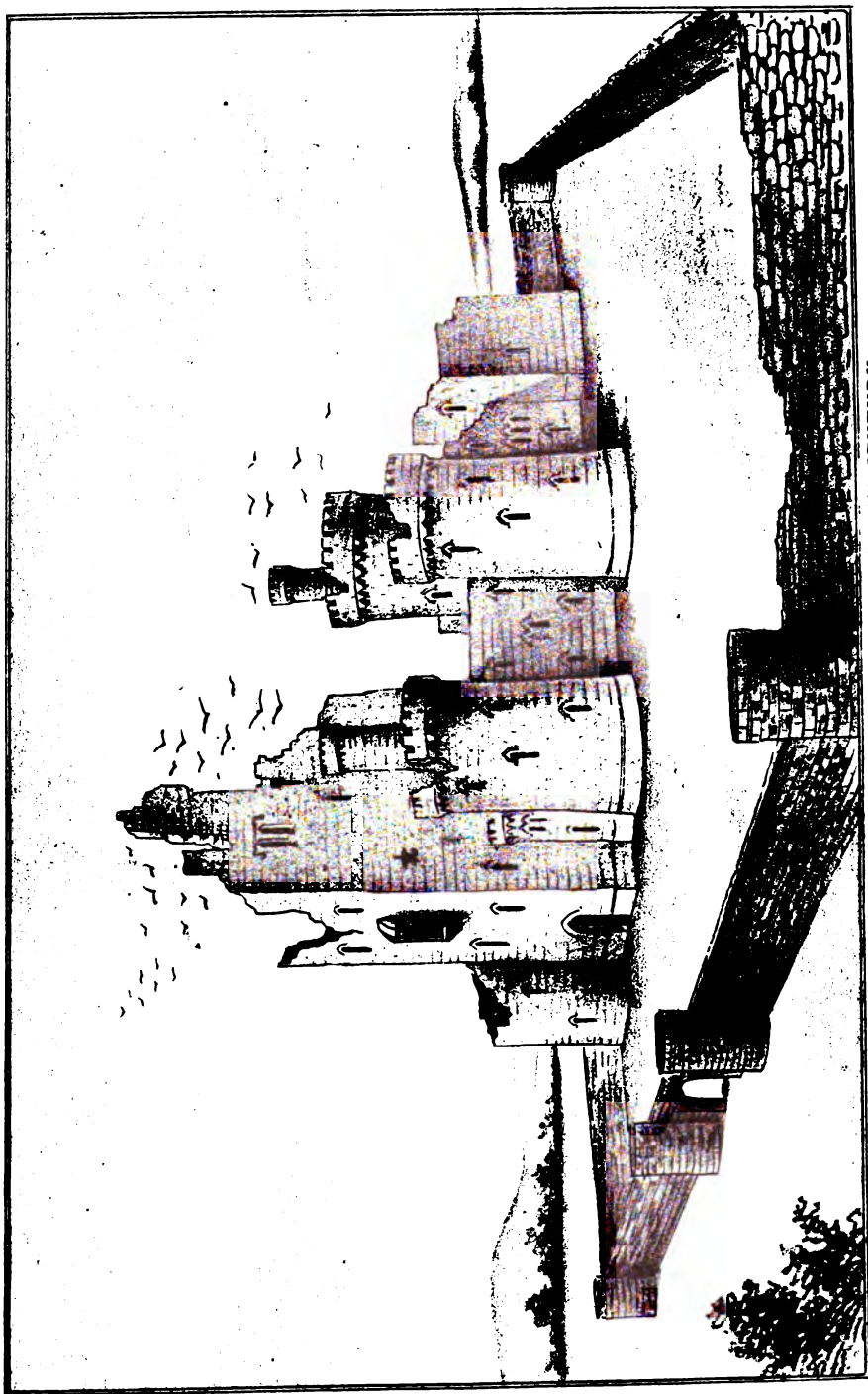
He left by his wife, Frances, two sons—(1) Onver, who survived him only nine days. He was not included in the articles of Limerick, being then a sojourner in the South of France, from ill-health. (2)

John, who succeeded his brother Oliver. In 1701 the Dowager Viscountess Dillon, relict of his uncle, Sheffield Grace, filed a "bill of discovery," and he having thereby been obliged to prove his title before the Court of Claims, the circumstance of his brother's death abroad was discovered, and the estates were accordingly pronounced to have been forfeited as the outlawry of his said brother, Robert had never been reversed, owing to his absence on the surrender of Limerick. An appeal to the House of Lords was the only alternative from a sentence so unjust, and for such purpose John Grace repaired to London to solicit the aid of his kinsman, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, then Lord Privy Seal.

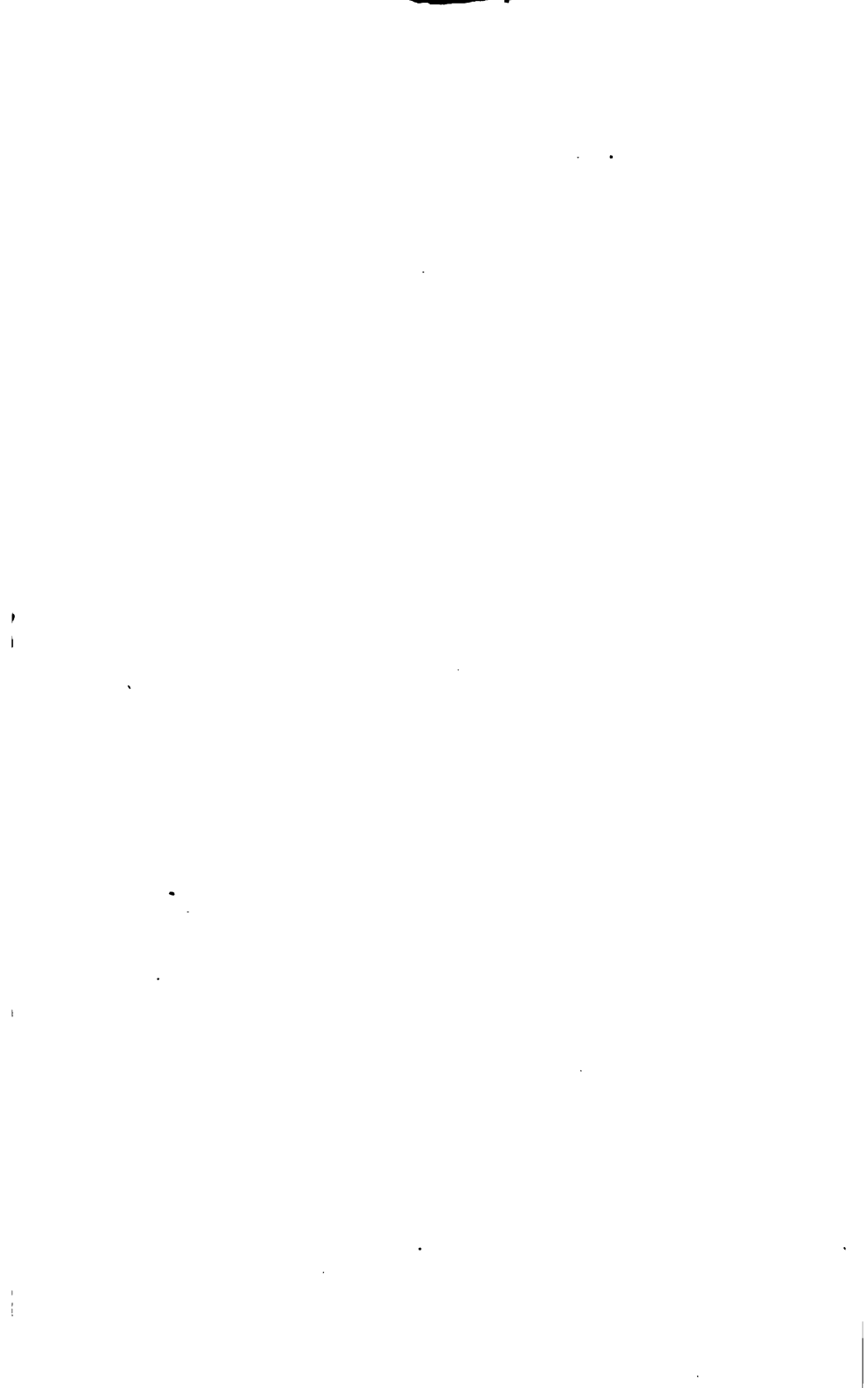
Whilst stopping at Buckingham House a mutual affection sprung up between Grace and one of the Duke's natural daughters, which cost him the influence of Buckingham.

"To this unpardonable breach of hospitality," says Sheffield Grace, "of which he was guilty is clearly to be attributed the final ruin of his family. His estates, consisting of 32,870 acres of land, chiefly in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary (8,170 acres of which, with the castle of Courtstown, were situated in the barony of Cranagh), were thereby irrecoverably lost. The Duke of Buckingham likewise excluded him from the legal contingency of being his heir, to which he was born, and, adopting his natural son, Charles Herbert, he entailed upon him the reversion of most of his great property on the death of his only son, Duke Edmond, and the failure of his issue, at the same time directing him to assume thereon the name of Sheffield. But notwithstanding the domestic quarrel which in the first instance occasioned the appeal cause to be suspended, and ultimately to be abandoned, the restoration of Mr. Grace's estates was still considered so certain that the occupants at four years' purchase appear to have felt their situation as somewhat precarious.

"Under the influence of this new apprehension these new-comers began the work of ruin. The castle of Courtstown was immediately stripped of its leaded roof, which was transported to Clonmel, and there sold; and the want of this protection soon completed the destruction which the more active dilapidation had begun. The woods were felled from off nearly 500 acres, and the trees were floated down with the Nore on their way to Waterford, or were burned for charcoal, a process of which the pits remaining to this day preserve abundant proofs. In the meantime Mr. Grace abandoned himself to the influence of shame, remorse, and despair. Buried in the obscurest retirement, he soon sank into an incurable despondency, and withdrawing himself from all intercourse with even his nearest relations, he shrunk from the efforts of any further personal exertion. His affairs being thus wholly neglected, the estate became irretrievably lost, and he expired a wretched victim of self-reproach for the ruin which his misconduct had entailed upon his family. With the exception, however, of this fatal instance of moral deviation, his conduct through life was more than blameless; it was undoubtedly praiseworthy. For ten years his prudence obtained the negative approbation of a most zealous,



COURTSTOWN CASTLE, CO. KILKENNY, IN 18TH CENTURY.



partial, and hostile Government, and in the civil wars preceding that period he was aid-de-camp to the celebrated General Sarsfield, Earl of Luan, Commander-in-Chief of King James's army, and participated in the many chivalrous exploits that distinguished the romantic valour of that officer. His intrepid and generous spirit amidst scenes of slaughter and cruelty, was not unbecoming the representative of his ancient and honourable house, and in some of the popular poetry of the day the name of Grace is found associated with that of Sarsfield. It thus occurred in a favourite ballad extolling the general's heroic enterprise against King William's great train of besieging artillery which he surprised, captured and blew up with a tremendous explosion at Ballyneedy, in the County of Limerick, on the 12th August, 1690. It is said that on the birth of this Baron of Courtstown's only son, Robert, the bells of eleven churches connected with the estates to which he was supposed to be heir and numerous bonfires testified the popular opinion that then prevailed of his future prosperity. But before he reached his sixteenth year necessity drove him to the exiled court of St. Germaine's, and having entered into the French service he attained the rank of Captain, which he resigned on inheriting after the death of Edmond Sheffield, the last Duke of Buckingham and Normandy, the undivided part of the Sheffield estate, as co-heir at law, in conjunction with his kinsman, Michael Grace, of Gracefield. Robert Grace died unmarried, in 1764, and thus the family, of Gracefield, became the representative in the male line of the house of Courtstown."

(2)—COURTSTOWN.

Of the ancient Castle of Courtstown, which stood near the residence of the late Mr. Kelly of Leates, there is not at present a stone upon a stone. The foundations, however, are in part traceable. What a pity the spoliator's hand should have so completely demolished the finest baronial feudal mansion Kilkenny could boast of, if we except the Ormonde Castle itself.

It is thus described by Sheffield Grace :—"The castle of Courtstown was formerly distinguished by the family pre-eminence of its owners, and the superior importance of its architectural character. Its halls of hospitality and its bulwarks of defence have indeed long ceased to attract political notice, or social intercourse ; but still no local historian can forbear to pause upon its name, or biographer of the Grace family to transcribe its description. The ruins of this edifice evinced considerable grandeur, as well as great strength. They exhibited the spirit of a powerful chieftain and the taste of a feudal age. Courtstown castle consisted of an outward ballium or envelope, having a round tower at each angle, and also at each side of an embattled entrance to the south, which was further defended by a portcullis. Within this area or outward court, comprehending nearly an acre of ground, stood the body of the castle, enclosing an inner court of an oblong form. The general figure of the building was polygonal. A massive quadrangular

tower, or keep, projected from the centre of the south front, directly opposite to the embattled entrance of the exterior area above mentioned. The walls of this tower were of considerable thickness, and the rests and fire places within, showed it to have originally admitted five floors. From the sides of this great square tower two wings extended, which terminated on the east and west with round towers. The east front consequently exhibited on its southern angle one of these round towers, and further northwards stood a similar tower flanking a portal which led into the inner court, formerly furnished with a portcullis. Between this last flanking round tower and a square tower at the northern angle was a spacious room or hall of an oblong shape occupying the entire space. The north front consisted of a high embattled wall, connecting two square towers, and enclosing the inner area on that side. The western front externally corresponded with the eastern. There is said to have been a communication round the buildings of the inner court by a gallery, and in the centre of it the traces of a draw-well are still visible; as are also the vestiges beyond the outside walls of the bowling-green, cock-pit, fish ponds, &c. Some mounds of earth to the south of the castle called 'bow-butts,' are likewise visible, and are reported by tradition to have been the place where the followers were exercised in the practice of archery. Though deprived of the "pride, pomp and circumstances of glorious war," Courtstown castle long continued to possess great dignity of appearance from the extent of its area, the height and massive thickness of its walls, the picturesque and skilful disposition of its towers, the embattled gateway, and the works of circumvallature by which it was defended. Such were the characteristic features of this baronial edifice about the year 1760, and after abundantly supplying for above a century materials for the neighbouring structures, and for repairing the roads, &c., its very foundations are now beginning to be rooted up."

The following translation of the war-song of the Grace's though lacking the fire and spirit of the original in Irish, will, nevertheless give an idea of the ancient power of Courtstown and its possessors:—

I.

O Courtstown ! thy walls rise in beauty and pride,
From thy watchtower's summit the bold foe is descried,
Though the hearts of thy children with courage o'erflow
Still their strength is the war-shout of "Grasach abo."

II.

O Courtstown ! thy chieftains in kindness delight,
As dauntless their valour their glory is bright.
In prowess unequalld they rush on the foe,
While the hills and the vales ring with "Grasach abo."

III.

O Courtstown ! thou home of the great and renown'd,
Thy bulwarks what heroes of battle surround,
The Shees, Roths, and Shortalls, whose bosoms still glow,
To join in the conflict with "Grasach abo."

IV.

O Courtstown ! ne'er may'st thou demand foreign aid,
When aloft thy red standard is proudly display'd,
And its *rampant white lion** threatens slaughter and woe,
As thy sons raise the slogan of "Grasach abo."

V.

O Courtstown ! what trophies of conquest you boast,
In the spoils of a noble and valorous host,
O'More and Fitz-patrick felt the shame of o'erthrow,
As they fled the dire contest with "Grasach abo."

VI.

O Courtstown ! how martial and grand was thy train,
As they stood with the Butlers on Coubat's red plain :
And Desmond's proud followers his partners in woe,
Shrunk heartstruck and pale from "Grasach abo"

VII.

O Courtstown ! no strangers thy battles e'er fight,
Thy friends are unnumbered and matchless in might,
Thy Walshes, thy Purcells, thy Powers long ago
Shared the feast and the triumph with "Grasach abo."

VIII.

O Courtstown ! can fate in its wrath e'er ordain
That thy chief be forgotten, thy bards cease their strain,
Their harps all be mute and in sorrow forego
The praise of thy heroes and of "Grasach abo."

(3)—TULLAROAN.

It is a matter of doubt whether Tullaroan Parish is of Ecclesiastical origin. There is in the Calendar of Irish Saints, a St. Ruadhan, but whether there was ever an ancient church dedicated to him in the locality or whether the *Tulach Ruadhain* from which the Parish derives its name perpetuates his memory is at present mere conjecture. The following regarding him is given in the calendar under April 15th, his feast day :—" Ruadhan, son of Ferghus, Abbot of Lothra.

There were one hundred and fifty persons in his congregation, and they used to obtain sufficiency always without human labour to sustain them by continually praying to and praising the Lord of the Elements. He was of the race of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilioll Olum, *i.e.*, Ruadhan, son of Fergus Bern, son of Eochaidh, son of Dera Dubh, son of Daire Cerb, son of Oilioll Flannbeg, son of Fiacha Muillethan, son Eoghan Mor, son of Oilioll Olum.

A very old ancient book on vellum, as we have mentioned at Bright, 1st of February, states that Ruadhan of Lothra (Pr-Lora) was in manners and life like Mathew the Apostle."

Lorah, or Lora, is in the barony of Lower Ormonde, Co. Tipperary and Tullaroan, being adjoining Munster, may have adopted one of the

*In allusion to the armorial bearings of the Grace family of Courtstown, viz :—
A *white lion rampant* on a field *gules*.

saints of the latter for its patron. Of course, when the Anglo-Norman Graces took possession of that country the church founded by them would not be dedicated to an Irish saint, as the English meant to destroy all Irish customs. Hence we find Grace's old church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and its patron day, the 15th August, Feast of the Assumption. The ruined church is a little east of the *tulach Ruadhan*, and near a mile from the site of the ancient castle of Courtstown. It is 90 feet long from east to west, by $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. It is divided almost in centre by a cross wall, having a low pointed arch in the middle. The west gable and south side of west part are levelled to the ground, as also the north wall of east division. A square window in north side of first part is four feet seven inches in height, and two feet seven inches wide on the inside. The choir arch is six feet two inches high and six feet six inches broad, having a small pointed window at each side. There is a square window in the east gable, three feet six inches high by one foot eleven inches wide, and about five feet high outside, divided by a centre mullion.

Grace's chapel on the south, thirty-eight feet long by eighteen and a-half broad, communicates with the church by a pointed doorway four and a-half feet high by two feet nine inches wide. There is also a pointed doorway in its west side five feet ten inches high by three feet seven inches wide, with a Latin inscription and coat of arms over it. "This doorway is profusely decorated with sculpture in bold alto-relievo. The exterior moulding of a very deep architrave meet in a high point surmounted with a large trefoil leaf, on either sides of which are smaller trefoil leaves that terminate in an extremely rich catenation work formed from the interwoven stocks of bearded corn ears and trefoil leaves, which project alternately from this vegetable chain. At the turn of the arch on each exterior side of the architrave is a knot of four leaves curiously entwined somewhat similar to a Stafford knot, and lower down another description of knot with two leaves, and at bottom a large simple rose.

The intricate moulding of these flowers in Kilkeeny marble exhibit an astounding degree of accuracy and delicate precision. A rose is also on each side of the large trefoil leaf, already mentioned as surmounting the architrave, and over this trefoil stand the armorial bearings of the founder, viz., a *lion rampant*, with the two following inscriptions (already given) in alto-relievo Gothic characters :—

"Orate pro anima Baronis Gras Johannis filii olim qui me fieri fecit."

"Et pro anima Onorinæ Brenach uxoris ejus Anno Dini mccccclxiii."

"Pray for the soul of Baron Grace Fitzjohn, who had me erected, and for the soul of Honora Brenach (Walsh) his wife, A.D. 1543."

John Grace Fitzjohn, called the Great Baron, must have been the founder of Grace's Chapel, or this south addition to the more ancient family church. His monument is still extant in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. The effigy rests on a table supported by square upright slabs divided into niches or panels terminating in tudor arches and ornamented with figures of the apostles. The one supporting the head

end has a sculpture of the crucifixion, and the one at the feet has a lion rampant. The effigy and table have suffered somewhat and the dog on which the feet originally rested, no longer exists. The style of the armour is thus noticed in the "History of St. Canice's Cathedral, (p. 258)." "A true 'hauberk' of ring mail descends more than half-way down the thighs which with the legs are cased in 'chausses' of mail with genouillieres (knee caps) of plate at the knees and, perhaps, plate sollerets on the feet. The hauberk is furnished with sleeves with coverings for the hands without divisions for the fingers, but confined at the wrists by straps. The gauntlets are slipped off the hands which are represented as bare. The portions of the armour just described, would if occurring in English monumental art be assigned at latest to the first half of the 14th century; but in this effigy we find them combined with the camailed bascinet, the sollerets and defensive coat strengthened with broad bands of plate of the latter end of the 14th and first half of the 15th centuries. In this effigy we also can trace an indication of a fashion which prevailed in England subsequently to 1400, namely, apron-like defensive armour, termed 'taces' formed of a series of overlapping plates attached to a lining of leather or strong cloth and serving to protect the upper part of the thighs. The presence of 'taces' in Grace's effigy is proved by the position of the sword which is placed beneath the body of the figure, showing that the plates from the waist downwards do not extend all round the person. The sword belt is plain and buckled round the waist."

The following is the inscription on the margin of the table:—

"Hic jacet Johes. gras miles ac baro de Courtistown et Onorina brenach ux' ei'. Ao. Dni. m^occccclxii. viii die mes'."

"Here lie John Grace, Knight and Baron of Courtstown, and Onorina Brenach, his wife. A.D. 1552, on the 8th day of the month . . ."

There are some ancient tombs in Grace's chapel, illustrations of which are given in the "Memoirs of the Grace Family," the inscription thereon being as follows:—

I.

. . . Er. Dns. de Coraghmor que obiit . . . ativitatis ble. Marie. A.D. mccccxliii.

This probably commemorates Catherine Poer, daughter of Lord Poer, of Curraghmore, who was married to John Grace, 13th Baron of Courtstown.

II.

Willem : le : Gras : Cist : isci : Deu : De : son : Alme : Eit : Merci :

This slab, with raised cross of fleur-de-lis terminations, begs God's mercy for the soul of William le Grace, probably the 6th Baron of Courtstown, who was slain in battle by the O'Moores of Leix, early in the 14th century.

III.

Ricardus Grace filius Roberti de Adamstown et Onora uxor ejus me fieri fecit.

IV.

Hic jacent corpora Jacobi Gras quondam de Corstown baronis Gras filii et Ellis uxoris ejus qui quidem Jacobus obiit ultimo die Augusti Ano. Dni. mcccccxlii et dicta Ellis obiit tricesimo die Decbris, A. Di. mcccccxliii.

Translation.—Here lie the bodies of James Gras, late of Corstown, son of Baron Gras and of Ellis, his wife. The said James died the last day of August, A.D. 1542, and the said Ellis died the 30th December, 1543.

This coffin-shaped tomb has sculptured on it the emblems of the passion at the head, in centre the crowned Virgin holding the child with her left arm, and at foot, on a shield, a *lion rampant*.

V.

Hic jacent Petrus Butler quondam dominus de Bonnerstown qui obiit oct die mensis Januarii Anno Domini mcccccxvi et Helena Gras ejus uxor que obiit — die mensis — mcccc —.

Translation.—Here lie Peter Butler, late Lord of Bonnerstown, who died the 8th day of the month of January, A.D. 1566, and Helena Gras, his wife, who died — day of the month — 15 —.

Lady's Well, is situate a little north of the church. The *patron* within the present century was usually held at the old cross on the 15th August. This ancient relic was broken in two parts, each being secured on a pedestal. There was a rude representation of the Crucifixion engraven on it.

INQUISITION XL.

“Ib. (Thomastown) same day (4th June), 1623.

RICHARD SHEE, Knight, father of Luke Shee, was seized in fee of the manor of Aghowre, and of the towns, villages, hamlets, and fields of Aghowre, Uppercourte al' Owmost-courte and Blackecastell, 1 castle, 6 cottages, 1 water-mill and water-course belonging to said mill, and 4 carucates of land, one-third of Ballyroe, containing 1 castle, 2 cottages and 1 carucate of land, the advowson or right of presentation to the rectory of the parochial church of Glasroe; the hamlets and lands of Brownstowne. Knockgowne and Curraghavognigh, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land, the onerary rent of 30s. annually on the castle and moiety of the town of Cowlis-hill, and 5 acres, meadow, of the great meadow of Cowlis-hill; 'Barde's haies' and 'Priek's haies,' containing 1 castle and 1 carucate of land; Castledough, 1 carucate; Suttonrath, 2 carucates, small measure; Tullaghglishe, 1 carucate; Ardlough, 1 carucate, together with the tithes belonging to the said town; Farrendine al' Farrendiffe, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land; the manor, town and lands of Drimdeigne al' Thornebacke, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; one-third of Keatingstowne, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; Magheryreogh and Blackacre, 20 acres; the tithes of Farrenbrocke and "Chappell," in the county aforesaid; Wallstowne al' Ballinvalley, 1 acre; the manor,

town and land of Cromacke al Bonestowne, 5 acres; one-fifth part of Ballibrenan, 1 carucate; Aldernewood and Ballidwyn al' Balysee, 1 carucate; Drylingstown, 1 carucate; Corristowne, 1 carucate, one-fifth part of, Brabestowne, 1 carucate; the moiety of Rossenarrow al' Owny, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; Lymonestowne, $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate; 5 plough lands in Cowlecashin; 1 large house, garden and orchard, consisting of 5 tenements, lately within the town of Kilkenny, and now in the City of Kilkenny, in which the aforesaid Sir Richard Shee in his life time lived; 1 house in Kilkenny called 'Emlin's hall'; 1 house in same called 'Costilost,' and 1 other house called 'Fowling's house'; 3 straw-thatched tenements in the High-street of Kilkenny; 2 tenements in the 'New Key'; 7 tenements in Walkin-street; 2 tenements in Croker-street; 1 messuage and 1 garden in Castle-street, 1 colum-bary and 1 croft of land near the common meadow in Kilkenny; 1 park and 1 garden near the pond, commonly called 'Courseie's pond'; 1 garden in the parish of St. John's; 1 garden near the 'Maudlins'; 1 close of land and garden near Blackmill; 1 close of land near Robert's-hill; 3 acres meadow, small measure, in Kilkenny; 1 park near Walkin's-green; 1 orchard near Walkin's-gate called 'Dullard's orchard,' and 1 garden next adjoining said orchard; 7 acres near Magor's park; 2 small closes adjoining the river Bregagh; 20 acres arable in 'the Knocks,' in Kilkenny; $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre situate between the Knocks and Bregagh; 3 acres arable, 1 close of land, and 1 garden in Kilkenny; 1 slate house in 'the Irishtown'; 3 tenements in 'the Irishtown'; 20 acres arable and pasture in Coolenegomanagh al' Goosehill, within the 'burgagery' of Irishtown; 1 water-mill and 6 tenements in 'Freere-streete'; 1 garden and 1 close of land near 'St. James' his greene' within the 'burgagery' aforesaid; 1 messuage and 1 garden in Tulleherrin, in the County Kilkenny; 4 messuages, 4 gardens, and 3 acres in Thomastowne; 1 messuage, 1 garden, and 1 curtilage in 'the North-street' in Kilkenny; 2 messuages, 3 orchards, and 3 gardens in the street called St. John's-street; 12 acres of land and pasture in Baunemore; 1 bake-house and 6 tenements in Kilkenny; and of and in the manor, towns and fields of Tascoffin, Ballinevenagh, Granahagh, Coolephoble and Seskinwood, in the county aforesaid, containing 5 carucates of land; the rectory and glebe lands of Poorestowne; 7 acres arable in Dungarvan, in the county aforesaid; 'Washe's haies,' 1 carucate; 10 acres in Farren McReman, in Balliregan, in the county aforesaid; and 2 messuages, 3 gardens and 3 curtilages and 1 acre within the burgh of the town of Gawran, in the county aforesaid. The said Sir Richard Shee being so seized of the premises made a fee grant thereof to Walter Roche, of New Ross; Thomas Archer Fitzpatrick, of Kilkenny; Mathew Shee, John Archer FitzLawrence, Richard Archdeacon al' Archdekin, and John Roth FitzGenkin, merchants, of same, to certain uses expressed in a charter, and to be limited by the last will of the said Richard, which feoffment bears date 11th December, 1587, and the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid Sir Richard Shee made his last will, 24th December, 1603, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. He died 10th August, 1604. John Shee is his son and heir,

and was then 30 years and married. The aforesaid Mat Shee, John Archer and John Rothe being seized to the use of said Luke Shee of the premises in Aghorone (Aghowre), Uppercourte al' Owmescourte, Blackcastle, Knockgowne, Coolecashin, Balliroe al' Roestown, Walltown al' Ballinvally, 'Borde's haies,' 'Priek's haies,' 'Purcell's haies, in Oastledough, Suttonrath, Ardlowe, Farrendiffe, Tullaglish, Coolishell, Drilingstown, Balledwyn and Rossenarrowe al' Owny al' Ownill, in the County Kilkenny, and also of and in 'Cloghran O'Shee,' 'the Ouldtowne' of Cloghrane, Gortnepish, Clonie O'Shee and Peppertowne, in the County Tipperary; and of the town, lands and tenements of Oromocke al' Bonnestowne, Ballibrenan and Bolishee al' Aldernewood, in the County of the City of Kilkenny, the aforesaid Luke Shee, Mathew Shee, John Archer, and John Rothe, by their deed bearing date 10th February, 1613, granted to Robert Grace, of Courtstowne, in the County Kilkenny, and Richard Strange, of Donkitt, in the said county, their heirs and assigns, all the premises last mentioned during the life of the aforesaid Luke Shee, and of Ellinor, his wife, of Robert Shee, son and heir of the said Luke, and of Margaret, his wife, of Leticia, Ellen, Margaret, Ellenora and Dorothea Shee, daughters of the said Luke, now living, as by said deed more plainly appeareth, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. Luke Shee, Mathew Shee, and William Bennett were seized in fee of the town and lands of Oastletown, containing 2 carucates of land, and so seized they made a fee grant thereof to Robert Grace and Richard Strange, and their heirs, by a deed dated 16th February, 1613, the tenor whereof also followeth in the original. The aforesaid Luke Shee, Robert Grace, Richard Strange, Mathew Shee, John Rothe Fitz-Jenkin and John Archer Fitz-Lawrence, by deed dated 15th April, 1621, gave in mortgage to James Shortall of Peestowne, the castle, town, and lands of Rowestowne al' Balliroe and Ballmanstowne, in the county aforesaid, in consideration of £68 as more plainly appeareth by deed aforesaid, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The premises of Aghore, Uppercourte al' Owmescourte, and Blackcastle, were held and are now held of the king by knight's service *in capite*; Balliroe, Glasroe, Brownestowne, Knockgowne, Curraghavoirrigh, Cowlishell, Borde's haies, Priek's haies, Simon's lands, and Suttonrath were held and are now held of Oliver Shortall as of his manor of Oastledough by fealty; Tuilaghglishe, Ardlagh, Farrendive al' Farrendiffe, were held and are now held of the king in free and common soccage; Drondeligny al' Thornebacke, Keatingstowne, Mahereryreogh, and Blackacre were held and are now held of the Bishop of Ossory, as of his manor of Irishtowne of Kilkenny; Farrenbrocke, 'Chapple,' and Wallstowne al' Ballenvale were held and are now held of the king in free and common soccage; Oromacke al' Bonnestowne, Ballibrenan, Aldernewood, Ballidonie al' Bolishee, and Drilingstowne were held of the Earl of Ormonde, and are now held of the Earl of Desmonde, as of the manor of his castle of Kilkenny, in soccage by fealty; Correstowne and Brabestowne were held and are now held of Robert Grace, as of his manor of Tulleroane, by fealty only; Rossenarrowe al' Owny al' Ownill was held and is now held of Viscount

Mountgarret, as of his manor of Kells, by fealty only; Lymanstowne was held and is now held of [] Butler, of Kerrihill, as of his manor of Kerryhill by fealty only; Castletowne was held and is now held of the heirs of Richard Archdeacon al' McCody, as of his manor of Eirke, within the barony of Galmoy, by fealty only; Cowlecashin was held and is now held of Richard Viscount Mountgarrett, as of his manor of Cowlecashin, by fealty only; the premises in Kilkenny were held of the Earl of Ormonde, and are now held of the Earl of Desmond as of his manor aforesaid in burgage tenure by fealty; the premises in 'the Irishtowne' of Kilkenny, were held and are now held of the Bishop of Ossory, as of his manor aforesaid; Tullagherrin is held of the aforesaid Bishop, as of his manor of Lough, by fealty; Thomastowne is held of Thomas Den and Richard Archdeacon, as of their manor of Thomastowne, in 'tenure burgage;' the aforesaid bakery and 6 tenements in the 'lowe lane' in Kilkenny, were held and are now held of the king; Tascoffin, Ballinevrenagh, Gransegh, Coolephoble, and Seskinwood are held of the king by knight's service; Dungarven and Farren McReman in Balleragan are held of Thomas Shortall, as of his manor of Dungarven, by fealty; 'Washe's haies' are held of Robert Forstall, as of his manor of Kilferagh, by fealty and the head rent of 10s.; Gawran is held of the Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Gawran, by fealty and suite of courte; the rectory and glebe lands of Powerstowne are held of the king in free and common soccage; Thomas Shortall of Rathardmore in the county aforesaid, claims title to 2 messuages, 2 gardens, and 1 acre in Gawran; parcels of the aforementioned premises as heir male of Patrick Shortall, late of Rathardmore [] son and heir of Richard Archdeacon al' McCody, maketh claims to the town and lands of Castletowne, with appurtenances, the lands of his inheritance."

See Inquisition IX, n. 1, p. 130, for notice of the Shee Family.

INQUISITION XLI.

"Ib. (Thomastown) 18th August, 1623.

"**B**OWLAND FITZGERALD¹, *alias* Barron of Burnechurche,² in the County of Kilkenny, Robert Forstall, Peter Fitzgerald, and Peter Butler, of Danginspeddogy, in same county, Thadeus Donoho, Richard and Philip Walsh, and Patrick St. Leger were seized of the fee of 1 castle, 2 mills and 24 acres of land, arable, wood, underwood and pasture, great measure, in Kiltrany, *alias* Burnchurch, Bwolve al' Liffirgill, Graige al' Orokergaige, Heberdstown, Danginspidogy al' Davidstown and Athytibbott, in the County of Kilkenny, and 12s. issuing from the land and tenements of William Fitz-Gerald, in Burnchurch. Being so seized of the premises they alienated all the premises by levying a certain fine

amongst the aforesaid Rowland, and the other persons above mentioned, and Michael Cawley and Peter Rothe, petitioners, &c. The premises at the time of the alienation aforesaid were held of the King *in capite* by knight's service."

(1)—THE FITZGERALD FAMILY.

The Fitzgeralds, of Burnchurch, are very fully treated of by G. D. Burtchaell, B.L., in "The Journal of the R.S.A. Ireland," part 4, vol. 2, p. 358-76. Mr. Burtchaell shows that "Baron," by which members of the family are frequently designated, was not their original patronymic, but a "title" such as Lords Palatine were accustomed to create within their counties, and confer on those to whom they had given sub-grants. He also surmises that the Fitzgeralds of Burnchurch were not sprung from Maurice, first Knight of Kerry, as was generally supposed, but from Maurice Fitzgerald, who took part in the conquest of Ireland in 1169.

Mr. Burtchaell states his fifth, or youngest son, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, who was supposed to have died without issue, must in reality be considered the founder of the Burnchurch family, and identical with Maurice Fitz-Maurice, who, according to the Registry of the Monastery of Kells, made a grant thereto of the church and glebe of Kiltrany, or Burnchurch, early in the 13th century, and consequently long before the time of the first Knight of Kerry.

Maurice Fitz-Maurice, left a son and heir, William Fitz-Maurice, Baron of Kiltrany, living in 1247. He was succeeded by his son Maurice, who left a son, Maurice Fitz-Maurice, whose son and heir, William Fitz-Maurice, was Baron of Kiltrany, 1314-1326. Very probably, as Mr. Burtchaell states, it was in his time that Kiltrany was burned by Bruce in his expedition to the south in 1316, and from the circumstance was afterwards called "Burnchurch."

William left a son Maurice, who married Margaret, daughter of William Outlaw, of Kilkenny, son of Alice Kyteller, the famous witch, who with her son and other accomplices were tried for various heresies and sorceries in Kilkenny in 1324-5. The history of this curious witchcraft case is given at considerable length in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Ossory Arch. Society," p. 213-39.

Maurice left a son, Walter Fitz-Maurice, who died without issue. William Fitz-Maurice, who married Margaret ———, and belonging to a junior branch, succeeded to the estates.

As his son, Rowland, was a minor, in custody of David Wane—49 Ed. III. (1376)—William, his father, may have been, as Mr. Burtchaell suggests, a younger son of Maurice, who married Margaret Outlaw. Rowland left a son, Richard, after whom there is only confused reference to the family till we meet with Richard, Baron of Burnchurch. He left a son Rowland, or Richard, the 1st Earl. During the feuds between the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Ormonde, Rowland Fitzgerald, Baron of Burnchurch, was taken prisoner by the former, and sent to attend the

King's Parliament in Dublin. He was confined in irons for a long time, and deprived of his horse, money and apparel, without restitution. In 1536 he was appointed High Sheriff of the County Kilkenny, and the year following was charged by the jury of Kilkenny as being guilty of exacting coyne and livery from his tenants. He married Anastasia St. Leger.

In Burnchurch a tomb having the arms of the Fitzgeralds impaling those of the St. Legers, existed in 1858, as I find amongst some old monumental inscriptions by the late Canon Moore, P.P., though Mr. Burtchaell states he could find no trace of it lately. According to Canon Moore the inscription read as follows:—

“Hic jacet quondam Dns. de Burnchurch et Anastasia Saint-leger uxor ejus qui obiit primo die Febrii. Anno Di MCCCCXCV.”

Translation—“Here lies late lord of Burnchurch, and Anastasia St. Leger, his wife, who died the 1st day of February, 1545.”

He left sons—(1) William, Vicar of Burnchurch, 1545. (2) John, who was murdered by the Graces, at Mallardstown, in 1552. (3) Peter, Baron of Dangenmore. (4) Rowland, Archbishop of Cashel, 1553. William, the eldest, being an ecclesiastic, his second brother, John, continued the title of “Baron” of Burnchurch, and left a son, Richard, who was probably a minor at the time of his father's death. He was High Sheriff of the County Kilkenny in 1578-79, and in that year received a commission to execute martial law in the county.

He left by his first wife a son and heir, Rowland Fitzgerald, Baron of Burnchurch, who had livery of the estate on the 16th June, 1607. He left also by his second wife, Ismay, daughter of Patrick Brown, of Mulrankeen, County Wexford, a son, William, the immediate ancestor of the Killesk branch of the family. Rowland Fitzgerald married Anstace, daughter of Robert Roth, M.P. for the County Kilkenny, 1585. He left a son, Richard, who married a daughter of Robert Forstall.

The estates were confiscated in 1653, and Richard Fitzgerald was ordered to transplant to Connaught, being an Irish Papist, and his lands in Burnchurch, Buoper and Bowley, of over 1,200 acres, were given to Colonel William Warden. (See Appendix, Bar. Shillelogher.)

(2)—BURNCHURCH.

This parish is called in Irish *tempall loigisthe*, or Burnchurch, from what circumstance is not traditionally known, and Mr. Burtchaell may have guessed rightly in ascribing it to one of the burnings by Edward Bruce, on his way to South Munster, in 1316, already noted. About 1820 the walls of the old church were pulled down to build the new Protestant Church. The large burying ground still exists. A little south-east of this burial place is a holy well called “Tobar san Dallan,” and curious enough the “Patron” in olden times was held on the first Sunday in August, though St. Dallan's feast day is given in the “Calendar of Irish Saints” as the 29th January. In the list of the

Patron Saints of the Parishes of Ossory his feast is given on the 31st July. This accounts for the "Patron" being held on the Sunday next following, *i.e.*, 1st Sunday in August.

"Dallan Forgaill, of Maighin, of the race of Colla Uais, monarch of Ireland. His name was Eochaidh, son of Colla, son of Erc. It was he that composed the celebrated panegyric on Columcille, which is called *Ambra Choluim Chille*, and another little *Ambra* on Seanan of Inis-Cathaigh. And he was interred at Inis caoil, a place sacred to Conall of Inis-caoil." St. Dallan was a bishop and disciple of St. Senan of Iniscathy, but beyond this little or nothing seems to be known of him.

The castle of Burnchurch stands east of the grave-yard, and is 29 feet by 26 out and out. The doorway is on the east side. The castle contains ten windows and 32 loops, all built with cut stone. Convenient is the round tower, 60 feet in circumference, with a door on the south side. It is about 40 feet high, with five windows and five loops, and must have been, as O'Curry surmised, a strong flank-tower of the court-yard.

INQUISITION XLII.

"Ib. (Thomastown), 18th August, 1623.

"**N**ICHOLAS McODO was seized in fee of 1 burgage in Killeblynn containing 2 acres of land, small measure, English, which is held from Edward Waton and Oliver Shortall as of the manor of 'Nova-Jeripoint;' 1 castle, 1 water-mill, a certain messuage and 5 acres, great measure, in Ologhlea and Dungarvan, which are held of Thomas Shortall in tenure burgage as of his manor of Dungarvan; 2 gardens and 1 field called 'the Alymerogh,' containing 4 acres, which are held of the Bishop of Ossory as of his manor of Busshopslogh; two parts or more of the town and lands of Boherquill, containing 1 acre, the town and hamlet of Garryhebbert, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, which are held of the King. The aforesaid Nicholas McOdo, by his deed, bearing date 16th March, 1616, gave to John O'Meolroeny, of Gauran, and Edmund Walsh Fitz-Philip all the premises to use of last will of the said Nicholas McOdo, which deed followeth in the original. The aforesaid Nicholas made his last will, 16th March, 1622, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. Johanna Fitzgerald, mother of the said Nicholas, is seized of one-third of Cloghlea, Killeblynn, and of 4 acres in Tullogherin. The aforesaid Nicholas died 21st April, 1623. Gerrott, *alias* Gerrald Archdeacon, *alias* McOdo, is son and heir of the said Nicholas, and was then 10 years of age and unmarried. The aforesaid Nicholas had one other son, *viz.*, Redmond Archdeacon, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ years, and one daughter, Margaret Archdeacon, aged 7 years."

(See Inq. 8, Jac. 1, page 124, Inq. 29, page 290-1, for the family of McOdo.)

INQUISITION XLIII.

"Ib. (Thomastown), 18th August, 1623.

WILLIAM FANNYNGE¹ was seized of the fee of the moiety of the town of Ballymacclaghaye, in the County Kilkenny, containing 5 acres; Ballytaranye, 1½ acres; Cablestowne, in the County Carlow, 3 acres, great country measure. The aforesaid William, by his deed bearing date 10th January, 15th year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, feoffed James Fannyng Fitz-Thomas, of Ballyntagart, in the County Tipperary, Robert Fannyng, of Mohobber, and Richard Fanning, of Keappaghentallagarry, in the said county, of all the premises, amongst others, to certain use specified in the said deed, the tenor whereof followeth in the original. James Fannyng was son and heir of the aforesaid William, and died at the time of his father's death. William Fanninge is presently cousin-german and heir of the said William, is 21 years of age and married. William, senior, father of the aforesaid James, died the last day of April, 1590. The premises are held of the King."

(1)—THE FAMILY OF FANNING.

John D'Alton, in his "King James' Army List," p. 828, says:—Ortelius's map locates this family in the barony of Pobble-Brian, County of Limerick; and the name is of record in Ireland from the time of Edward the Second. It was more especially influential in Limerick until the Munster war of Elizabeth's time. Geoffrey Fanning, of Glenagal, and Patrick Fanning, of Limerick, were of the Confederate Catholics at the Supreme Council of 1646. Besides this Captain (Richard Fanning, Captain in Colonel Dudley Bagnall's Infantry) William and David Fanning were Quarter-masters in Colonel Henry Luttrell's Horse. On the attainders of 1691, the only Fannings mentioned are William of Battyrath, County Kilkenny, and David Fanning, of Kilkenny, merchant."

I have not been able to ascertain the origin of this family. It seems to be English, but in Bridger's "Index to Pedigrees of English Families" there is no mention of the name, nor can I find it in any English Peerage I possess.

In 1541 Nicholas Fanning was Clerk of the Pleas of the Exchequer, and he was continued in the same office in the reign of Edward VI. The family seems to have been influential in Limerick in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Clement Fanning was Mayor of Limerick in 1558. In 1584 George Fanning, merchant, of Limerick, received authority from Malby and the Council of Connaught and Thomond, to resist "by all good means in his power" the unjust exactions of meat, drink, money, and divers other charges by the Earl of Thomond and the Sheriff of Clare from the tenants of Ballycharaghe and Lismoltyme,

whereby the lands were laid waste and the tenants driven to flight. In 1570 the lands of William Fanning and Richard Omerford, in the manor of Oallan, were valued at £30.

William Fanning, mentioned in the above Inquisition, died the 30th April, 1590. He left by his wife, Katherine Butler, four sons: (1) James; (2) John; (3) Oliver; (4) Richard.

According to the Inquisition, James, son and heir, died without issue at the time of his father's decease, but the Betham MSS. mentioned that he left by his wife, Ellen Butler, a son, William, who married Anstace Shortall, and dying on the 6th December, 1625, left a son and heir, James. Next there is mention of William Fanning, his descent being dubious, who had the lands of Farrenrory, Ballymacloghny, Kilmackeboge, &c., created into the manor of Farrenrory by patent, dated 5th March, 1637.

(INQUISITION XLIV.)

Gauran, 27th May, 1624.

RICHARD BUTLER,¹ Knight, was seised of the fee of the castle, town and lands of Pawlestowne and Jordanstowne, in the County of Kilkenny, and of the hamlet of Gartnyspreage and Killglasse, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucate, great measure. He died on the 20th August, 1619. The aforesaid Richard was also seised of the town and lands of Garryduffe, containing 3 carucates of land, and in consideration of £90 paid to him by Richard Purcell, by his deed bearing date 21st March, 1588, he made a grant in fee thereof to Thomas Browne, of Kilkenny, Thomas Purcell, of Killmacarre, and Richard Blanswille, of Pawlestowne, and their heirs, to use of the said Richard Purcell for the term of 61 years for the annual rent of 20s., 1 swine and 1 sheep, and after the determination of the aforesaid term to use of the said Richard Butler, *Knight*, in perpetuum. The aforesaid Richard Butler, *Knight*, afterwards, viz., on the 3rd August, 1591, in consideration of £15, resigned and peaceably declared the premises aforesaid to the aforesaid Thomas Browne, Thomas Purcell, and Richard Blanchville, to use of said Richard Purcell. The aforesaid Sir Richard Butler was also seised in fee of the town and lands of Ballynvaldick, in the Co. aforesaid, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of land great measure, and being so seised he died; the aforesaid town and lands were held and are now held of Walter Archer, as of his manor of Brickinclaragh; he was also seised of the castle, town, and lands of Castlewarning and Ballynvallee, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucate of the measure aforesaid, which were held of the said Walter Archer, by knight's service; Ballyngurtin and Ballycaslane, parcels of Castlewarning, 1 carucate which was held of the said Walter Archer. The aforesaid

Sir Richard Butler together with Paul Shee and Luke Shee Fitz-George made a grant in fee of the premises to Edward Shee, merchant, Kilkenny, to use of the said Edward in perpetuum, as appeareth by deed, bearing date 6 April, 1602. The aforesaid Sir Richard Butler was also seised of the castle, town, and lands of Shanekill, in the County aforesaid containing 3 carucates of land of the measure aforesaid, and so seised, he made a fee grant thereof to Richard Archdeacon *alias* Cody, of Banemore, James Shortall of Balliewe, and Redmond Blanchville of Rathgarvane in the County aforesaid, to use of the said Richard Butler, for the term of five years, and afterwards to use of Edmond Butler, son and heir of the said Richard and Ellicia Shortall, his wife, during their lives, and after to use of the heirs male lawfully begotten of the said Redmond, as by deed appeareth bearing date 18 April, 1609. His Majesty the King being, by his letters patent dated 28th December, 17th year of his reign, granted the premises above specified to one Sir Lawrence Esmonde, knight, lately baron of Limerick, his heirs and assigns for ever, to be held as of the castle of Dublin in free and common socage. The aforesaid Lawrence Esmond, by his deed dated 29 December, 16th year of the reign of the King being; granted to the aforesaid Edmund Butler, the premises above mentioned, as plainly appeareth by the aforesaid deed. The aforesaid Sir Richard Butler was likewise seised to the use of Robert Freny of Ballyready, in the County aforesaid, of the town of Ballyready containing 3 acres country measure, Desertmoine and Tynekilly 2 acres and 1 mill, Ballyntale and Ardlone 2 acres, Ballybrowny *al'* Brownstown 2 acres, Ballyfoile 2 acres of the measure aforesaid, Kilberaghane 2 acres, Rathory 2 acres, Ballycurrine 2 acres, Ballyallogge 3 acres, Ballybrabeson 2 acres, and 5 messuages and 5 gardens in Enistioge; all which premises are in the County Kilkenny. Edmund Butler is son and heir of the said Richard, he is 24 years of age and married. The premises are held of the King."

(1)—THE BUTLER FAMILY OF PAULSTOWN.

This family is immediately descended from Sir Richard Butler, second son of James, third Earl of Ormonde, commonly called Earl of Gowran. Sir Richard Butler was so called after his god-father, King Richard II. He was seated at Paulstown, convenient to his father's residence at Gowran, and married Catherine, daughter of Gildas O'Reilly, Lord of the Co. Cavan, by whom he left issue, Sir Edmond Mac. Richard. Sir Edmond built Potlesrath castle, and the castle and bridge of Oarrick. He married Catherine, daughter of Maolrony O'Carroll, *Barbatus*, and dying the 13th June, 1464, was buried in the Grey Friars Convent, Kilkenny. He left by his wife Catherine, issue:—(1) Sir James, (2) Walter, (3) John. This last had two sons, (1) Pierce, whose son Richard died childless, (2) John Og, who being attained of felony was executed at Kilkenny, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. Walter, second son of Sir Edmond Butler, succeed to his father's estates of Paulstown, on account of attainders against James, the rightful heir as we shall presently notice. He left issue, Edmond of Paulstown, who had four sons, (1) Walter,

(2) Peter, (3) Theobald, (4) Richard. Walter served in the German army, and having obtained from the Emperor, the lordship of Hesberg, it descended to the House of Paulstown or Polestown, as it was originally called. Theobald died in Poland, in 1634. Peter, second son was seated at Roscrea, and left by his wife, Catherine de Burgo, three sons all of whom died without issue.

Walter eldest son, who succeeded to Paulstown, had issue, (1) Sir Richard, his heir, (2) Thomas of Clonmore, Co. Carlow, and a daughter, Joan. Sir Richard is the person mentioned in the above Inquisition. He died in 1619, leaving four sons, (1) Edmond, (2) Richard, (3) Peter, (4) Walter, by his wife, Ellen, daughter of Gerald Blanchfield.

Edmond was 24 years of age at the time of the taking of the above Inquisition, and married to Ellice Shortal, daughter of Nicholas Shortal of Claragh, Co. Kilkenny. He made his last will on the 13th April, 1636, and dying on the 21st April following, was buried in Kilkenny, according to directions in his will because it was the burial place of his ancestors. He left five sons and five daughters, (1) Walter his heir, (2) Theobald, (3) Pierce, (4) Richard, (5) Thomas; (1) Ellice married to Murrough Cavanagh, of Garryhill, Co. Carlow, (2) Margaret, (3) Anne, (4) Elizabeth, (5) Ellen.

Sir Walter FitzEdmond was created a Baronet by Privy Seal dated at Oxford, 19 April 1643, and by Patent at Dublin, 8 July, 1645. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard, third Viscount Mountgarrett. By this alliance he was no doubt induced to take a prominent part in the proceedings of the Confederates and was one of the Commons in the General Assembly of 1647. I am inclined to think it was Sir Walter and not Sir Richard Butler as generally stated that took part in the siege of Castlecomer in 1641 (see p. 414) unless it could have been his fourth brother Richard, who might by mistake have been designated "Sir" on account of its being the family title.

He left by his wife Elizabeth Butler, who died in 1636, a son and heir Sir Richard Butler, second Baronet, who died in 1686, leaving by his wife Margaret — Sir Walter his heir, and three daughters, one of whom was married to Piere Aylward, of Shankill, Co. Kilkenny.

Sir Walter, third Baronet, married in 1697, at the age of 18 years, Lucy, daughter of Walter Butler, of Garryricken, and had by her, one son Richard, who predeceased him and a daughter Mary, who became a professed nun. He died the 8th October, 1723, having been a lunatic for some time previous.

We have already stated that Sir James Butler, eldest son of Sir Edmond Mac-Richard, lost his succession to Paulstown, on account of his attainure. It appears in the conflicts between the Houses of York and Lancaster he took the side of the latter, but when Edward IV. became King, he overlooked his faults, reversed all the attainders and outlawries against him, and granted him the manor and advowson of Callan in 1468. He afterwards became attorney and deputy of the Earl of Ormonde, "to deale in all causes concerning ye sd Earle and his lands, lordships and jurisdictions in ye realme of Ireland, wch commission was by him used and executed accordingly. And ye sd James by virtue

of that commission layd downe certain orders for Reformation and good Government of ye sd towne of Oarrick. The sayd James Butler Fitz-Edmond was author of Peace in his time and was well beloved in his country, his power and fortune was greate, and he had many victories upon his enemyes. He built ye castle of Negom near Gawran, and dyed ye 16 of April, 1487, and is buried in ye Fryery of Callan, which himself had founded. The said James was married to Saive Kevenagh, daughter of McMurroghowe, ye chief of his name by whom he had issue, Sir Piers Butler, Knight."


He left by his wife, Sabina Kavanagh, who died in 1508, a second son John, and two daughters, (1) Margaret, who was married to Sir Alexander Plunket, of Rathmore, Chancellor of Ireland, in the reign of Henry VII.; (2) Ellice married to Sir George Fleming of Stephenstown, second son of James Lord Slane.

Sir Piers, the eldest son, was created Earl of Ossory in 1527, and restored to the Earldom of Ormonde, on the death of Thomas Bullen, without male issue, in 1537.

The castle of Paulstown was a magnificent feudal keep, and is still in a tolerably good state of preservation.

INQUISITION XLV.

Callan, 21st October, 1624.

 **LIVER WATON** was seised of the fee of the castle, town, and lands of Grove al' Waton's Grove, in the Co. Kilkenny, containing 6 acres great measure. He died the 11th May, 1620. Edward Waton is son and heir of the aforesaid Oliver and was then 36 years of age. The aforesaid Oliver was also seised of the town and lands of Cowleroe containing $\frac{1}{2}$ acre great measure, held of Walter, Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Ballygawran, by fealty and suite of courtes; 1 stone house and other messuages, lands and tenements in Thomastowne, which are held as of the manor of Thomastown aforesaid, in burgage tenure; the head rent of 25s. issuing out of Killbleyn and Blake's land, near Kilblene; 2 issuing from Nova-Jeripont; and Ballycomrowe, 2 acres mountain which are held of the said Earl of Ormonde, as of his manor of Knocktofer. The aforesaid Oliver so seised, together with Thomas Tobin of Lysterath, and Anthony Den, of Jerpoint, by his writing bearing date 10th August, 1615, demised to John Archer FitzLawrence and Nicholas Archdekin, the aforesaid town of Ballycomroe to certain use in the said writing mentioned the tenor whereof followeth in the original. The aforesaid Oliver Waton was also seised of the town and lands of Wheatstowne *alias* Ballynecrenagh, in the County aforesaid, containing 3 acres mountain, great measure, which is held of the said Earl; the aforesaid Oliver so seised with Ellinor Purcell his wife, and Richard, son of the

APPENDIX.

THE BOOK OF SURVEY AND
DISTRIBUTION,

COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

COPIED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.,

PRESERVED IN THE

RECORD OFFICE,

DUBLIN,

BY THE AUTHOR.

**BOOK OF SURVEY AND DISTRIBUTION,
COUNTY OF KILKENNY.**

NOTICE TO THE READER.

THE Books of Survey and Distribution are preserved in MS. Volumes in the Record Office, Dublin, each volume being as a rule devoted to a single county, but in some cases you have two or more counties, or portions thereof, comprised in a volume. They are arranged under headings of counties, baronies, parishes, denominations of lands, number of acres, names of old proprietors of 1641, and the names of the new proprietors to whom the forfeited lands passed. The exact date of the compilation of those invaluable MS. records is unknown, but it is supposed that they were done by the Commissioners of King Charles the Second. They are the best evidence of the losses which Catholics in particular sustained during the disastrous period which succeeded the execution of King Charles the First, "when," as O'Curry remarks, "the relentless rage of Oliver Cromwell spread ruin and desolation over all that was noble, honourable, and virtuous in our land." When also ancient proprietors were stript of their possessions and rendered homeless beggars; "totally ruined," as the same writer declares, "and despoiled of their ancestral property by the tide of robbers and murderers which the Commonwealth of England poured over defenceless Erin at this period."

AUTHOR.

COUNTY KILKENNY.

		A.	R.	P.
Burgas land comon	...	71	3	10
In the same	...	128	1	30
Comon	...	948	0	00
OLD PROPRIETORS.	The town of Callan, with severall orchards and garden	...	72	1 16
	Comons	...	45	0 00
Robert Roth	Mdygstown	...	40	2 20
	Corballis comon, Burgas	...	26	1 10
Richard Eaverard	{ Oastletobin	...	143	1 10
Edwd Comerford, &c.	{ White's Court	...	105	1 00
	Comon	...	6	1 00
	Comon	...	11	2 00
	Comon burgas	...	390	0 18
	No. (3)	...	2	00
	{ Kilbride	...	23	3 20
Church Land	{ Ballialonan	...	47	2 00
	{ In number 3	...		
	In number 3	...	17	2 0
	do.	...	6	1 3
	do.	...	6	0 0
Church Land	do.	...	3	0 0
	do.	...	3	1 20
	do.	...	1	1 0
	In the same (No. 6)	...	21	0 30
	In No. 3	...	7	2 30
	In the same	...	2	3 20
	do.	...	1	3 8
	do.	...	2	2 10
	do.	...	3	2 10
	do.	...	0	2 0
	do.	...	5	3 20
	do.	...	2	3 0
	In No. 3	...	20	1 0
	In the same	...	2	1 12
Countess Ormonde,	do.	...	36	0 0
Protestant.	In the same	...	9	3 0
	do.	...	11	1 0

CALLAN LIBERTIES.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

71	3	10	} Edward Stubbora.
128	1	30	

{	60	0	0	John Campbell.
	129	0	0	Edward Stubbora.
	729	0	0	Duke of Ormonde and ye Corporation, their tyth.
				Robert Nettervill.
	20	0	0	John Butler, &c.

72	1	10	Duke of Ormonde.
			Pierce Butler.
45	0	0	Duke of Ormonde, Corporacion.
40	2	20	} Edw. Stubbora.
26	1	10	
143	1	10	
105	1	0	
6	1	0	} Corporation and Duke of Ormonde.
11	2	0	
390	0	18	Edw. Stubbora.
23	3	20	} Church land.
47	2	0	
2	1	24	
17	2	0	} Church Land.
6	1	3	
6	0	0	
3	0	0	
3	1	0	
1	1	0	} Protestant Land.
21	0	30	
7	2	30	
2	3	20	
1	3	8	
2	2	10	} Protestant Land.
3	2	10	
0	2	0	
5	3	20	} Duke of Ormonde.
2	3	0	
20	1	0	
2	1	12	
36	0	0	
9	3	0	Dom.
11	1	0	
4	2	0	

COUNTY KILKENNY.

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	R.	P.
	In same	...	...	4	1	0
	do.	...	...	1	1	30
	do.	...	...	27	3	0
	do.	...	...	5	3	0
	do.	...	...	45	1	30
Countess of Ormonde, Protestant.	do.	...	...	8	1	0
	do.	...	...	131	0	0
	do.	...	...	542	0	0
	do.	...	...	6	0	0
	do.	...	...	2	0	32
	do.	...	...	3	3	0
	do.	...	...	1	2	0

PART OF LISTERLIN PARISH.

[Part of this Parish in

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	R.	P.
Countess of Ormonde	Ballymcguilligill	...	...	111	0	16
Robert, sonne of Walter Walsh, de- ceased, aged ten years.	Smithstown.	...	...	963	0	0
The same.	Darbystown	...	...	127	0	32

KILBEACON PARISH.

Robert Walsh and aforesaid Ir. Pa.	Ballymoney	...	...	743	1	8
	Of ye same	...	...	7	3	0

Robt. Walsh, afsd.	Ballinlea	...	...	154	0	16
Commons.	Of the same	...	...	13	0	16
L. Mountgarret Ir. Pa.	to adjacent towns	...	...	319	3	24
	Ballyquin	...	...	308	2	32
	Ballinreckill	...	...	160	1	8
Patrick Donne	Of ye same	...	...	55	0	32
Robt. Walsh afsd.	Servt	...	...	263	0	32
Earl of Ormonde	Rostinan	...	...	84	2	0
Robert Walsh, afsd.	Glandonnell	...	...	351	1	8
	Garranlaraige	...	...	213	0	0

CALLAN LIBERTIES—*Continued.*

A.	R.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
4	1	0	Duke of Ormonde, Dom. Land.
1	1	30	
27	3	0	
5	3	0	
45	1	30	
8	1	0	
131	0	0	
542	0	0	
6	0	0	
2	0	32	
3	3	0	
1	2	0	

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY.

Ida, Igrin, and Ibercon.

A.	R.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
111	0	16	Duke of Ormonde ; Dom. Land.
433	0	14	Major Joseph Deane
529	3	26	Joseph Cuffe, Esq,
27	0	0	Joseph Cuffe, Esq.
100	0	32	Duke of York, 133, Hollow Blades.
8	0	29	Robert Thornhill.
39	2	0	John Cambel.
14	0	35	John Emerson.
26	0	0	Sir Francis Gore.
427	3	34	Coll. Daniell Abbott.—37 3 24
70	0	0	Coll. William Candler.
30	0	0	Sir Henry Peirce.
20	1	21	Coll. Oliver Wheeler.
16	1	32	Robert Philips.
58	1	33	The Executors of Major Blaikney.
144	2	7	The Executors of Major Blaikney.
22	1	33	Captain Ivory.
319	3	24	John Peck and others ; Thomas Hewetson.
308	3	32	Lord Mountgarrett.
160	1	8	John Pecke, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
55	0	32	Bishop of Ossory.
263	0	32	John Pecke, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
84	2	0	Duke of Ormonde ; Dom. Land.
351	1	8	Thomas Hewetson.
213	0	0	John Pecke, Or., Thomas Hewetson.

OO. KILKENNY.—KILBEACON PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Adam Walsh	{ Ballylarkey ...	...	181	0 16
	{ Munsale Court ...	...	42	3 24
Robert and Adam Walsh	{ Earle's Rath ...	...	80	3 24
	{ Little Smithstown ...	...	144	2 12
Robt Walsh, jun., Ir. Pa.	{ Conlonymed ...	...	126	2 16
	{ Of the same. ...	...	22	2 12
Robt. Walsh, Ir. Pa.	{ Kilandrew ...	...	115	2 32
	{ Of the same ...	...	
Gleabe	{ Ballygreeke ...	...	78	1 8
	{ Kilbeacon ...	...	32	3 24

KILLAHY PARISH.

Robert Walsh.	{ Inchen Oharron ...	...	67	0 0
	{ Ballymackie ...	...	65	1 16
James Walsh.	{ Corbehy ...	...	118	0 0
	{ Ballina-Oully ...	...	177	3 24
Edward Welsh	Ballylenine	...	151	0 3
Robert Welsh, sonne of Mat Welsh.	{ Ballintobber ...	...	83	3 32
	{ Ballyknockbeg ...	...	58	0 32
Robert Walsh	Kilahy ...	...	140	2 16
Robt. and Jas Walsh.	Killyleah ...	...	103	2 32
Robt. Walsh, son of Mat.	Knockmore ...	...	99	0 0
	{ The two red acres ...	...	117	3 32
Robert Walsh	{ Mohanree ...	...	255	2 32
	Straduffe			
Robert Oadygan	Bally Rubbuk ...	...	152	2 16

KILKEASY PARISH.

Walter Mathew and Philip Welsh	{ Knockmulgin with } ...	546	1 12
	{ Ballybraskin } ...	538	0 16
Marcus Orainsborough	Part of Lismateige	...	21 2 12
Sett out for Mr. Thomas Knols	...	...	137 3 24

KNOOKTOPHER BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{	126	0	16	Bishop of Ossory.
{	180	0	16	William Ivory.
{	42	3	24	John Pecke, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.—42.
{	73	0	0	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.
{	8	3	24	John Pecke, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
{	144	2	12	John Pecke, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
{	66	0	9	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.
{	54	3	31	Captain Wm. Ivory.
{	50	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
	115	2	32	Harvey Morris.
	18	2	24	{ Sir Richard Kennedy.
				{ Harvey Morris.
	78	1	8	John Pecke, Cr., Thomas Hewetson.
	32	3	24	Church Lands.
	67	0	0	Thomas Hewetson.
	65	1	16	John Pecke, Cr., Thomas Hewetson.
	118	0	0	{ Mary Walsh.
	117	3	24	{
{	18	1	37	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.—18.
{	132	2	35	John Peike, &c., Thomas Hewetson.
	83	3	32	Thomas Hewetson.
	58	0	32	John Peike, &c., Thomas Hewetson.
	140	2	16	Thomas Knowles.
{	38	0	0	Mary Walsh ; one-third in demesne.
{	103	2	32	Sir George Lane.
{	99	0	0	Sir George Lane.
{	92	1	0	Mary Walsh ; in demesne.
	117	3	32	Mary Walsh.
{	78	3	16	Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.
{	127	3	16	John Peike, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
{	49	0	0	Sir George Lane.
	152	2	16	John Peike ; Thomas Hewetson.
	546	1	12	James Stopford, Esq.
	438	0	16	{
	100	0	0	{ Capt. Thomas Tomlins.
	21	2	12	{
				{ Captain Thomas Tomlins.
	137	3	4	{

COUNTY KILKENNY—KILKEASY PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Bishop of Ossory, als. Kilkenny Mortgagee.	{ Kilkeasy ...	957	1	16
Lt-Coll. Wheeler	Of same ...	13	2	0
Claimed by Lieut-Coll. Wheeler	Garnagh ...	10	0	0
Belonging to	Adjacent towns ...	59	2	16
Peter Walsh, son of William	Ballybroggan ...	139	3	32
	... ..	27	2	16
The same	{ Of the same ...	17	0	0
	{ Two pells of same ...	21	2	0
Not in ye abst.	Keatingstown ...	37	0	32
Robt, son of Mat. Walsh.	Ballyknockmore ...	141	3	32

PART OF MUCKULLY PARISH.

Robert Walsh, Ir. Pap.	Harristown ...	375	2	16
Thomas Walsh, Ir. Pap.	{ Muckully ...	71	0	32
	{ Milltowne ...	99	0	0

PART OF FIDDOWNE PARISH.

Part of this Parish in Iverk Barony.

Earl of Ormonde.	{ Ashtowne ...	325	1	16
	{ Of the same ...	101	0	24
	{ Kilmoige ...	224	0	32
	{ Of the same (69a. 2r. 32p.) ...	79	1	16
	{ Of the same ...	4	3	32
Controversy.	Thesame, of Ivah (Ida) Barony	12	0	32

AGHAVILLER PARISH.

David Roth.	Chashanree ...	146	2	0
	Of the same 234a. 2r. 16p.			
Robert Walsh.	{ Ballynamabagh ...	245	2	0
	{ Of the same, 170a. 1r. 16p.			
Earl of Ormonde	Milestown ...	172	0	0
	Condonstown ...	136	2	16
Robert Walsh.	{ Ballyglasse ...	385	1	16
	{ Of ye same, 177a. 0r. 0p.			
	Ballyleskin ...	168	0	16
	{ Of ye same, 47a. 0r. 0p.			
	Barrandowne ...	236	2	0
	Brownestown ...	74	3	32

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. F. NEW PROPRIETORS.

957 1 16 B Land

151	2	0	}	Phill Fernsley.
16	0	0		Captain Thomas Tomlins.

37	0	32	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
141	3	32	Captain Thomas Tomlins.

{	142	0	3	Thomas Knowles.
	233	2	13	Major Joseph Deane.

99 0 0 Duke of York.

{	325	0	16	Duke of Ormonde.
	191	0	24	
	224	0	32	

79	1	16	Duke of Ormonde.
4	3	32	

{	120	2	0	Mathias Westmoreland, Harvey Morris.
	26	0	0	William Halsey, Esq.

130 0 0 William Halsey, Harvey Morris.

40	0	0	William Halsey, Harvey Morris.
136	2	16	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
385	1	16	{

168	0	16	Sir John Ponsonby.
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{ 223 0 0 William Hasley, Harvey Morris.

COUNTY KILKENNY—AGHAVILLER PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Thomas Comerford.	Direleigh ...	281	0	0
The same.	Of ye same, 202a. 2r. 32p.			
James Fanning	Crannebeg ...	161	2	16
William Grant, Ir. Pap.	Aghaviller, qr. Robbins town, 52a. 0r. 32p. }			
The same	Of ye same ...			
Glebe	The same ...	1	2	0

KILKERHILL PARISH.

Edmond Purcell, Irish Papist.	{ Kilkerhill ...	226	2	32
	{ Of ye same 12a. 2r. 16p.			
	{ Of ye same ...	59	0	0
	{ Of ye same 10a. 2r. 12p.			
Sir Nicholas White.	Ballycardry ...	338	2	24
The same.	Of the same 108a. 0r. 32p.			
Olaimed by same.	Comon ...	17	0	32
The said Sir Nicholas.	{ Ballyheedy and Bally-			
	{ bowden ...	159	2	32
	{ Of the same ...	20	1	16

KNOOKTOPHER PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde.	Kilcollomb ...	61	1	8
Burges of Knocktopher.	{ Knocktopher and Barreta-			
	{ town ...	637	0	16
Church land.	3 pcls. of same ...	24	2	8
Earl of Ormonde.	{ The Manor of Knocktopher	352	2	0
	{ Of the same ...	16	1	8
Glebe.	In the same ...	1	1	0
Sir Nicholas White.	The Abbey of Knocktopher	144	1	8
Lord Mountgarret.	Sheepstown ...	386	0	38

JERPOINT PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde	{ Jerpoint ...	605	0	0
	{ Of the same ...	231	1	8
In controversy	Between ye same, No. 63 ...	23	0	32
Wm. Walson, Ir. Pap.	Ballinconner ...	265	0	0
Countess of Ormonde	Ballyrony ...	326	0	3
Earl of Ormonde	Dane's Rath ...	156	2	24
Countess of Ormonde	Rathtooterny ...	191	2	16
Glebe	Same ...	6	1	32

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

281 0 0 Mathias Westmoreland, Harvey Morris.

161 2 16 Harvey Morris.

150 0 0 William Halsey.

27a. 2r. Op. Harvey Morris.

1 2 0 Church land.

{	67	0	0	Earl of Anglesey.
	218	0	0	Philip Farnley (Fernealy, Richard)

338 2 24

17 0 32

159 2 32

20 1 16

Nicholas White.

{	61	1	8	Protestant land.
	436	0	0	Earl of Anglesey.
	238	0	0	Lawrence Power, gn. Protestant. Church land.

352 2 0

16 1 8

1 1 0

144 1 8

Duke of Ormonde; demesne lands.

Church lands.

Nicholas White.

Lord Mountgarret.

{	290	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
	315	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
{	221	1	8	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
	23	2	32	
	265	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
	326	0	3	Protestant land.
	156	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
	191	2	16	Protestant land.
	6	1	32	Church lands.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—JERPOINT PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Edmond Shortal, Ir. Pa.	Oldtown	205	1	8
Countess of Ormonde.	Cotterell's Bog	576	0	32
Wm. Walton, Ir. Pa.	{ Walton's Grove	319	1	8
	{ Oooleroe	81	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Kilvinoge	129	1	8
In controversy	Between adjacent towns, 78a. 2r. 16p.			
Lord Mountgarret,	In Kilvonage, 51a. 2r. 12p.			
William Walton.	{ Oappahenson	141	0	32
	{ In same, 247a. 0r. 10p.			
	Conlinha	394	3	32
	Of same 295a. 2r. 16p.			
	Glanpipe	266	0	0
	Of same 373a. 1r. 8p.			

DERRINAHENSY PARISH.

Edward Hoyle, and the Countess of Ormonde and half forfd.	{	375	2	16
	half forfd. 375a. 2r. 16p.			
	Of ye same 16a. 2r. 16p.			
Glebe.	2 pcls in same	4	3	16
Sir Nicholas White.	Pt. of Ballydowran	26	3	32
	Of ye same	7	2	16
	{ Kilturken	191	2	24
Edward Butler.	{ Of same	174	2	24
Edmond Howling.	Ballyhele als Ballinshee	486	2	32
Peter Anthony.	Of ye same	179	2	24
Earl of Ormonde.	New Oastle	710	1	16
	Of same 365a. 2r. 24p.			
	Ballytarney	197	0	16

KILKEASY PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde.	In Ballytarney, 122a. 1r. 14p.			
Robert & Philip Walsh.	{ Derrylaskagh (Derrylacky)	235	2	32
	{ Of ye same	17	2	10
	{ Of ye same 204a. 0r. 32p.			
Robert Walsh	Corbally	267	2	16
Earl of Ormonde	Kilkneady (Kilkeasy)	297	3	32
The same.	Of same 42a. 3r. 12p.			

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY—*Continued.*

A.	R.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
205	1	8	Duke of York ; Stephen Sweet.
576	0	32	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
319	1	8	Duke of York ; Stephen Sweet.
81	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
129	1	8	Lord Mountgarret.
{ 141	0	32	Duke of Ormonde.
			Duke of York.
394	3	32	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
266	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
375	2	16	Duke of Ormonde.
4	3	16	Church lands.
26	3	32	} Nicholas White.
7	2	16	
{ 191	2	24	} Duke of Ormonde.
{ 174	2	24	
{ 53	3	12	Philip Fernelly.
{ 30	0	0	Andrew Ram.
{ 303	0	0	Phil. Fernelley.
{ 333	0	0	Thomas Walsh.
710	1	16	} Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
197	0	16	
{ 129	1	2	Sir Richard Kennedy, Harvey Morris.
{ 50	0	0	Earl of Anglesey.
{ 73	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
267	2	16	Earl of Anglesey.
297	3	32	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILKEASY PARISH—*Continued.*

NEW PROPRIETORS.		A. R. P.		
Glebe land.	In same	8a. 0r. 0p.		
Earl of Ormonde.	Cashell	...	365	0 0
	Of same	37a. 0r. 16p.		

ROWER PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A. R. P.		
Edmond Grace	...	Rosnenowle	...	132 1 0
The same	...	Of same	...	22 2 0
Earl of Ormonde	}	Garranbeagh	...	322 0 0
		Ballycomin	...	373 0 0
		Of same	...	5 2 0
		Ballymurry	...	427 2 0
		Of same	...	13 1 0
Lord Mountgarret	}	Carranrower	...	302 0 0
		Farrantemple	...	74 0 0
Thos. Walsh and the Ld. Mount- garret. $\frac{1}{3}$ pt.	}	Tenescully	...	174 2 0
Thos. Walsh, afore- said. Ir. Pap.	}	Tentine	...	147 2 0
		Coolskill	...	248 2 0
		Clogaratt, pt. same	...	10 0 0
		Coolraheny and part of Mungan	...	83 1 0
		Of same	...	18 0 32
The same and Lord Mountgarret	}	Part of Coolkill and Mungane	...	112 1 0
		Of same	...	22 1 0
Lord Mountgarret	}	Ballinvarry	...	507 3 0
		Of ye same	...	75 1 0
The same		Oullentragh	...	301 0 0
Thomas Walsh	}	Mungan	...	209 0 0
		Ballinbarney	...	158 2 0
Pierce Bolger	}	Another of ye same	...	104 0 0
		Ballinduff, part of same	...	23 1 0
Edward Grace		Killrindowney	...	307 2 0
Richard Strange	}	Ballilogh	...	349 0 0
		Bog of same	...	81 2 0
		Of the same	...	6 0 0
		Grange	...	159 0 0
		Of same	...	69 3 0

KNOCKTOPHER BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

8	0	0	Church land.
365	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

IDA, IGRIN, AND IBERCOON BARONIES.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

132	1	0	James Dowde
322	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne lands.
373	0	0	
427	2	0	
{ 151	2	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land
{ 151	2	5	Do.
{ 74	0	0	Lord Mountgarret
{ 174	2	0	Thomas Walsh
{ 29	0	0	Lord Mountgarret
{ 147	2	0	Thomas Walsh
248	2	0	Lord Mountgarret
10	0	0	
{ 83	1	0	Thomas Walsh
{ 18	0	32	The same
112	1	0	The same.
22	1	0	
583	0	0	Lord Mountgarrett
301	0	0	Lord Mountgarret
209	0	0	Thomas Walsh
158	2	0	Godfrey Keyler
104	0	0	
23	1	0	
{ 80	1	32	Richard Quincy
{ 205	0	0	Capt. James Larkin
{ 21	0	8	Bishop of Ossory
{ 116	1	13	Char. Hawkins
232	2	27	Emanuel Palmer
159	0	0	Ld. Thomas Barnes

COUNTY KILKENNY.—ROWER PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Edward Grace	Rathanagada	128	0	0
	Of same	7	1	0
Ormonde	Lannaght	53	3	0
Lord Mountgarret	Oullane	213	0	0
Belonging to	adjacent towns of this part	653	2	0

OLOANE PARISH.

Bishop Ossory	Mount in Common—Oloan, and Ballingubb and Coolonomucke	702	0	0
	Courteryhane	194	1	0
Edw. Fitzgerald	Oloane	304	2	0
	Balligubb	275	0	0
	Coolenemucke	244	0	0

DESERTMOAN PARISH.

	Pt. of Coolenemuck	46	0	0
Edward Fitzgerald and Ormonde.	{ Aghagh Browne al Browns- ford and Curraghmore	501	2	0
The same.	Of the same	17a. 0r. 0p.		
	Pcl. yng woods growing on barren mountain, 75a. 0r. 0p.			
Commons of the Ormonde.	Adjacent towns	378a. 0r. 0p.		
The same. Do.	Garrandaragh	256	0	0
	Tullogher	494	0	0
	Glanballywally	494	0	0
	Of ye same	42a. 2r. 0p.		
	Do.	9a. 0r. 0p.		
	Pt. Glanballywally, 10a. 0r. 0p.			
Thomas Freney.	{ Ballaghfoyle	99	0	0
	{ Of the same	40a. 2r. 0p.		
	{ Ballyneile and Desertmoane	292	2	0
	{ Ballyknocke	304	1	0
	Shrubby woods, or barren mountain	46a. 2r. 0p.		
The same proprietor.	Brownstown	225	0	0
	{ Ballybready	496	2	0
Commons of	Ye same	35a. 2r. 0p.		
	Of ye same	7a. 1r. 0p.		
Nicholas Dormer	Kilbeaghan	163	2	0

IDA, IGRIN, AND IBERCON BARONIES.—*Continued.*

A.	R.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
69	2	27	Eusebias Ootton
{ 24	0	0	Godfrey Keyler
{ 34	3	13	Charles Hawkins
53	3	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne lands
{ 195	0	0	Lord Mountgarret
{ 38	0	0	Godfrey Keyler

{ 200	0	0	Thomas Lestrangle
194	1	0	Bishop of Ossory
{ 700	0	0	Thomas Lestrangle
{ 123	2	0	Bishop of Ossory

39	1	18	Theophilus Eaton, &c.
45	0	32	Andrew Richards.
85	1	9	Mathew Markes.
286	1	13	
63	1	8	Bishop of Ossory.

256	0	0	Duke Ormonde; demesne land.
494	0	0	
494	0	0	

99 0 0 William Drapper.

292	2	0	Maudlin Fisher.
304	1	0	

225	0	0	Theophilus Eaton.
{ 214	0	0	Theophilus Eaton.
{ 282	0	0	Maudlin Fisher.

163 2 0 Theophilus Eaton.

COUNTY KILKENNY—LISTERLIN PARISH.

Part of this parish in

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A. R. P.	
Thomas Frenny.	{ Ballincurrin ...	187	0 0
	{ Rathoane ...	159	0 0
Glebe land.	Listerlin ...	52	0 0
John Walsh.	Balliconnaght ...	116	2 0
Thomas Frenny.	{ Brabstown ...	98	0 0
	{ Ballyaloga ...	182	0 0
Patrick Denne, half, and Thos. Walsh, other half.	{ Giltahore ...	167	0 0

ROSBERCON PARISH.

James Sweetman.	Tonneraunagh ...	695	2 0
Ormonde.	{ Glensena ...	86	0 0
	{ Garrenboghy ...	102	0 0
	{ Another part of same ...	13	2 0
Earl of Ormonde.	{ Tenehill ...	47	0 0
	{ Of same ...	26	1 0
Edward Fitzgerald	{ Part of Rosbercon ...	378	0 0
	{ Of same ...	6	0 0
Eight parts Glebe.	Ye same ...	26	2 10
Walter Cottle.	Rahine ...	148	2 0

SHANBOUGH PARISH.

Savera Vise, Ir. Pa.	Glanciloghboagh ...	72	2 0
Pierce Butler.	Annagh ...	323	0 0
The same.	Of same 34a. Or. Op.		
The same.	Shanbo ...	522	2 0
The same.	Ballindine ...	58	2 0
	Ballycrony ...	222	2 0

BALLYGURRIM PARISH.

Jas. Forstall and Thos. Denn.	{ Forstallstown ...	396	0 0
Edmd. Forstal.	Jamestown ...	115	0 0
William Denn.	Busherstown ...	205	0 0

IDA, IGRIM, IBERCON BARONIES—*Continued.*

Knocktopher Barony.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

187	0	0	John Peike, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
{ 100	0	0	William Drapper.
{ 59	0	0	Andrew Richards.
52	0	0	Church land.
116	2	0	Andrew Richards.
98	0	0	
182	0	0	Thomas Hewetson.
167	0	0	John Peike, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
{ 511	2	14	John Goodwin, Cr.
{ 180	1	31	Anne Mathews.
86	0	0	Lazer. Fryars of Ross.
102	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
13	2	0	
47	0	0	Anne Mathews.
26	1	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
{ 82	0	0	Richard Stephens.
{ 40	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
{ 242	0	0	Anne Mathews.
{ 20	0	0	Anne Cottle, Protestant.
			John Buttler, &c., donor.
26	2	10	Church land.
148	2	0	Mary Millbank, Protestant.
72	2	0	John Peike, Thomas Hewetson.
323	0	0	
522	2	0	Sir George Hamilton.
58	2	0	Thomas Hewetson, John Peike, Theobald Denn, left to
222	0	0	
396	0	0	Theobald Denne, John Peike, Cr., Thomas Hewetson.
{ 115	0	0	
{ 26	1	27	Captain Thomas Evans.
{ 159	0	0	John Peike, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
{ 46	0	0	Bishop of Ossory, Theobald Denne.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—BALLYGURRIM PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	R.	P.
James Forstall Thomas	} Miltown	...	...	127	2	0
Denn.		...	...	46	2	0
The same.		...	...	19	2	0
Glebe land.	Ballygurrim	...	...	2	0	0

KILBRIDE PARISH.

Common to	Adjacent towns	...	...	630	0	0
Peter Strange	Flemingstown	...	...	548	0	0
William Walsh.	Ballynevory	...	...	160	2	0
Peter Butler.	Ballyfasy	...	...	363	0	0
	Of ye same	40a. Or. 16p.				
Richard Forstall.	Kilbride	...	...	190	2	0
William Forstall.	Ballaghbraghy	...	...	216	0	0

KILMACKNOGE PARISH.

Corporation of Waterford	Graiguekilly	...	...	82	2	0
Nicholas Aylwards.	Knockduff	...	...	57	1	0
Peter Forstall.	Carrignegloning	...	...	210	0	0
A small pct. commonage.	...	...	...	1	0	0
Nicholas Aylward.	Aylwardstown	...	...	276	2	0
Peter Forstall.	Killmacknoge	...	...	117	0	0
Glebe lands.	Of ye same	...	...	11	0	0
Nicholas Aylward, Ir. Pa.	Robbinstown & Ballinvarahy	...	...	320	2	0
Edward Forstall.	Munmonowhone (probably Moulertown)	...	...	177	0	0
The same.	Parkstown	...	...	196	2	0
Nicholas Aylward	Haggard al. Haggardstown	...	...	217	2	0
Unprofitable common.	Near the same	39a. 2r. 0p.				
Another common	Near same	113a. 2r. 0p.				

KILCOLLOMBE PARISH.

Peter Forstall	{ Knockbracke	...	...	234	0	8
	{ Rathsullagh	...	...	25	2	8

IDA, IGRIM, IBEROON BARONIES—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

127	2	0	John Peike, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
46	0	0	John Peike, &c. ; Thomas Hewetson.
20	0	0	Theobald Denne, Thomas Hewetson.
2	0	0	Church lane.

{	405	1	13	Edward Walsh.
{	142	2	0	Thomas Lovelace.
{	26	2	36	Andrew Richards.
{	33	0	20	Thomas Lovelace.
{	25	0	0	Captain Thomas Evans.
	363	0	0	John Peike, Thomas Hewetson.

	190	2	0	Thomas Hewetson.
{	156	0	0	John Peike, Thomas Hewetson.
{	26	1	10	Andrew Richards.
{	60	0	0	Roger Drake.
{	53	0	0	John Burt.

	82	2	0	{ Christopher Lovett.
	51	1	0	
	210	0	0	
	1	0	0	
	276	2	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
	117	0	0	Christopher Lovett.
{	2	3	0	Christopher Lovett.
{	8	1	0	Church land.
	320	2	0	{ Sir John Ponsonby.
	177	0	0	
{	106	1	17	Thomas Lovlace.
{	39	0	12	Bryan Manseragh.
{	51	0	0	Emanuel Palmer.
	217	2	0	Sir John Ponsonby.

234	0	8	{ James Stopford.
25	2	8	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILCOLLOMBE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
	Ballynamona,	...	288	2 0
	Ballydamose,	...	390	2 0
Glebe Land	Ballyhubbock	...	23	0 0
	In ye same	...	303	0 0
Richard Strange	Rathnowre	...	566	2 0
	Roachstown	...	51	0 0
	Of ye same	...	18	2 0
Richard Butler, aforesaid, Irish Papist.	The Hill of Rathowre	...	225	0 0
	Ballaghlaw	...	46	0 0
	Ballaghwarine,	...	24	0 0
	Of ye same	...	48	0 0
Richard Walsh	Killoluggin	...	145	2 0
James Dobbin	Ballaghcurragh	...	211	2 0
John Fiizgerald	Curraghmore	...	101	0 0
Richard Walsh	Carriganana	...	21	2 0
	Of ye same	...	25	1 0
	Of ye same	...	167	0 0
John Fitzgerald.	Castlewood	...	210	2 16
	Davidstown	...	197	2 16
	Of the same	2a. 2r. 16p.	27a. 3r. 0p.	
	Grogan	...		
Peter Strange.	Of ye same	...		
William Walsh.	Ballanarcagh	...	182	0 0
Robert Fitzgerald.	Nicholastown	...	126	0 0
Peter Strange.	Ardbeg	...	359	0 0
Barren mountain belong	To adjacent towns	...	1064	0 0

DUNKITT PARISH.

Rathsmulloge	...	141	3 0
Ballagheemoge	...	174	3 0

William Gaule, Ir. Pa.

IDA, IGRIN, IBERCON BARONIES—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

288	2	0	Richard Butler, Pt.
390	2	0	Richard Butler, Prt.
23	0	0	Church Land
303	0	0	Robert Thornehill
{ 556	1	13	Vincent Ridder
{ 61	0	27	Thomas Lovlace
18	2	0	Sir John Ponsonby
{ 225	0	0	Richard Butler, Pt.
{ 24	0	0	Richard Butler, Pt.
48	0	0	} Captain James Stopford
145	2	0	
{ 53	0	13	Captain James Stopford.
{ 25	0	0	Emanuel Palmer.
{ 32	1	17	John Broadstreets.
{ 73	1	13	John Spillman.
{ 48	3	0	Thomas Burrell.
{ 61	2	14	Thomas Lovlace.
{ 90	2	18	Captain James Stopford.
{ 69	1	14	Captain William Shore.
{ 23	3	0	Thomas Burrell.
{ 210	2	16	Captain Thomas Evans.
197	2	16	Captain Thomas Evans.
{ 162	1	11	John Bamlett.
{ 19	2	29	Thomas Lovelace.
126	0	0	Captain William Shore.
{ 47	3	16	Richard Quinn and Sadlier.
{ 64	1	27	Edward Annesley.
{ 51	0	0	John Bamlett.
{ 28	0	34	Thomas Lovelace.
{ 153	1	30	Captain Thoms Evans.
{ 112	0	21	Major George Ingolsby.
{ 29	3	13	Bishop of Ossory.
{ 116	2	0	} George Deyes.
{ 8	1	0	
{ 50	0	0	
{ 86	2	27	William Poulter.
{ 208	0	0	Captain James Stopford.
{ 104	0	0	Col. William Warden.
{ 17	1	14	Nicholas Bibby.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—DUNKITT PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

	Farnoge	...	...	354	2	0
Thomas Denn, Ir. Pa.	Derrenemensy	...	...	278	2	0
	Of ye same	...	...	22	3	0
Mountain of	Sleiverin (163)	...	...	315	2	0
Peter Strange.	{ Ballgh-Gallaby	...	...	489	0	0
	{ Of ye same	48a. 2r. 0p.				
Thomas Denn.	{ Ballaghkeoghan	...	...	229	1	0
	{ Killerany	...	...	278	0	0
	{ Milltown	...	...	313	0	0
Robert Gaule.	Killaspucke (Killasy)	...	...	252	1	0
Peter Strange.	Dunkitt	...	...	425	0	2
Glebe land.	In same	...	...	8	2	0
Thomas Denn.	Mallenbracky	...	...	315	0	0
Peter Strange.	Killmacskulloge	...	...	188	2	0
William Gaule.	Ballymartin	...	...	275	2	0

GAULSKILL PARISH.

William Gaule, Ir. Pa.	Gauleskill and Lockerstown	348	0	16
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IDA, IGRIM, IBERCON BARONIES—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{	1	2	27	George Latham.
{	315	1	26	Bishop of Ossory.
{	17	1	13	John Aderton.
{	204	1	14	Henry Baker.
{	12	0	0	Capt. George Bishop.
{	260	0	0	William Poulter.
{	83	0	0	Geoge Dyes, Theobald Denn.
{	315	2	9	Bishop of Ossory.
{	173	0	0	Captain George Bishopp.
{	295	0	0	Sir William Petty.

IDA BARONY.

229	1	0	{	Cornt. Anthony Hersey
278	0	0		
313	0	0		Oliver Wheller
76	0	27		Rebecca Smart
78	0	27		Francis Jones
2	0	6		Sir William Petty
93	3	14		Bishop of Ossory
52	0	0		Nicholas Bibby
29	0	0		George Latham
40	0	0		John Adderton
260	0	0		William Poulter
20	2	0		Rebeca Smart, &c.
19	0	0		Francis Jones
8	2	0		Ohurch land
{	157	2	0	Rebecka Smart, &c.
{	157	2	0	Francis Jones.
				The whole, Theobald Denn left to land.
{	33	0	0	Captain Boyle Mansell.
{	155	0	0	Charles Hawkins.
	55	3	0	Barnard Annally.
	26	1	27	John Perin.
	23	0	13	Gilbert Cossier.
	9	0	27	Henry Farmer.
	22	3	0	John Pendergrasse.
	21	3	9	William Farrell.
	22	3	0	William Punch.
	93	2	10	Sir Wm. Petty.

406 0 0 Captain George Bishop.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—GAULSKILL PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

	Of the same	...	...	105	1	24
William Gaule.	Gaulstown	...	...	265	2	0

KILKELEHEENE PARISH.

Mathew Grant.	{ Rathinne	...	...	271	2	0
	{ Of same	...	...	11	0	16
John Aylward	Killcloheene	...	...	581	0	0
John Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Robbinstown	...	...	179	0	0
John Fitzgerald.	Rathcloheene	...	...	169	0	0

RATHPATRICK PARISH.

	Killmurry	...	...	454	0	0
John Fitzgerrald.	Gurteens	...	...	545	0	0
	Of the same	9a. 0r. 0p.	...	164	0	0
	Rathpatrick	...	...	145	0	0
	Luffony	...	...	55	0	0
Richard Butler.	Ballymurtagh	...	...	306	2	0
Richard Strange.	Dromdowny	...	...	31	0	32
	Of same	95a. 1r. 0p.	...	63	2	0
	Of same	...	...	12	0	0
	Of same	247a. 0r. 0p.	...			
	Of same	...	...	

KILFERA PARISH.

Marous Shea, Ir. Pa.	Washes Hayes	...	...	227	0	0
Robert Forstall.	Kilfera	...	...	441	3	0
Glebe land.	Near same	...	...	8	0	0

IDA BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

12	0	0	Cornt. Boyle Mansell.
6	0	0	William Punch.
7	0	0	Francis Jones.
15	0	0	John Pilkington.
3	2	0	Smart's children.
265	2	0	Cornt. Boyle Mansell.

271	2	0	} Sir Algernon May, &c.
11	0	16	
581	0	0	The same.
{ 156	2	27	Thomas Bellow.
{ 22	1	13	Bishop of Ossory.
169	0	0	Sir Algernon May, &c.

21	0	2	Samuel Skrinshaire.
229	2	27	John Pilkington.
186	2	26	Sir William Petty.
545	0	0	Samuel Skrinshaire.

164	0	0	Samuel Skrinshaire.
145	0	0	Sir William Petty.
55	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
306	2	0	Alex. Bench (Bence).

{	60	2	21	Alex. Bench.
	45	0	11	Sir William Petty.

SHEELELOGHER BARONY.

227	2	0	Marcus and Richard Smyth
			George Smyth.
{ 99	0	19	Col. Carey Dillon.
{ 342	2	21	Richard Izon, &c.
8	0	0	Church land.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILREE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETER.		A.		B. P.	
Sir Robert Routh, Ir. Pa.	Killree	...	...	561	0 0

OUTRATH PARISH.

Bishop of Ossory.	Garrawyne	...	...	318	3 0
	Outrath	...	...	309	1 0
Pierce Shee, Ir. Pa.	Walalough al Loghonalty	...	...	166	3 0
Earl of Ormonde.	Of the same	...	...	33	3 0
William Sweetman.	Fowkestown	...	...	67	3 0
The same.	Of same	...	...	5	3 0
Earl & Countess Ormonde	Bodellemore	...	...	220	2 32

DUNFERT PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde.	Bennetsbridge	...	...	298	0 0
	Aghnamult	919	3 0
	Dunfert	1690	0 0

ENNISNAG PARISH.

Bishop of Ossory.	Ennisnag	916	2 16
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STAINCARTY PARISH.

Bishop of Ossory.	Staincarty	704	1 0
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BURNE CHURCH PARISH.

James Comerford, Ir. Pa.	Cumberford's Grange	214	0 0
	Of the same	8	3 0
William Fitzgerald.	(Burntchurch) Oldtown	...	...	197	0 0
Richd. Fitzgerald, Ir. Pa.	Burnchurch	...	...	740	0 0
Richard Fitzgerald, afsd.	Of same	...	...	76	3 0
William Fitzgerald.	Of same	...	...	...	...
Glebe land.	Same	...	...	...	...
Richd. Fitzgerald, Ir. Pa.	Booper (not ...)	...	...	...	...
Do.	do.	...	...	...	...
Do.	do.	...	...	...	...
Earl of Ormonde.	Courthall	...	...	...	...

SHEELELOGHER BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. OLD PROPRIETORS.

{	430	0	0	Col. Daniel Redmond.
{	100	1	0	Marcus Shee, &c.
{	31	0	0	William Bradley.

	318	3	0	} Bishop of Ossory.
	309	1	0	
{	67	0	0	Harry Baker.
{	39	0	0	Richard Izod, &c.
{	0	0	0	George Say, &c.
{	56	1	0	Marcus Shee, &c.

	67	3	0	Col. Carey-Dillon.
	5	3	0	Do.
	220	2	32	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne lands.

	298	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde ; demesne lands.
	919	3	0	
	1690	0	0	

916 2 16 B land.

704 1 0 B land.

	214	0	0	} Col. Wm. Warden.
	8	3	0	
	197	0	0	
	740	0	0	
	76	3	0	} Col. Warden.
	28	0	0	
	13	1	8	Church land.
	203	1	0	} Col. W. Warden.
	16	3	0	

234 0 0 Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.

CO. KILKENNY.—BURNE CHURCH PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	R.	P.
Jas. Comerford, Ir. Pa.	Ballinakee	...	...	315	1	0
	Of same	...	...	45	3	0
	Lands between same and Burnchurch in difference...			3	0	0
Richard Fitzgerald, afsd.	Bowley	...	...	134	3	8

EARLSTOWN PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde	Owenstown, Garrakibbin, (not in Kells barony)	}	...	357	1	0
William Sweetman	Earlestowne	.	...	777	2	0
Glebe Land	7 parcels same		...	17	2	0
William Sweetman	{ Castleefe		...	194	0	0
	{ In same		...	161	1	0

MAYESTOWNE PARISH.

Ellinor Oumbeford	Kilbricken	...	159	0	0
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CALLAN PARISH.

Sir Robert Rooth,	{ Tullaghmane	...	623	2	8
Irish Papist,		...	32	2	0
Earl of Ormonde		...	37	2	0

INSHEWLAGHAN (INSHIHOLOHAN) PARISH.

Pierce Fitzgarrott, Irish Papist	{ Gessinstown	...	178	1	0
Thomas See, Irish Papist		...	17	1	0
Do.	Of ye same	...	5	2	0
Glebe	Of same	...	7	2	0
William Comerford	Inshewlanna	...	840	2	0
	{ In same	...	96	0	0
	{ In same	...	96	0	0

SHEELELOGHER BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{	101	0	0	Joseph Cuffe.
	85	0	0	Henry Washer.
	42	0	0	William Davis.
{	118	0	0	Col. W. Warden.
	14	0	0	William Bradley.
	3	0	0	George Burton.
{	111	0	0	Col. W. Warden.
	23	3	8	Bishop of Ossory.

357 1 0 Duke of Ormonde, Demesne land

{	113	2	19	William Baxter
	11	0	0	William Bradley
{	175	0	0	George Say, Cr.
	6	0	0	Lord Ranelagh
	17	2	0	Church Land
{	285	1	0	Sir George Say, etc.
	70	0	0	Earl Rannelagh

159 0 0 Lord Rannalagh

{	623	2	8	Lord Rannelagh
	32	2	0	Bishop of Ossory
	37	2	0	Duke of Ormonde, Demesne land

{	148	0	0	George Burton
				John Butler's wife dower ye whole town
{	30	0	0	Giles King
	15	2	27	Duke of Yorke
	1	1	3	Giles King
				5a. 2r. 0p.
	7	2	0	Church Land
936	2	0	{	John Butler, etc., dnor.
				Joseph Cuffe

CO. KILKENNY.—INSHEWLAGHAN PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A. R. P.		
Glebe Land	Inshewlaghan	...	1	0 0
William Comerford	Brownestown	...	255	2 0

GRANGE PARISH.

John Cumberford	Balliburr	...	390	1 0
Earl of Ormonde	Grange	...	1153	0 0

TULLAGHAN PARISH.

George St. Leger, Ir. Pa.	Tullaghane (Tullaghanbro)...	703	1	0
Glebe.	Same	...	2	0 0
George St. Leger.	Lislonon	...	66	2 32
Do.	Lislonon	...	409	2 32
	Of same	44a. Or. Op.		
	Of Tullaghane	173a. Or. Op.		

KILLALOW PARISH.

Pat St. Leger, Ir. Pa.	Polonnytowke	...	363	0 32
	Of same	29a. 2r. 24p.	51	3 24
Earl of Ormonde.	Gragoolan	...	105	2 0
	Ballyburr	...	30	0 0
	Killalow	...	389	2 33
	Of same	51a. Or. 16p.		
	Rossmore	...	378	3 24
	Tenekille	...	248	3 24
	Balleline	...	565	3 24
	Cappalickden (Cappahayden)	...	479	1 24

KILMACOOE PARISH.

Foulke Denn.	Ballmarle	...	247	2 3
Duke of Ormonde.	Grannagh	...	627	0 0
	Same	...	79	0 0
	Same	...	12	2 32
In difference between same and	Aglish	...	41	0 16
Ormonde.	Newtown and part Granagh	...	44	0 32
Glebe.	Same	...	9	0 0
Foulk Denn, Ir. Pa.	Ballincrolagh	...	237	2 32

SHILLELOGHER BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

1	0	0	Church Land
255	2	0	Joseph Cuffe
			John Butler, etc., in dower
390	1	0	Bryan Manseragh
1153	0	0	Demesne lands, Duke of Ormonde

703	0	0	Joseph Cuffe.
2	0	0	Church land.
66	2	32	} Joseph Cuffe.
409	2	32	

363	0	32	} Joseph Cuffe.
51	3	24	
			Do.

Do.

Do.

Do. Demesne land ; Duke of Ormonde.

Do.

 IVERK BARONY.

{ 165	0	2	Phillis Prat, etc.
{ 82	0	0	John Mallacke,
			Do.
			Do.
			Do.
			} Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
			Do.
			Do.
9	0	0	Church land.
{ 23	0	0	George Ingolsby.
{ 214	2	32	The same, Ballymarle, above.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILMACOOE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	B.	P.
Ormonde.	Killmattoes	...	...	114	1	8
John Leonard.	Ballagh Fleming	...	...	128	0	0
Ormonde.	Norbane	...	...	177	2	32
	Of same	...	...	93	0	0
James Butler, Ir. Pa.	Dungand	...	...	552	0	18
	Of same	...	...	5	3	8
	Of same	...	...	69	2	32
	Cloneassy	...	...	192	0	0
Robt. Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Of ye same	...	...	174	0	16
	Of ye same	52a.	3r. 8p.			

ULLARD PARISH.

Duke of Ormonde.	Moloyne and Ullard	...	...	728	0	6
Glebe land.	In ye same	...	...	8	1	24
	Bellanaboly	...	...	442	0	16
Thomas Grant.	Of ye same	...	...	63	2	16
	Of ye same	1a.	3r. 8p.			
David Grant.	Teghmore	...	...	25	2	16

RATHKERAN PARISH.

Sir Robert Rooth.	Rattenrly	...	...	278	2	24
Edmd. & David Grant.	Dungolagh	...	...	221	2	10
John Leonard, Ir. Pa.	{ Ballaghmaddin	...	...	72	2	32
	{ Of same	75a.	0r. 0p.			
	{ Comons of same	...	...	6	2	32
Earl of Ormonde, half;	{ Rathkeran	...	...	224	0	16
David Grant, half, Ir Pa.		...	...	
The said, Ormonde.	4 pcls. ye same	...	...	9	0	3
	2 pts same	...	...	3	0	16
Glebe, 3 pts.	In same	...	...	8	1	0
David Grant.	Talbertstown	...	...	101	0	16
Robt. Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Rothestown (150)	...	...	342	0	0
Thos. Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Listroing	...	...	486	0	0
Do.	Of ye same	22a.	2r. 4p.			
Do.	Do.	23a.	0r. 32p.			
John Leonard.	Part of Waddingstown	...	...	59	0	0

IVERK BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

114	1	8	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
128	0	0	George Ingolsby.
177	2	32	Demesne land; Duke of Ormonde.
552	0	16	} John Ashburnham.
5	3	8	
69	2	32	
255	1	2	Charles Holeraft.
80	0	0	John Peck.
20	0	0	William Warden; 631a. Hollow Blades.
1	1	14	Robert Howford.
10	0	0	Anthony Horsey.

728	0	6	Demesne.
8	1	24	Church land.
442	0	16	} Robert Howford.
80	0	0	
25	2	16	George Ingolsby.

{ 279	0	0	Martha Talbott.
{ 77	0	0	Earl of Ossory.
211	0	0	Edmond Jackson.

{ 135	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
			Bishop of Ossory, title.

224	0	16	One moiety, Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
9	0	32	} One moiety, Bishop of Ossory, in right of ye
3	0	16	
8	1	0	Church land.

{ 102	0	39	John Mallock.
{ 212	3	34	Charles Hailecroft.
{ 26	1	14	Martha Talbott.
486	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.

59	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
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COUNTY KILKENNY.—AGLISH PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

John, Leonard, David,	}	Aglish part	286	2	16
Emet, Thom Walsh and						
and Richard Grante, Ir.						
Pas., and do.						
		Part ye same	150	1	24

RATHKERAN PARISH.

Glebe Lands	3 parcels of Glebe land in Aglish	4	1	8
Richard Grant, $\frac{1}{2}$	} Portnahelly ...	178	3	8
John Leonard, $\frac{1}{2}$		In ye same 4a. 3r. 24p.		
Duke of Ormond		} Ballysullagh ...	160	2	0

PORTNASCULLY PARISH.

David Grant, Irish Papist	{	Curlody	...	352	2	16
Do.		In same	...	29	1	24
Duke of Ormonde	{	Luffiny				
		Lickettstown	...	998	0	0
Concealed Land		Glengrant	...	40	3	24
David Grant, Ir. Papist	{	Portnascully	...	191	2	0
Glebe land		In ye same	...	5	0	0

POLERAINE PARISH.

Peter Strange, Ir. Pa.	Ballybrassill	...	121	2	32
Do., etc.	Of same (No. 24) 66a. 1r. 24p.				
Ormonde	Donane	...	165	2	0

PORTNASCULLY PARISH.

(Poleraine pt. in Estimates Survey).

Edwd. Grant, Ir. Pa.	{	Poleraine	...	...	317	2	16
		Of same	...	...	106	0	0
		Of same	...	...	4	3	8
		Of same	...	...	10	1	24
Glebe land.		In same	...	...	2	2	0
Ed. Grant, aforesaid.		Ballaghgeneen	...	...	58	3	32
Ormonde.		Ballaghgeran	...	...	41	3	8
John Leonard, Ir. Pa.		Ballinlough	...	...	35	3	0
Pierce Walsh.		Grange	...	...	289	2	16
		Grant's Land	...	...	20	2	29
In difference between		Same, Clonmore	...	...	19	1	8
The same.		The same and Ballytarsney	...	...	7	0	0
Pierce, aforesaid.		Nicholastowne	...	...	86	0	0

IVERK BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{	247	0	0	John Jessep, part mortg. by dower.
				William Harden.
	39	2	16	Duke of Ormonde; demesnes.
{	150	1	24	Duke of Ormonde; demesnes.

	4	1	8	Church land
{	163	0	0	Edmond Jackson
	15	3	8	Bishop of Ossory
	160	2	0	Duke of Ormonde, Demesne

{	129	0	0	Charles Holcraft
	223	0	0	Edward Jackson

	998	0	0	Duke of Ormonde, Demesne
	40	3	24	Duke of York
	191	2	0	Edward Jackson
	5	0	0	Church land.

121 2 0 Edwd. Beacon.

165 0 0 Duke of Ormonde; demesnes.

317	2	16	{	Thomas Walsh.
106	0	0		
4	3	8		
10	1	24		
	2	2	0	Church land.
	58	3	32	Duke of York.
	41	3	8	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

290	0	0	Captain Ed. Hoare, for Mary Bond.
20	2	29	Duke of York.

			{	(qr.) Church land.
86	0	0		Sir John Pohnsonby.

CO. KILKENNY.—PORTNASOULLY PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	B.	P.
Earl of Ormonde.	Ologgath	...	...	530	0	0
Do.	{ 2 pcls. same	10a.	2r. 32p.			
	{ Of same	...	...	60	2	0

BALLYTARSNY PARISH.

Pierce Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Afadda	...	...	109	1	0
Richard Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Killcrogan	...	...	193	2	16
Ormonde.	5 pcls. Ballytarsny	...	...	102	0	16
Bog.	Of ye same	75a.	0r. 0p.			
Glebe.	In same	...	...	1	0	32

PART OF AGLISH—MALINE PARISH.

John Leonard, Ir. Pa.	{ Ballymacur	...	...	84	1	8
	{ Of same	54a.	0r. 0p.			
Howell Walsh.	{ Ardorney	...	...	270	0	16
	{ Of same	...	...	77	1	8

MUOKULLY PARISH.

Robert Walsh, Ir. Pa.	{ Garragage (Garrygaug) and)			310	3	24
	{ Ballaghamadeike					
	Of same	31a.	2r. 0p.			
Glebe in difference between ye Baronies	...	...	...	8	1	8

TUBBARD (TUBRID) PARISH.

Ormonde, one-eight, and James Walsh half of the remainder, and William Walsh of the other half, Ir. Pa.	{	Tubbart and Barkehy		...	467	0	24
Ool Ponsonby.		2 pcls same	...	...	29	0	16
Comons in		Same	...	...	23	2	32
Glebe.		Same	...	...	4	1	8
Ormonde; Cr.	{	Difference between ye same.					
		Ologhth		...			
		Ballinecoral, Ballinecall		...	75	3	24

OLONAGONY PARISH.

Thomas Walsh, Ir. Pa.	{ Killinaspick	...	...	109	2	32
	{ Same	...	...	28	0	0
Walter Dalton, Ir. Pa.	Olonacony	...	...	112	0	0

IVERK BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

530	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
60	2	0	

109	1	0	} Ed. Hoare, for Mary Bond.
193	2	16	
102	0	16	

102	0	16	} John Woodcocke.

1	0	32	Church land.
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84	0	0	Martha Talbot.
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270	0	16	} Col. Hoyle Walsh.
77	1	8	

310	3	24	Sir John Ponsonby.
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8	1	8	Church land.
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467	0	24	Sir John Ponsonby.
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29	0	16	The same.
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4	1	8	Church land.
---	---	---	--------------

8	2	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
75	3	24	

75	3	24	John Jessops, Pt.
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109	2	32	} John Jessop, Pt.
28	0	0	

112	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
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COUNTY KILKENNY.—CLONMORE PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. B. P.

In comon called	Dalton's Bog and Loghroagh	804a. 0r. 0p.			
Foulk Denne, Ir. Pa.	Gragavine	...	97	0	0
Thomas Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Oloynmore	...	495	0	0
Glebe.	In same	...	18	1	16

FIDDOWNE PARISH.

(Part in Knocktopher Barony).

Foulk Denne, Ir. Pa., 10a.; M. Dalton, 3a.; Pierce & Philip Walsh, 3a., Ir. Pa.	{ Fiddowne	...	470	3	0
	{ Islands of ye same	...	16	2	16
Glebe.	2 pcls. of ye same	...	12	0	16
Duke of Ormonde.	Ardlone	...	130	0	0
	Of ye same	29a. 0r. 16p.			
Lord Mountgarrett, Ir. Pa.	Pilltown	...	15	1	0
	{ Curloghane	...	106	2	16
Edmd. Dalton, Ir. Pa.	{ Killdalton	...	407	2	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Cashell Farrell	...	140	1	8
	Difference	...	7	2	0
	{ Tobernabrowne & Lisnagoney	264	3	0	
Ed. Dalton, afd.	{ Of same	25a. 1r. 8p.			
	{ Ballaghadowhi	...	224	0	0
	{ Of same	73a. 1r. 8p.			
	{ Corbelly	...	379	2	0
Robert Walsh.	{ Of same	59a. 2r. 24p.			
	{ 2 pcls same	52a. 0r. 0p.			
	{ Ratheene	...	293	2	24
Ed. Dalton, Ir. Pa.	Ballaghmollagh	...	336	3	8
Robt. Walsh, inf.	Templeorum	...	697	3	8
	Of same	75a. 0r. 16p.			
	Do.	84a. 2r. 34p.			
	Do.	48a. 0r. 0p.			
Controvv. between same and	Knocktopher	...	99	0	0
	{ Garridunle	...	259	0	0
	{ Of same	11a. 3r. 8p.			
Pierce Walsh.	{ Killinannagheene	...	76	2	0
	{ Of same	10a. 2r. 0p.			
	{ Of same	7a. 3r. 24p.			

IVERK BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

97	0	0	Robert Frippe.
{ 20	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
{ 495	0	0	John Jessop, Pt.
{ 18	1	16	Church land.

50	3	34	Lord Mountgarret.
100	3	16}	Robert Frippe.
0	1	29}	
370	3	8}	Sir John Ponsonby.
16	2	16}	
12	0	16	Church land.
130	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.

15	1	0	Lord Mountgarret.
{ 50	3	16	Sir John Ponsonby.
{ 80	2	16	Robert Frippe.
{ 407	2	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
140	1	8}	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
7	2	0}	
264	3	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
224	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.

293	3	22}	Sir John Ponsonby.
336	3	8}	
697	3	8}	

259 0 0 Sir John Ponsonby.

76 2 0 Do.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—FIDDOWNE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Ed. Dalton, Ir. Pa.	Jamestowne	194	1	8
Peter Strange, Ir. Pa.	{ Brenagh	151	2	16
	{ Balleene	131	2	0
Ed. Dalton, Ir. Pa.	{ Gorleene	70	3	8
	{ Bannagher	160	0	0
Peter Strange.	Rogerstown	169	0	0

TEIGHBRAGHNEY PARISH.

Lord Mountgarret.	Teighbraghney	679	3	8
Duke of Ormonde.	Garranarahy	288	0	0
	Of same 2a. 3r. 32p.			
In difference between	Ye same & adjacent towns ...	18	0	0

OWNEY PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde.	Ballaghonyberry	322	1	8
Pierce Walsh.	Ballaghferoge	30	0	32
Ormonde.	Ballaghonyberry	16	2	0
Pierce Walsh $\frac{1}{4}$, and Philipp Hennebery	{ Fanningstown	149	2	0
	Of same 22a. 2r. 32p.			
The same.	Of same	11	1	24
Glebe.	2 pcls same	24	2	0
Pierce Walsh, Ir. Pa.	Owney	150	1	0
Glebe.	5 pcls. in same	11	2	16
The comons	Owney	367	1	8
The same.	Of same 15a. 0r. 0p.			
Duke of Ormonde.	Garranogag	16	3	24
	Of same 21a. 0r. 0p.			
	Curraghmore	315	2	16
	Of same	32	2	16
Comons to ye Bar.	Kells, Iverk, Knocktopher ...			

TEMPLEGAULE PARISH.

Duke of Ormonde.	Castletown	509	0	0
Do.	Of same	19	1	8
	2 pcls in difference by river side	6	3	8
Glebe.	4 pcls in same	34	1	8
	Knockandrowle			
	Part of ye same	72	0	32
Ed. Dalton, Ir. Pa.	Templegaule	397	0	0

IVERK BARONY—*Continued.*

A. B. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

194	1	8	} Sir John Ponsonby.
151	2	16	
131	2	0	

160	0	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
169	0	0	Sir Algernon May, &c.

679	3	8	Sir Algernon May, &c.
288	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

322	1	8	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
30	0	32	} Sir John Ponsonby.
149	2	0	

24	2	0	Church land.
150	1	0	Sir John Ponsonby.
11	2	16	Church land.
367	1	8	Sir John Ponsonby.

16	3	24	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
315	2	16	
32	2	16	

509	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
19	1	8	

34	1	8	Church land.
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72	0	32	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
397	0	0	Duke of York.

CO. KILKENNY.—BALLENOSTRONY PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A. R. P.		
Peter Dalton, Ir. Pa.	{ Ballenostrony	...	228	2 16
	{ Of same	5a. 0r. 0p.		
	{ Of same	...	117	2 0
	{ Of same	...	127	1 8
Earl of Ormonde.	Killenery	...	284	2 24

KILREE PARISH.

Nicholas Hewting.	Kilree	...	188	0 0
	Of same	21a. 3r. 8p.		
	Of same	...	11	3 8
Glebe.	2 pels of same	...	2	2 32
Sir Robert Roth.	{ Danganbeg	...	134	2 32
	{ Of same	...	24	2 0
	{ Of same	...	11	3 0
Countess of Ormonde.	Grobig, Hagart, Shortallstown			

DUNNAMAGGIN PARISH.

Thomas Archer.	{ Rahene (Raheen)	...	73	0 0
	{ Of same	...	3	0 0
Countess of Ormonde.	Danganmore	...		
Sir Robert Roth.	Tewistown	...	98	2 32
Countess of Ormonde.	Acrabigg	...	2	0 0
	Donnamagon & Raheen	...	899	2 16
	Of same	9a. 2r. 16p.		
Sir Robert Roth.	{ Of same	...	76	2 16
	{ Of same	...	500	0 32
	{ Of same	...	26	3 34
	{ Of same	28a. 3r. 8p.		
Glebe land.	7 pels in same,	...	6	1 0

KILLMOGANY PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde.	Oloneinchshanboy	...		
	Castlehayle	...	352	3 24
	Of same	...	10	3 8
Robert, son of Matthew Walsh, aged 10 years.	{ Of same	...	48	2 16
	{ Of same	10a. 2r. 16p.		
	{ Of same	...	49	1 8
	{ Of same	6a. 3r. 24p.		
	{ Of same	...	222	0 16

IVERK BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. G. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

228 2 16. Sir John Ponsonby.

284 2 24. Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.

KELLS BARONY.

188 0 0 } Davis Howling.

11 3 8 }

2 2 32 Church land.

134 2 32 }

24 2 0 }

11 3 0 }

Capt. Thomas Evans.

Protestant land.

73 0 0 }

3 0 0 }

Duke of Ormonde.

Protestant land.

{ 50 0 0

Thomas Batts, Harvey Morris.

{ 18 0 0

Thomas Hunt, and for Shropshire adventr. 4a. 3r. 3p.

{ 43 3 29

Captain Thomas Evans.

2 0 0

Protestant land.

620 0 0

William Candler, &c.

237 2 10

Lord Mountgarret.

38 1 27

Captain Thomas Evans.

573 1 8

Duke of Ormonde.

6 1 0

Church land.

Protestant land.

671 2 27 }

Henry Slade ; Henry Brunsmeade.

CO. KILKENNY.—KILMOGANNY PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
	Part Castlehayle	...	4	0 32
Robert Shea and	Rosannarrow	...	176	1 24
Tibbot Butler.	Of same	...	65	2 32
	{ Cotterellstown	...	125	1 8
Tibbot Butler.	{ Of same	...	13	2 16
	{ Of same	...	21	0 32
	{ Newtown and Smythstown	...	834	0 32
Robert Walsh.	{ Of same	...	116	3 8
	{ Of same	14a. Or. 16p.	...	...
	Lamamoge (Lamoge)	...	505	0 16
Earl of Ormonde.	{ Ballinalimick, Killmoheran,	...	...	...
	{ Tallaght, Meallaghmore	...	...	...
James Tobbin.	Garryhallowe	...	79	1 8
	Comons of adjacent towns	...	17	2 32
Ed. Butler.	Ballysagart	...	65	1 8
	{ Kirrihill	...	311	2 32
	{ Of same	...	93	0 0
David Butler.	{ Do.	...	145	3 24
	{ Do.	...	77	0 32
	{ Do.	32a. 1r. 8p.	...	...
	{ Kildrummy	...	274	3 8
	{ Of same	...	77	0 0
David Butler.	{ Of same	...	8	3 24
	{ Owneybeg	...	144	0 32
	{ Of same	...	13	0 0
	{ Of same	...	22	2 32
Robert Shea.	{ Lemonstowne	...	162	2 0
	{ Of ye same	...	36	2 32
	{ Killmogany	...	145	0 32
David Butler.	{ Of same	...	41	2 32
Glebe land.	In same	...	...	...

KILORORY PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde.	Seskin and Garry Thomas	...	150	2 0
Edmd. Purcell.	Recken (Garry Ricken)	...	8	3 8
Do.	Of same	...	8	2 16
Do.	Of same	...	...	...
Countess of Ormonde.	Rossana	...	...	...
Ormonde.	{ Mullaghmore	...	...	...
James Tobbin.	Killtrasney	...	211	1 8
Col. Richard Butler.	Butlerswood	...	173	0 16
	Of same	...	48	0 32

KELLS BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

176	1	24	}	Andrew Mainwaring.
65	2	32		
125	1	8		
13	2	16		
21	0	32		
834	0	32	}	Duke of Ormonde; 1044a. Hollow Blades.
116	3	8		
505	0	16		Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
				Protestant land. 143a. Hollow Blades.
{	97	0	0	Henry Slade, Henry Brinismeade.
				Made good to Ormonde 65a. 1r. 8p.
200	0	0		Harvey Morris.
28	3	0		Henry Slade.
				Lord Mountgarret, of ye whole town, 13s. 4d. chiefry.
217	0	0		Gabrill Swymock.
100	0	0		Lord Mountgarret.
61	2	6		Wm. Biskerdick.
274	3	8	}	Gabrill Swymock, Harvey Morris, Esq.
77	0	0		
8	3	24		
131	0	0		Capt. Thomas Evans.
35	3	14		Col. Francis Willoughby.
162	2	0	}	Col. Francis Willoughby.
36	2	32		
64	3	24		Henry Slade, Henry Brinismeade.
				Lord Mountgaret, on whole town, 13s. 4d. chiefry.
122	0	0		Andrew Mainwaring.
5	1	8		Church land.
				Protestant land.
150	2	0		John Jones.
			}	Protestant land.
{	100	1	8	Captain Thomas Tomlins.
{	111	0	0	Duke of York.
	173	0	16	Duke of Ormonde, for Col. Richard Butler, Killcash.
	48	0	32	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILORORY PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.			A.	B.	P.
James Tobbin.	Of same	9a. 3r. 24p.			
	Killemore	... ..	208	0	8
	Of same	... ..	82	3	8
	Of same	... ..	28	3	24
Glebe land.	Of same	... ..	91	3	8
	2 pcls in ye same	... ..	1	1	8
	In same	15a. 1r. 24p.			
Col. Butler.	Garranmac Andy	... ..	187	2	16
Glebe land.	In same	... ..	3	0	32
	In same	41a. 2r. 16p.			
Countess of Ormonde.	Muckleary	... ..		
David Butler, in mortgage to Thomas Comerford.	Killshallaghan	... ..	111	1	8
	Of same	... ..	54	0	0
	Of same	... ..	24	3	24
Col. Butler.	Blanbrackmeere, same	... ..	19	3	24
	Garry Reckin	... ..	315	0	16
	Of ye same	... ..	29	3	8

COULAGHMORE PARISH.

Pierce Butler.	Courtne beg	... ..	158	2	16
	Of same	... ..	17	0	0
	Of same	... ..	44	0	32
	Of same	7a. 0r. 16p.			
David Butler.	Of same	... ..	40	0	32
	Balliflugh	... ..	127	0	32
	Of same	... ..	7	3	24
Glebe.	In this parish	... ..	2	0	0

Countess of Ormonde	Grange	... ..		
	Aghanamora	... ..		
	Attitinee	... ..		
	Phisitiantown	... ..		
	Coulaghmore	... ..		

PART OF WHITECHURCH

Ormonde	Dunmaure				
Sir Robert Roth	Maylerstowne	... ..	805	0	8
Pierce Butler David	Of same	... ..	36	2	0
Tobin and Thomas	Of same	... ..	198	3	8
Comerford		... ..	9	2	0

KELLS BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{	348	2	8	Captain Isaac Jackson, &c.
	39	1	13	John Jones.
	1	1	8	Church land.

187	2	16	Duke of Ormonde, <i>ut supra.</i>
3	0	32	Church land.

100	2	30	Captain Isaac Jackson, &c.
49	2	0	Lord Kingston.
40	1	34	Trenor Loyd, &c.
19	3	24	{ Duke of Ormonde ; Butler, of Killcash
315	0	16	
29	3	8	

158	2	16	{ Pierce Butler.
17	0	0	
44	0	32	
40	0	32	{ Sir Henry Pierce.
127	0	32	
7	3	24	
2	0	0		Church land.

{	Protestant Land

PARISH.

356	0	0	Lord Rannalagh
36	0	0	{ Coll. Francis Willoughby
274	0	34	
420	1	0	Peirce Butler

COUNTY KILKENNY.—PART OF EARLSTOWN PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

John Sweetman	Rathculbin and Spruce's Hayes	...	475	3	8
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BALLAGHTOBIN PARISH.

Land in difference	Redmore	...	109	0	16
	Of same	...	34	0	32
	Of same	...	11	0	16
David Tobin	Cahirleske	...	385	3	8
	Ballaghtobbin & Croghtabegg	...	640	3	8
	Of same	...	13	0	16
	Of same	...	32	0	32

Glebe land ; six pces. in	} Bellaghtobbin and Croghtabegg	...	10	2	0
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KELLS PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde	Kellsgrange and Blackerath				
Mountgarret, Pt. Kelly.	Michael Jones' garden	...	1	0	32
	Cotterel's acre and $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	2	32
Do.	Garrycur & Gortyskeagh	...	14	2	16
Do.	Vskysloght	...	4	2	32
Do.	Staigan	...	1	0	32
Do.	do.	...	0	3	32
Do.	do.	...	2	1	0
Do.	do.	...	1	0	0
	Skeighcasleene	...	10	2	32
	Bannaghy	...	1	3	8
	Acrafada	...	8	0	32
	Farranakent	...	1	0	32
	Tenelenane	...	2	0	16
	Anaclogh	...	1	0	16
	Banevagh	...	21	3	0
	Woolishinington	...	9	0	32
	Cloghneagh and Reaske	...	2	1	32
	Goodwin's garden and Resk-				
	more	...	365	0	24
	Goodwin's acre	...	4	0	0
			4	2	16
			1	0	16
			2	0	32
	Comon Greene	...	4	0	16

KELLS BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

475 3 8 Duke of York

109 0 0 Sir Henry Peirce

34 0 0 Peirce Butler

11 0 16 } Sir Henry Peirce

386 0 0 }

153 0 0 Ralph Hall

109 2 3 } William Baker

2 3 28 }

84 3 27 Ralph Hall

133 0 0 Henry Peirce

115 0 13 } Coll. Fran. Willoughby

55 3 32 }

32 3 3 }

10 2 0 Church land

Protestant land.

35 0 27 Thomas Smithes.

3 3 9 Thomas Woods.

44 0 5 Thomas Wood.

569 0 20 Lord Mountgarret.

14 0 20 Oliver Wheeler.

25 0 0 Walter Jones.

32 0 0 Jewell.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KELLS PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
	Garrancarnelagh	...	0	0 32
	Garrintumomishlone	...	0	0 32
	Garrinbronagh	...	2	0 16
	Garrintemple	...	0	1 8
	Strekengarinakenty	...	1	1 8
	Treaghgarr	...	7	0 0
Moorish pasture in 10th is claimed commonage of grazing by the Countess of Ormonde, in right of Kells and Haggart.	...	...	31	3 24
Mountgarret.	Garrinamanne	...	262	2 32
	Of same	...	40	0 16
Countess of Ormonde.	Irishtown, Kilkenny	...		
Glebe land,	2 pcls	...	1	2 0

DONNOGHMORE AND PART OF

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Nicholastown	...	65	0 0
Lord Mountgarret.	Part of Russelstown.	...	223	0 0
The same.	The other part of ye same	...	248	0 0
	Ballymartin (300)	...	985	0 0
	Fenane	...	352	0 0
	Balleragget	...	547	0 8
	In same	...	37	0 0
	Donoghmore	...	480	0 0
	In same	...	100	0 0
Glebe.	In same	...	3	0 0

CONAHY PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde.	Oldtowne	...	343	0 0
	Grange	...	449	0 0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	{Knockroe (this in Civil Survey in Coolrahine parish)}	...	203	0 0
Earl of Ormonde.	Conohye	...	862	0 0

KELLS BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

15 0 0 Duke of York.

31 3 24 Countess of Ormonde.

211 3 38 Lord Mountgarret.

44	0	25	} Maurice Murphy.
40	2	27	

1 2 0 Church land.

KILMENAN PARISH.—FASSADINING BARONY.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

65 0 0 John Todd.

223	0	0	} Ed. Butler, lease. Lord Mountgarret.

248 0 0 Lord Mountgarret.

Ed. Butler, lease.

985	0	0	} Lord Vaux, in lease. Lord Mountgarret, in fee.

332 0 0 Lord Mountgarret, in fee.

547	0	8	} Ed. Butler, in lease.
37	0	0	
480	0	0	

100	0	0	} Lord Mountgarret.
3	0	0	

Church land.

343	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
449	0	0	

203	0	0	} Lord Mountgarret. Thomas Lovelace.

862 0 0 Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—COOLERAHINE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

Phill Purcell, Ir. Pa.	Fowksrath	...	...	554	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Clinstown	...	...	252	0	0
Richard Purcell, Ir. Pa.	Lismayne	...	...	165	0	0

MAYNE PARISH.

Peter Shee, Ir. Pa.	Tulloglass	...	...	284	0	0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Suttonsrath and Ardloe	...	...	18	0	0
Common between	Suttonrath	...	...	209	0	0
Robert Shee, afd.	Ardloe	...	...	316	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Jenkinstown	...	...	976	0	0

KILMIDIMOGH AND PART OF

A. R. P.

Countess of Ormonde.	{	Ballycrafton and Rath	}	531	0	0
		Ballinoge				
		Lapstowne	...	105	0	0
Garrat Blanchfield, Ir. Pa.		Killmodimoge	...	638	0	0

MOTHELL PARISH.

Maner land.	Inchykill	...	...	89	0	0
Ed. Purcell, Ir. Pa.	{ Esker	...	...	249	0	0
	{ Killcollan	...	...	254	0	0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Lisnafunsin	...	...	420	0	0
David Roth, Ir. Pa.	Part of Ballinranck	...	...	45	0	0
Henry Archer.	{ Part Muccully	...	...	131	0	0
Walter Archer Fitzjohn,	{ Part Ballinranke	...	...	91	0	0
Ir. Pa.	{ Corbetstown	...	...	232	0	0
Glebe.	In same	...	...	12	0	0
David Roth, I. P.	Lisclyan	...	...	143	0	0
Walter Archer, aforesaid.	Part of John Rothstown	...	...	55	0	0

KILMADUM AND PART OF CASTLECUMBER PARISH.

Walter Archer (Fitzjohn)	Pt. John Rothstown	...	...	86	0	0
Glebe	In same	...	...	4	0	0
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	{ Kilmadam, in V. Survey }	...	...	200	0	0
	{ Parish, in Civ. Survey }	...	...	

. FASSADINING BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{	23	2	26	Christopher Mathews.
	258	1	14}	Theophilus Eaton.
	91	0	0}	
	181	0	0	Joseph Bradshaw.
	252	0	0	Lord Mountgarret, Thomas Lovelace, &c.
	165	0	0	John Purcell.

284	0	0	Christopher Matthews.
18	0	0	Wm. Hancock.
209	0	0	Christopher Matthews.
216	0	0	Wm. Hancock.
976	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

DONMORE PARISH.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

531	0	0	
105	0	0	
638	0	0	Patrick Fitzpatrick, Ed. Blanchfield, &c.
89	0	0	Church land.
249	0	0	Lt. Arthur St. George.
254	0	0	Henry Webb.
420	0	0	Corporation of Kilkenny, as aledged.
45	0	0	} Henry Webb.
28	2	27	
102	1	13	Patrick Archer.
91	0	0	Henry Webb.
232	0	0	Henry Webb.
12	0	0	Church land.
143	0	0	} Henry Webbe
55	0	0	
86	0	0	Henry Webbe
4	0	0	Church land
266	0	0	{ Patrick Archer
			Edward Purcell

CO. KILKENNY.—KILMADUM AND PART CASTLECOMBER
PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	B.	P.
Phill. Purcell, Ir. Pa.	Dromuryn	...	...	289	0	0
Countess of Ormonde	Ologhmoylhoe	...	...	259	0	0
	Glanmagan and Farradough al Farraclough	...	...	830	0	0

MOOULLY PARISH, PART OF

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	B.	P.
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	.	...	...	671	0	0
Glebe	In same	...	...	10	0	0
The said Archer	Gallstown	...	...	291	0	0
Phill Purcell, I. Pa.	Ologhranke	...	...	1530	0	0

Coolcullen ... 1364 0 0

DYSERT PARISH.

Ld. Mountgarret I. Pa.	Damerstown	...	...	488	0	0
Countess of Ormonde	{ Clonefely and Clonfuntion, } $\frac{1}{2}$ of a horseman's bed	...	...	800	0	0
Chris. Wandesforde. Esq. Prot.	Killaribbin, Rawinind and Knockane, Idogh, $\frac{1}{16}$ of horseman's bed	...	...	300	0	0
	Rathcully. $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	...	...	300	0	0
	Ballinramoe, $\frac{1}{17}$ do.	...	...	226	0	0
	Smythstown, $\frac{1}{12}$ do.	...	...	250	0	0
	Killdergan, $\frac{1}{12}$ do.	...	...	800	0	0

LEWHILL PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde	{ Castlemarket, $\frac{1}{2}$ horseman's bed	...	600	0	0
Earl of Ormonde	{ Ballyoskell, $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	...	700	0	0

FASSADINING BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

235	0	0	{ Thomas Lovelace, etc.
54	0	0	{ Henry Webb
259	0	0	Duke of Ormonde, demesne land
830	0	0	{ Col. Danl. Redmund
			{ Lord Mountgarret

DESERT PARISH.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{ 671	0	0	Capt. Wm. St. George.
{			Patrick Archer.
10	0	0	Church land.
9	2	0	{ Capt. Wm. St. George
280	0	0	{ Sir Francis Gore
180	1	0	Bishop of Ossory
203	0	0	Henry Webb
496	0	0	Edward Purcell
363	0	0	Capt. Wm. St. George
90	1	8	John Parker ; Richard Reddy, 90a.
200	0	0	Richard Moore
1364	0	0	Duke of Ormonde, Demesne land

488	0	0	Lord Mountgarrett in fee
203	0	0	Henry Webb
800	0	0	Countess of Ormonde

300	0	0	{ Oh. Wandesford, Pt.
300	0	0	
226	0	0	
250	0	0	
800	0	0	

600	0	0	{ Earl of Ormonde, Demesne land
700	0	0	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILMOCAR PARISH.

(This out of the Civil Survey.)

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
The Lady Ormonde	Kilmocar 10th the appurt,	1300	0	0
	&c., $\frac{1}{4}$ of a horseman's bed	250	0	0
	Classduff ...	...	...	...
Edmd. Brenan McDonagh, John Brenan McGill- Patrick — Brennan and Jas. Brenan M'Donnell, Ir. Pa.	Skehanaduffe, $\frac{1}{3}$ part horse- man's bed ...	40	0	0
	
	
	
Christopher Wandesford, E. Prot.	The moyety of Ballinlinnin, $\frac{1}{34}$ of a horseman's bed ...	...	...	...

CASTLECOMER PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde.	Aghetobrid, $\frac{1}{8}$ part Hor. bed	600	0	0
Chris. Wandesford, Esq., Pt.	Moyhorow, $\frac{1}{8}$ do.	400	0	0
Do.	Dromaghedohir, $\frac{1}{17}$ do.	200	0	0
Do.	Moyety Ballylinin, $\frac{1}{34}$ do.	200	0	0
Do.	Knockanneshunagh, $\frac{1}{17}$ do.	500	0	0
Do.	Killdonoghnekillly and Skehanagh, 10th part	800	0	0
Do.	Ballylonane, $\frac{1}{50}$ do.	60	0	0
Do.	Loyne, $\frac{1}{12}$ do.	300	0	0
Do.	Crutt, $\frac{1}{17}$ do.	900	0	0
Do.	Conlencyor, $\frac{1}{12}$ do.	400	0	0
Do.	Keilnaboly, Skehana, $\frac{1}{8}$ do.	200	0	0
Do.	Gurtane, is included in Skehanagh aforstd.	100	0	0
Do.	Cloneyne, $\frac{1}{7}$ do. H. B.	900	0	0
Do.	Moneyroe, $\frac{1}{7}$ do.	800	0	0
Do.	Aghevicky and Crogh- tenely, $\frac{1}{7}$ do.	400	0	0
Do.	Crohenely, part Aghavicky	800	0	0
Do.	Ardragh, $\frac{1}{12}$ H. B.	400	0	0
Do.	Drumgooly, $\frac{1}{17}$ do.	300	0	0
Do.	Farran McCon and Acrelamour, $\frac{1}{100}$ do.	12	0	0
Do.	Bishopstown, $\frac{1}{100}$...	30	0	0
Do.	Castlecomer ...	2	0	0
Do.	A bawn and mill shore ...	...	...	...
Do.	Coolbawn & Dromgoyle, $\frac{1}{12}$...	250	0	0
Do.	A little store-house ...	...	...	...
Do.	Iron myne and cole ...	...	...	...
Countess of Ormonde, Pt.	Cloghvoylehed the $\frac{1}{18}$ H. Bed.	200	0	0
	An old stump of castle ...	...	...	...

FASSADINING BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

1300	0	0	} Lady Ormonde and Duke
250	0	0	
			} Christopher Wandesford, Pt.
40	0	0	
80	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land
600	0	0	} Christopher Wandesford, Pt.
400	0	0	
200	0	0	
200	0	0	
500	0	0	
800	0	0	
60	0	0	
300	0	0	
900	0	0	
400	0	0	
200	0	0	} Countess of Ormonde, Pt.
100	0	0	
900	0	0	
800	0	0	
400	0	0	
800	0	0	
400	0	0	
300	0	0	
12	0	0	
30	0	0	
2	0	0	
250	0	0	} Countess of Ormonde, Pt.
200	0	0	} Countess of Ormonde, Pt.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—DORROW PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	R.	.
Earl of Ormonde.	Dorrow	...	...	1338	0	0
Glebe.	In same	...	...	6	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Ballynesly	...	...	376	0	0

AGHARNEY PARISH.

Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Ballyconrath	...	...	610	0	0
	Parksgrove	...	...	350	0	0
Controv. between	Ballyconra and Seskin	...	...	64	0	0
The Landlord.	Seskin	...	...	725	0	0
	Lisdowney (80a.)	...	...	1357	0	0

BALLINE PARISH.

	Tentore	...	...	264	0	0
	Ballyringe	...	...	252	0	0
	Tefeighny	...	...	191	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Part of Balline	...	...	284	0	0
	Balline	...	...	408	0	0
	Garridage	...	...	316	0	0

COOLECASHIN PARISH.

Lord Mountgarret.	Pt. Coolcashin	...	...	494	0	0
Robert Roth, &c.	Of same	...	...	213	0	0
Robert Shea, Ir. Pa.	Of same	...	...	142	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Foyle	...	...	243	0	0
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Ballykirin.	...	...	430	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Henry Archer, and Robert Shea, Ir. Pts.	Part Coolcashin	...	...	89	0	0

FARTAGH PARISH.

John and Walter Grace Ir. Pts.	{ Ballyquidihy	...	...	325	0	0
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	Rathuakir	...	...	52	0	0

GALMOY BARONY.

A.	R.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
1338	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
6	0	0	Church land.
376	0	0	Bishop of Ossory, in right of his See.
610	0	0	Lord Vaux.
610	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
350	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
350	0	0	Ed. Stubbors, &c.
{ 32	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
{ 32	0	0	Edwd. Stubbors, &c.
{ 553	3	0	Lord Mountgarret.
{ 171	0	26	Ed. Stubbors, &c.
1357	0	0	Lord Vaux and Lord Mountgaarett.
264	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
200	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
51	0	0	Daniel Abbot.
100	0	0	Lord Mountgarrett.
191	0	0	Lord Mountgarrett.
284	0	0	Abell Warrowk.
284	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
408	0	0	Daniel Abbot.
408	0	0	Lord Mountgarrett.
316	0	0	Lord Mountgarrett.
379	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
470	0	0	Col. Daniel Abbott.
{ 56	0	0	Col. Daniel Abbott.
{ 62	1	28	Lord Mountgarret.
{ 124	2	12	Edwd. Glegg.
{ 314	2	29	Ed. Glegg.
{ 115	1	0	Lord Mountgarrett.
89	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
89	0	0	Col. Daniel Abbott.
{ 286	2	0	Capt. James Stopford.
{ 68	0	0	John Cuffe, Esq.
52	0	0	Capt. J. Stopford.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—FARTAGH PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
Sir E. Butler.	Fartagh ...	366	0	0
	Mustard's garden...	75	0	0
	Donnogh Duffe land ...	7	0	0
	Lathill ...	10	0	0
John Brian, Ir. Pa.	The mooyatie of Bawnrickine	63	0	0
Earl of Ormonde, E. P.	Ballespellan, $\frac{1}{12}$ H. bed, and			
	a old castle there and seven cabins ...	500	0	0
Earl of Ormonde, E. P.	Foulk's Court, 10th H. bed,			
	Thereunto belonging, $\frac{2}{3}$ do. }	1700	0	0
	Hath a castle and bawn aloted, 32 houses and cabins.			

EIRKE PARISH.

Peter Archdeacon.	Part of Moynemuck ...	282	0	0
John Bryan, Ir. Pa.	Rathbane ...	251	0	0
A turf bog belonging to	Adjacent towns 90a. Or. Op.			
John Bryan, Ir. Pa.	Whiteswall, 4a. ...	506	0	0
Ed. Shea, Ir. Pa.	Castletown 50a. ...	453	0	0
John Bryan, Ir. Pa.	Rathreagh ...	267	0	0
Richard Archdeacon.	Bawn Ballylough ...	353	0	0
Peter Archdeacon.	Ternomagan ...	49	0	0
In contro. with	Foulks court 70a. Or. Op.			
Peter Archdeacon.	Fretnestragart ...	37	0	0
John Bryan, Ir. Pa.	Wateysland ...	38	0	0
Glebe	Of Eirke ...	15	0	0
John Bryan, Ir. Pa.	Tankardstown ...	89	0	0
Peter Achdeacon.	Rathpatrick ...	133	0	0
	Pt. Brickanagh ...	92	0	0
John Bryan, Ir. Pa.	Pt. ye same ...	195	0	0
	Bawnemore ...	1310	0	0
	Do. 760a. ...	120	0	0
Bog belonging to				

URLINGFORD PARISH.

Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Urlingford ...	1483	0	0
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BURRESMORE PARISH.

(In C. Survey.)

Earl of Ormonde.	Borrismore ...	484	0	0
Otrov. between	Borrismore & Foulks court ...	48	0	0

GALMOY BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

366	0	0	Lord Galmoy. 366a. Phil Savage.
75	0	0	Walter Lawless.
75	0	0	Lord Galmoy.
7	0	0	Walter Lawless.
10	0	0	
63	0	0	James Bryan.
500	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land. 2,008a. H. Blades.
1700	0	0	
282	0	0	Captain Jas. Stopford.
251	0	0	James Bryan, &c.
506	0	0	James Bryan, &c.
453	0	0	Captain Jas. Stopford.
267	0	0	James Bryan, &c.
353	0	0	} James Stopford.
49	0	0	
70	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
37	0	0	James Stopford.
38	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
15	0	0	Church land.
89	0	0	} James Stopford.
133	0	0	
92	0	0	
195	0	0	} James Bryan.
1310	0	0	
120	0	0	
1483	0	0	Lord Vaux, in lease.
1483	0	0	Lord Mountgarret, fee.
484	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
48	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—RATHBEAGH PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Countess of Ormonde.	Cloane, Rathbeagh and Ackergare, $\frac{1}{2}$ H. bed	1400	0	0

BALLYCALLAN, PART OF TULLAGHAN AND PART

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Robert Forstall, Ir. Pa.	Ballyfrunke	544	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Currakehoe	605	0	0
Richard Shee, Ir. Pa.	Drillingstown	254	0	0
Countess of Ormonde.	Damagh	982	0	0
John Grace, Protestant.	Daragh	276	0	0
Countess of Ormonde.	Ballycally & Killballycallan	440	0	0
Glebe.	Same	2	3	0
Countess of Ormonde.	Ballykiefie and Killballykiefie, pt. of Tulloghan parish	831	0	0
Same.	Cooleshillmore, in Killaloe parish	234	0	0
Same.	Ballinebanogy, pcl. of Ballykiefie	80	0	0

KILMANAGH PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde.	Shortaghs Graige	221	0	0
Wm. Drilling, Ir. Pa.	Kilbregan	900	0	0
Countess of Ormonde.	Sheepstown	43	0	0
	Killmanagh	478	0	0
	Brittas Drilling	247	0	0
	Pottlerath	490	0	0
	Pt. Ballyclonine	37	0	0
Glebe.	Killeene	485	0	0
	Killmanagh	181	0	0

TULLAROAN PARISH.

Pierce Butler, Esq., I. P.	Boncestowne	290	0	0
James Shortal, do	Peccastowne	96	0	0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Corstown	354	0	0
	Brabstown	292	0	0

GALMOY BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

1400 0 0 Duke of Ormonde; demesne land. 1400a. Toby
Cawfield.

OF KILLALOE PARISHES.—CRANAGH BARONY.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

485	0	0	Sir Francis Gore.
89	0	0	Duke of Yorke.
605	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
{ 134	1	13	Sir Francis Gore.
{ 119	2	16	Earl of Essex.
982	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
276	0	0	Protestant land, John Grace. 278a. Hollow Blades.
440	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
2	3	0	Church land.
831	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
234	0	0	
221	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
{ 233	3	2	Thomas Newbrough.
{ 300	0	0	Dk. Ormonde, by ye name of Pottlerath & Drillingsland
{ 366	0	0	Earl of Essex.
43	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
478	0	0	
247	0	0	
490	0	0	
37	0	0	
485	0	0	} Church land.
181	0	0	
290	0	0	Sir Francis Gore.
{ 77	0	0	Captain Thomas Newbrough.
{ 19	0	0	Phill Sergeant.
{ 354	0	0	} Sir Francis Gore.
292	0	0	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—TULLAROAN PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	E.	P.
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Adamstown ...	241	0	0
Peter Roth, Ir. Pa.	A moyetie of Rathhely ...	424	0	0
Robert Shea, Ir. Pa.	A moyetie of Rathhely ...	253	0	0
Patrick Grace.	Ballyroe Grace ...	88	0	0
Robert Shea.	Pt. Ballyroe Shea ...	46	0	0
Comon to Ballyroe Shea, called by the name of	Monemudrae ...	78	2	0
Robert Forstall.	Gurtinmucke ...	10	1	0
Church land.	Tullaroan ...	2	2	0
John Grace, Protestant.	Pt. of Ballykindihy, Huntst- town, Oldtown, Tullaroan, Lisballyfroot, Brittasmore, Trenchardstown, Lisnelea, Ballileagh Gortnegap, Rath- mekan, failintaluu, contain- ing ...	5527	0	0
Countess of Ormonde	{ Knocken ...	210	0	0
	{ Briskallagh ...	47	0	0
	{ Ballaghloolouin ...	186	0	0
John Grace, Ir. Pa.	{ Courtstown with Rathdone and Ourroscathene, Mount. pts. thereof ...	500	0	0
Idem	{ Kile-Balliotra, wast., horse- man's bed, $\frac{1}{20}$...	100	0	0
Idem	Boggan, $\frac{1}{12}$ horseman's bed...	200	0	0
Idem	A butt of a small castle, 2 cabbins, mount. in commonage with Ballibeagh, 150a. ...			
	Ballycanmore ...			
	Horseman's bed, $\frac{1}{12}$...	150	0	0
	2 cabbins waste.			

KILLAHY PARISH.

John Grace, Prot.	Killaghy & Loughunny ..	931	0	0
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ORANAGH BARONY.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{ 62	2	0	Richard Moore.
{ 34	3	13	Phill Sergeant.
{ 11	0	0	Capt. John Sands.
{ 133	0	27	Earl of Essex.
{ 68	0	0	Capt. Charles Colles.
{ 160	0	0	Capt. John Sands. 424a. Hollow Blades.
{ 196	0	0	Earl of Essex.
			The whole, Lord Mountgarret.
253	0	0	{ Lord Mountgarret.
			{ Captain Thomas Newbrough.
88	0	0	{ Phill Sergeant.
46	0	0	
78	2	0	
10	1	0	Sir Francis Gore.
2	2	0	Church land.

5527	0	0	Protestant land, John Grace. Hollow Blades.
210	0	0	{ Duke of Ormonde
47	0	0	
186	0	0	
500	0	0	{ Hollow Blades.
100	0	0	
200	0	0	
150	0	0	

931 0 0 Protestant land, John Grace, P. Hollow Blades.

CO. KILKENNY.--BALLILARKAN PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

Ballylarkan	...	...	879	0	0
A Pcell in Tubrid Parish	...	...	18	0	0

CLONTUBRID PARISH..

Lord Mountgarret	The whole parish of Clontu- brid	}	495	0	0
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GLASHICRO PARISH.

Thomas Shortall, C. S.	Part of Sart	...	208	0	0
	Glashire and Brownestowne	...	342	0	0
Church land.	Of Glashire	...	20	0	0

FRESFORD, AND PART OF

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

Robert Shee,	Part of Freshford	...	573	0	0
	Upper Court	...	380	0	0
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Pallyroe	...	101	0	0
John Grace, Prot.	(Part of Freshford	...	94	0	0
	(Coolrahine	...	433	0	0
John Grace, Ir. Pa.	Anselmes Inch, together with				
	Inch beg	...	540	0	0
Id., Ir. Pa.	Croohill and mountain part of				
	Anselmes Inch	...	160	0	0
Earl of Ormonde, Pr.	Garran and Cloran	...	250	0	0

BALLENAMARA PARISH.

Katherine Archer, als.	{ Bootestown	...	236	0	0
Grace, Ir. Pa.	{				
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Amyette of Wellstown	...	69	0	0
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Amyette of Sart	...	203	0	0
Lord Mountgarret, Ir. Pa.	Rameenduff, part	...	26	0	0
John Cautrell, Ir. Pa.	Part of Rameenduff	...	24	0	0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Part of Ballyrochee	...	27	0	0
James Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Ballyneelan	...	58	0	0
Courtenay of Courtenay	...	...	351	0	0
John Grace, Protestant.	Galstowne	...	500	0	0
Major Thos. Adams, Prot.	Rathelly	...	631	0	0

CRANAGH BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

879	0	0	} Sir George Askew.
18	0	0	

{	260	1	18	Lord Mountgarret.
	234	2	27	Edward Warren, son of Abell.

208	0	0	Countess of Mountrath, Cr.
342	0	0	Sir George Askew.
20	0	0	Church land.

COOLRAHINE PARISH.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

573	0	0	} Sir George Askew.	
380	0	0		
{	98	2	9	Thomas Taylor.
	2	1	31	Thomas Hodges.
94	0	0	} Protestant land.	
433	0	0		
540	0	0	} H. Blades.	
160	0	0		
250	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesnes.	

122	1	0	Sir Ffrancis Gore.
113	0	0	Countess of Mountrath, Cr.
69	0	0	Sir Ffrancis Gore.
203	0	0	Countess of Mountrath, Cr.
26	0	0	} Lord Mountgarret, after reprise.
26	0	0	
24	0	0	St. Ffrancis St. George.
27	0	0	Countess of Mountrath, Cr.
58	0	0	Countess of Mountrath, Cr.
351	0	0	Duke of Ormonde, Protestant.
500	0	0	John Grace, Protestant.
631	0	0	Protestant land; Major Thomas Adams.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—BANNOGH, OR BANNAOUGH

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Bannogh ...	243	0	0
	Lough ...	240	0	0
	Ballycarran ...	142	0	0
John Rochford, Ir. Pa.	Carrigcane ...	142	0	0
	Killarre ...	334	0	0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Symon's land ...	18	0	0
	Symon's croft ...	1	2	0
	Symon's croft ...	2	0	20
Robert Shee.	Knockamiller ...	22	0	0
	Burgess land in Bannagh ...	162	0	0
Thomas Roth, Ir. Pa.	Ballydonnell ...	376	0	0
William O'Rorrick, John	Shine's Ragh, Board's land,	63	0	0
Rochford, Robert Shee,	pt. of Bord's heyes, Carri-			
Thomas Shortall, I. P.	geen, Symon's lands			
Richard Grace, Ir. Pa.	Cooleshillbeg, one moytie } thereof	84	0	0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Cooleshill ...	7	2	0
Richard Grace, Ir. Pa.	Cooleshill Commons ...	50	0	0
Ed. Roth, Ir. Pa.	Knockgrace ...	28	0	0
Com to all ye pish	Except Cooleshillbeg ...	209	0	0
Thomas Shortall.	Brownescroft ...	5	0	0
Countess of Ormonde.	A moytie of Cooleshillbeg, $\frac{1}{10}$	50	0	0
The Corporation of Kil-				
kenny, ppr. in anno. 1640.	Pt. Cooleshillbeg ...	3	0	0
The Lady Horsfall Deceas.	Purcell's garden, horseman's	120	0	0
Pa.	bed, $\frac{1}{10}$...			

TUBRID AND PART OF KILCOOLY

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Robert Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Tubride ...	560	0	0
	Oraddockstowne ...	209	0	0
	Pt. of ye same, Rathlevin...	42	0	0
Leonard Shortall.	Kildrinagh ...	28	0	0
	Monybranchvill ...	160	0	0
Richard Shee, Ir. Pa.	Shragh ...	206	0	0
Lord Ikerin, Ir. Pa.	Garnageale ...	151	0	0
John Grace, Ir. Pa.	Garryhiggin ...	170	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Garraconnell ...	26	0	0
Thomas Shortall, Ir. Pa.	Killobeallenemo ...	369	0	0
John Grace, Ir. Pa.	Ballynescarry, pt. of Garry-	109	0	0
	higgin			
Richard Shee, Ir. Pa.	Clanreagh, pt. of Shragh ...	21	0	0

PARISH.—CRANAGH BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

243	0	0	Countess of Ormonde.
240	0	0	Countess of Mountrath, Cr.
142	0	0	Id.
145	2	0	Id.
234	0	0	Countess of Mountrath.
18	0	0	} Countess of Mountrath.
1	2	0	
2	0	20	
22	0	0	Id.
162	0	0	
376	0	0	
63	0	0	
67	0	0	Sir George Askew.
17	0	0	Countess of Mountrath.
7	2	0	Countess of Mountrath.
50	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
28	0	0	} Countess of Mountrath.
212	2	0	
5	0	0	Same.
50	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne.
3	0	0	Corporacion of Kilkenny.
120	0	0	Hollow Blades.

AND PART OF BOELICKE PARISH.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

569	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
209	0	0	} Captain Charles Gore.
42	0	0	
28	0	0	
{ 41	2	27	
{ 118	1	13	Earl Essex.
206	0	0	Charles Gore.
151	0	0	Lord Ikerrin.
170	0	0	Charles Gore.
26	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
{ 241	0	0	Thomes Hodges.
{ 128	0	0	John Hodges.
{ 84	0	0	Charles Gore.
{ 25	0	0	Earl of Essex.
21	0	0	Charles Gore.

CO. KILKENNY.—TUBRID AND PART OF KILCOOLY AND

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
Hierome Allexander, Pt. Newtowne, in Kilcooly Parish, in County Tipperary.	...	210	0	0
Oromegreny, pt. Boolick Parish, Barony of Slevardagh	... ..	120	0	0
Church land of Kildrinagh	... ..	3	2	0

CLOMANTAGH, PART OF JERPOINT

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
Lord Mountgarret.	Ologhmantagh	1011	0	0
Thomas Shortall.	Ballyrone	285	0	0
	Lands in controverse	20	0	0
Nicholas Shortall.	Loghunstowne	209	0	0
Thomas Shortall.	Killrush	441	0	0
The same,	{ Of Ballyene	44	0	0
	{ In same	36	0	0
	{ In same	44	0	0
Nicholas, aforesaid, of Loughunstowne	... ..	25	0	0
Lord Ikerrin.	Ffoorkill, in Carnageale	93	0	0
Gleab of	Clomantagh	10	0	0

PART OF FFARTAGH PARISH.

Thomas Shortall.	Killeshullan	756	0	0
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PART OF JERPOINT ABBEY.

Earl of Ormonde.	Garrannemannagh, Garra and Oloean	284	0	0
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CANICE PARISH.

David Rooth, Ir. Pa.	Troyswood	15	3	25
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Thornbacke			

PART OF BOELIOKE PARISH.—ORANAGH BARONY—
Continued.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

210 0 0 Sir Hierome Alexander, Pt.

120 0 0 Lord Ikerrin.
 3 2 0 Church land.

ABBAY OF FARTAGH PARISH.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{ 711 0 0 Lord Mountgarret.
 { 299 3 0 Lt. Arthur St. George.
 { 134 2 0 Sir Ffrancis Gore.
 { 150 2 0 Earl of Essex.

209 0 0 Sir Ffrancis Gore.
 347 2 0 Lt. Arthur St. George.
 93 2 0 John Hodges.

93 0 0 Lord Ikerrin.
 10 0 0 Church land.

{ 224 0 0 Arthur St. George.
 { 529 0 0 Lt. Arthur St. George.
 { 2 2 34 Earl of Essex.

284 0 0 Duke of Ormonde ; demesne lands.

KILKENNY LIBERTIES.

15 3 25 }
 32 0 0 } Capt. Thos. Evans.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—CANICE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Robert Shee, Henry, Arthur, Richard Rooth, and Richard Lawlor.	} Keatingstowne	...	301	0 0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Bricksheys	...	94	1 16
The heirs of Rich. Rooth.	Donningstowne	...	95	0 0
John Rochford, Ir. Pa.	Ardagh Maule	...	42	1 0
Henry Archer and Thos. Shortall,	} Cloran	...	290	0 0
	{ Ballishea	...	120	1 0
Robert Shea, Ir. Pa.	{ Lackenlonty	...	152	2 0
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	Cappaghmore	...	77	1 0
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Bonnestown	...	228	1 0
Thomas Savage, Ir. Pa.	Redmond's inch	...	4	2 28
Robert Shee and Robert Murphy, Ir. Pas.	Goosehill	...	18	3 0
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	Croker land	...	6	0 0
Richard Lawless, Thomas Savage, John Pore, and Thomas Gasney.	} Lowsybush & Longshanter	...	94	2 20
Robert Shee, Ir. Pa.	Cooleroagh, with divers pells	...	103	2 0
David Rooth and Henry Archer.	Robertshill	...	9	2 0
Nicholas Archer.	Quirribeg	...	13	2 0
George Shee.	Mauren's Meadow	...	13	1 0
Elinor Rooth. Micheals	} Grantstowne	...	56	1 0
Archer, Geo. St. Leger, and M. Sweetman.	{ Corshill	...	22	0 0
	{ A common	...	40	2 12
John Dowlan.	...	...	47	2 0
	Roothe's Parke	...	35	0 0
	Little Killerby	...	20	0 24
Richard Lawless, Ir. Pa.	Talbot's inch	...	158	2 8
Church land.	Coule Grange	...	155	3 36
Church land.	Rathington	...	36	1 0
	Belonging to ye Corporacion	...	237	2 0
Bishop's Hill and	Meadow	...	6	2 0
	Newparke	...	144	0 0
Priest's Parke	...	...	3	0 30
	Bishop's Hill	...	59	2 0
Major Adams.	Newtowne	...	530	1 24

KILKENNY LIBERTIES—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

47	0	0	James Stopford, Esq.
238	3	1	Capt. Thos. Evans.
65	0	27	Walter Lawless.
94	1	16	} James Stopford, Esq.
95	0	0	
42	1	0	
{ 127	0	0	Patrick Archer.
{ 163	2	7	Capt. Jas. Swynnock.
{ 32	0	0	Charles Wheeler.
{ 88	0	0	Arthur Crumpe.
{ 12	0	0	Sir Chas. Wheeler.
{ 64	0	0	Richard Pratt.
{ 89	1	20	Capt. Jas. Swynnock.
77	1	0	Patrick Archer, after reprove.
228	1	0	Ralph Hennick.
4	2	28	Captain Thomas Evans.
18	3	0	Bishop of Ossory.
6	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne lands.
94	2	20	Bishop of Ossory, in right of ye church.
39	2	0	Col. William Warden.
9	2	0	Idem.
{ 4	2	0	James Stopford, Esq.
{ 9	0	0	Thomas Burrell.
13	1	0	Thomas Burrell.
56	1	0	Do.
22	0	0	James Stopford.
27	0	21	Capt. Thos. Evans.
35	0	0	Col. William Warden.
20	0	24	Thomas Burrell.
158	2	8	Walter Lawless.
155	3	36	Church land.
36	1	0	Bishop of Ossory.
237	2	0	Church land.
6	2	0	Walter Lawless.
144	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
144	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
3	0	30	Church land.
59	2	0	Church land.
530	1	24	Protestant land. Major Adams.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—CANICE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

		A.	R.	P.
Countess of Ormonde.	A parke	247	0	0
The same.	Palmerstown	140	0	0
	Gardens in St. Mary's and St. Canice Parishes, next ye citty walls			

ST. PATRICK'S PARISH.

(Part of this parish is forward.)

	Danceing meadow	36	3	0
Thomas Archer Ir. Pa.	{ Archer's Grove & Broadfields	141	0	4
	{ Pt. of Archer's Grove	5	0	4
	{ Baneloskerry	11	0	20
Peter Shee.	Part of Bauldsculo	25	1	30
Nicholas Cowley.	{ Rathmore	53	3	0
	{ Part of Rathmore	11	2	0
Peter Archer, and als.	Houlding's Knocke	25	2	19
Peter Shee, Ir. Pa.	{ Boacallan	9	1	0
	{ Raggotsland	10	0	0
David Roth, Hen. Archer and als. Thomas Archer, Daniel Martin's, Nicholas Orainborough, and others	{ Knockbulkin's cald furz and other pells	111	2	9
	{ Loughbeg park, Brother's land and John's Parke	72	1	0
	{ Knockmore	33	0	0
Peter Fitzgerald and Walter Barron.	Downhowbeg and Downhow- more	26	2	0
Robert Shea, Ir. Pa.	Banemowe and Baggotsbarone	29	0	9
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	Archer's lease	145	3	2
Nich. Cowly, Roth Fitz- John, and Peter Shee.	{ Conger and Baggot's meadow	14	0	0
	{ Raggot's parke and some small pells			
Henry Archer, Peter Shee, John Nash, Oliver Watson, Cr.	{ Bonecurro	38	3	12
	{ A pcell of land	12	1	0
George Shee and others, Ir. Pas.				
Nicholas and Roger Archer, John Rooth FitzEdward.	{ The Nine Parkes	27	0	16
David Rooth, Ir. Pa.	Snelling's Rath	156	2	0

KILKENNY LIBERTIES—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

247 0 0 Protestant land.
 140 0 0 Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.

12 0 0 Thomas Burrell.

36 3 0 }
 141 0 4 } Duke of Ormonde.
 6 0 4 }

25 1 30 Thomas Hogg.
 { 3 1 0 }
 { 62 0 0 } Sir Charles Wheeler.
 25 2 19 Thomas Hogg.
 9 1 0 Church land, as alledged.
 10 0 0 Col. Daniel Redmond.

111 2 9 James Stopford, Esq.

72 1 0 William Ivory.
 33 0 0

26 2 0
 29 0 9
 { 124 0 17 James Stopford.
 { 21 2 5 Peter Archer.
 { 7 0 0 Thomas Hogg.
 { 7 0 0 Corperacion, as alledged.

22 0 2 Capt. Thomas Evans.

33 2 0 William Ivory.

4 1 0 Thomas Burrell.
 8 3 0 Thomas Burrell.
 Duke of Ormonde.

118 2 0 James Stopford, Esq.
 39 0 0 Overington Blunden.

CO. KILKENNY.—ST. PATRICK'S PARISH.—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.				A.	R.	P.
George Shee	Olone morne	...	...	87	1	24
Shrub, wood and timber	in the same	...	...	30	2	4
Commons belonging to—	Selling's Rath and Olomorne	...	...	54	2	16
Id.						
Id.	Margaretsfields	...	...	33	2	24
David and John Roth	Drakesland	...	...	195	2	16
Shrubby wood	In same	...	...	62	0	0
David Rooth, Ir. Pa.	Killkrine	...	...	224	0	0
Woods belonging	to the same	...	...	22	3	32
Peter Fitzgerald's	In Houlding Rath	...	...	84	1	28
Pasture in	Drackland	...	...	12	0	0
Thomas Lee	{ Sence	...	...	92	1	0
	{ Ballynelouagh	...	...	137	0	0
	{ In Houlding Rath	...	...	54	1	0
George Shea, Ir. Pa.	{ In same	...	...	31	2	0
	{ Of same	...	...	31	0	0
Church Lands	Deanesfields	...	...	48	0	15
Countess of Ormonde		...	...	294	3	0
James Langton, Ir. Pa.	Scalls Park	...	...	5	2	0

ST. JOHN'S PARISH.

Michael Cowley, Ir. Pa.	Radistowne	...	...	431	1	29
The wood of	Radistowne	...	...	57	0	38
The woods belonging to	New Archer's and Brownstown	...	...	71	0	8
Wood belonging	to New Orchard	...	...	46	0	10
Michael Raggot	New Orchard	...	...	94	1	0
William Shee, Ir. Pa.	Garrycreene	...	...	80	0	0
Peter Shee FitzEdward	Leggattsrath	...	...	60	1	7
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	Galos als. Gallehill	...	...	51	0	0
Wm. Marshall and Thomas Archer	{ Cellerstowne Alter.	...	...	59	2	0
Nicholas Nash, Ir. Pa.	Banesland	...	...	71	0	0
Richard Tobbin, Ir. Pa.	Buckansland	...	...	118	0	18
Jas. Langton FitzNicholas and Richard Purcell	{ Low Cellerstowne	...	...	125	1	0
Thomas Archer and Sir Edwd. Blanchfield	{ Archer's Rath and { Blanchfield's Land	...	...	140	0	34
Thomas Ley, Ir. Pa.	Sherlock's Land	...	...	62	0	24
William Shee, Ir. Pa.	Fennell's hill, 2a. Abbey land	...	...	126	1	20

KILKENNY LIBERTIES — *Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

87	1	24	} Overington Blundell.
30	2	4	
39	0	0	} James Stopford.
1	2	0	
			Capt. Stephen Hales.
12	1	28	} Capt. Thos. Evans
24	1	28	
65	2	0	} Oliver Wheeler.
224	0	0	
22	3	32	} Capt. Thomas Evans.
52	1	0	
92	1	0	Thomas Burrell.
137	0	0	Jas. Stopford.
54	1	0	} Capt. Thomas Evans.
31	2	0	
31	0	0	
48	0	15	Church Land.
294	3	0	Countess of Ormondo.
5	2	0	James Stopford.
338	0	0	James Stopford
93	1	15	Oliver Wheeler
57	0	38	Sir Charles Wheeler.
46	0	10	Sir Charles Wheeler.
94	1	0	Oliver Wheeler.
80	0	0	Capt. John Pennyfether.
60	1	7	Capt. Arthur Helsham.
51	0	0	Do.
59	2	0	Do.
71	0	0	Do.
118	0	10	Do.
125	0	0	} Martin and Richard Shee.
7	0	0	
32	3	3	} Capt. John Pennyfether.
7	1	31	
70	0	0	} Capt. Arthur Helsham.
62	0	24	
16	0	0	} Duke of Ormondo.
111	1	26	
			Capt. A. Helsham.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—ST. JOHN'S PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A. R. P.		
Wm. Sweetman, William Shee, Walter Seix, Edw. Ryan, Peter Shee, and Walt. Mothy	Towne ditch	19	2	0
Ptk. Murphy, Walter Seix, and Wm. Oranesborough	Whitesparke and Gortnefey	14	0	0
Walter Seix, and William Oranesborough, afsd.	Whiteway	4	0	36
Henry Archer	Banemore	38	0	0
	Ooolagh, Baston Ffierries	11	2	0
Walter Seix.	Seix land	51	3	6
Patrick Murphy, Robert Shee & Edward Archer.	The Theif Croft and Clonesnagh	31	0	0
	Curled garden with other small pells	11	0	0
	Part of Garceny	29	0	0
	Of the same	72	2	14
	Of the same	72	2	14
Corporacion lands.	Maudlin's meadow, & Gortbracke	4	2	0
	Part of Scurlockstown ...	10	3	10
	Downing's Inch & Maudlin's land	25	0	3
	Bonin's Rath	152	0	0
Michael Oooley.	Part of Brownestown ...	39	0	0
	Of the same	60	0	0
	Of the same	325	0	0
	Inch	91	1	0
	Longe Medrum	330	0	0
Kilkenny Corporacion.	Gladoring, Ardnemurry ...	116	2	28
	New Orchard	10	0	0
	Abbey land	8	0	0
Notwithstanding yt ye here underwritten surrounds have been set forth by ye Oomra. to ye disbanded soldiers in 1655, in satisfaction of their arreares notwithstanding said pcells were not returned by ye adventurers	Jas. Langton, Scald Parke ...	5	2	0
	Peter Fitzgerald, Knockouse	19	3	34
	The great Croffe, Tinon's garden and other gardens, being concealed. ...	10	0	0
	Thomas Archer and others, Archer-street and Fleming-street	21	0	0
	Thomas Savage and others, The small quarries, 2 parks, 14 small gardens, Mary Hill, New Garden, and St. Canice Well	87	2	0

KILKENNY LIBERTIES.—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

19	2	0	}	Capt. John Pennyfether.
14	0	0		
4	0	36	}	Oliver Wheeler
38	0	0		
11	2	0		
{	20	0	36	Captain John Pennyfether.
}	20	3	6	Oliver Wheeler.
31	0	0		Captain John Pennyfether.
11	0	0		Francis Rowledge.
29	0	0	}	Capt. John Pennyfether.
74	2	14		
4	2	0	}	Corporacion land.
10	3	10		
35	0	3		
152	0	0		
39	0	0		
60	0	0		
325	0	0		Protestant land.
91	1	0		Michael Cooley.
330	0	0		
{	17	0	0	Oliver Wheeler.
}	99	2	28	Corporacion land.
5	2	0		William Ivory.
19	3	34	}	
10	0	0		
21	0	0		
				Duke of Ormonde.
87	2	20	}	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—ST. JOHN'S PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

	In high Hayes and low Hayes with hopp garden ...			
	Graige Shannon, next to Clonmote ...	16	1	3
	A pcell of land lying west of Ormonde lease ...			
	A pcell of land adjoining to ye town wall from St. Pat. gate ...			
	A pcell of land near Ormonde's orchard ...			
	Taylor's inch ...			
	Tullorothan als. Tullaroan ...			
	Smith's Graige, Courtstown...			
	Purtill's garden ...			
	James' Park ...			
	Loughshanter & Lowyabush Ballycoranin furry ground ...			
	Irishtown als. wast ...			
Earl and Countess of Ormonde.	Loughmedrane ...	250	0	0
Id.	Bennets rath ...	100	0	0
Id.	3 pts. Brownstowne ...	230	0	0
Henry Mainwaring.	Purcell's Inch ...	100	0	0

ST. MARY'S PARISH.

Daniel Rooth, Ir. Pa.	A pcell. of land next ye citty wall ...	6	0	0
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PART CANICE'S PARISH.

Com. commons without pprs. in 1640.	Watt's wall ...	30	0	0
James St. Leger, I. P.	Fennerstown & Kilbrennell...	486	0	0
Henry Archer, Ir. Pa.	Cappaheragh and pt. Ardana- granee ...	80	0	0
Thomas Savage, Robert Shee and Richd. Lawless, Ir. Pas.	{ 3 closes, 14 small pcells of garden plots .. }	18	0	0
Jas. Archdeacon, Ir. Pa.	9 pcells. of land called by the name Mary Hill and new garden ...	10	0	0
Thomas Savage & Thos. Gastney, L. P.	Skohybush and Loughmecaiske	16	0	0

KILKENNY LIBERTIES—*Continued.*

A. B. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

3 0 0 Captain John Pennyfether.

16 1 3 Captain James Stopford.

14	0	0	}	Duke of Ormonde.
1	0	0		
4	0	0		
2	0	0		

				John Grace
8	0	0	}	Walter Lawles.
18	0	0		
7	0	0		
8	0	0		

250 0 0

100 0 0

230 0 0

100 0 0 Henry Mainwaring, Pt.

530 1 24 Geoffrey St. Leger.

CO. KILKENNY.—PT. ST. CANICE'S PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
David Rooth and Robert Shee, I. Pa.	The qr. of land pt thereof called Bodell Chamberland's crofts, with other pcls ...	22	0	0
Henry Archer and Peter Rooth Fitzjohn, Ir. Pa.	The qr. of land from the Black mill pond unto St. James' Green ...	6	0	0
David Rooth, Esq. I. P.	The qr. land lying betwixt St. James' Greene and St. Rock's Greene ...	26	0	0
Id.	The small quarries ...	24	0	0
Id.	Buts ...	38	0	0
Thomas Lee, I. P.	Ballynelyragh ...	80	0	0

GRAIGE PARISH.

Sir Edw. Butler.	{ Graige ...	800	0	0
	{ Ooolroe ...	568	0	0
	{ Balliogan ...	518	0	0
James Kelley.	Old Grange ...	416	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler.	Moneing ...	440	0	0
	Glancome ...	362	0	0
	Rahinedonowe ...	1029	0	0
Pierce Butler.	{ Aghclare ...	136	0	0
	{ Thukervane ...	369	0	0
	{ Ooppinagh ...	705	0	0

ULLARD PARISH.

Sir Ed. Butler.	Ullard ...	522	0	0
Edmd. Ryan.	Knockballyrubbock ...	45	0	0
Earl of Ormonde, Teige Ryan, Ed. Ryan, Teige Baccagh Ryan, Ir. Pas.	{ Ologhasty and knockbarron	201	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler.				
Sir E. Butler, Jas. Ryan, Jeffrey Ryan, and Chris. Ryan, Ir. Pa.	Ballymurragh ...	47	0	0
Ed. Blanchvill & Morgan Ryan.	Barnenoddan ...	89	0	0
Jeffrey Ryan.	Milltowne ...	197	0	0
	Ballygriffin ...	145	0	0

KILKENNY LIBERTIES—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

GOWRAN BARONY.

				652a. James Agar.
				582a. Hollow Blades.
800	0	0	} Lord Galmoy.	
568	0	0		
518	0	0		
416	0	0	} Lord Galmoy and his lady.	473a. Hollow Blades.
440	0	0		
362	0	0	} Lord Galmoy.	
1029	0	0		2013a. H. Blades.
136	0	0	} Lord Galmoy.	
369	0	0		
705	0	0		
{	292	0	0	Francis Quince.
	130	0	0	Lord Galmoy, being $\frac{1}{4}$ part.
	57	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.
	45	0	0	Thomas Dermot.
	40	0	0	Micheale Fletcher.
{	40	0	0	William Campion.
	121	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
	47	0	0	} Lord Galmoy.
	89	0	0	49a. Hollow Blades.
	197	0	0	} Sir Charles Wheeler.
	145	0	0	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—ULLARD PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. B. P.

Edmd. Ryan.	Ballyshanboy	...	...	216	0	0
James Ryan, Ir. Pa.	Killeene	...	...	164	0	0
Peirce Shortall.	Graignescarry als. Knock- neborderly (this, by the Civil Survey is in Graige Parish)	...	...	107	0	0

POWERSTOWNE PARISH.

Lord Ed. Butler.	{ Powerstowne	...	...	232	0	0
	{ Garrantibbott	...	...	94	0	0
	{ Gurteene	...	...	242	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Dromroe	...	...	51	0	0
Redmond Archdeacon.	Garryhibbert	...	...	52	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler.	Garranleasagh	...	...	42	0	0
Leonard Blanchville and and Pierce Shortall.	Annalacke	...	...	252	0	0
Sir E. Butler.	Cooltogher	...	...	142	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler, Ed. Ryan and John Ryan.	{ Curraghlane	...	...	321	0	0
Murragh Ryan and Ed. Ryan.	{ Stackally	...	...	203	0	0
Jeffrey Ryan.	{ Tenekilly	...	...	120	0	0
	{ Tennehahy	...	...	138	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler, Murragh Ryan & Jeffrey Ryan.	{ $\frac{3}{4}$ of Ahilty	...	...	238	0	0
Redmond Archdeacon and Edmd. Ryan.	Boherquill	...	...	172	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler, I. Pa.	Knockanroe, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a horse- man's bed	...	...	
Edward Butler, Edmd. Ryan, Murragh Ryan, and Dan Ryan.	{ Pollagh	...	...	293	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler, Edmd. Ryan and Edwd. Ryan.	{ Tencouse	...	...	59	0	0
Ed. Ryan & Jas. Kelly.	Coolenesbrony	...	...	131	0	0
Edmd. Bianchvill.	Groshinongga	...	...	56	0	0
Sir Edmd. Bianchvill.	Cernetagalty	...	...	109	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A.	R.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
{	162	0 0	Col. Daniel Redmond, in trust.
	13	0. 0	Idem, in his own right.
	41	0 0	Thomas Dermott.
	82	0 0	Thomas Dermott.
	82	0 0	Do.
{	35	3 33	Lord Galmoy.
	71	2 27	Wm. Cheshire.
{	232	0 0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
	94	0 0	
{	130	0 0	Michael Jones.
	40	2 0.	Lord Galmoy.
	72	0 0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
	51	0 0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne lands.
	52	0 0	Michael Jones.
42	0 0	Lord Galmoy.	
252	0 0	Michael Jones.	
142	0 0	Lord Galmoy.	
{	160	2 0	John Hurd.
	160	2 0	Lord Galmoy.
{	191	2 36	Sir Charles Wheeler.
	11	1 11	Lord Galmoy, being $\frac{1}{16}$ part.
120	0 0	Charles Merredith.	
138	0 0	Michael Jones.	
{	158	0 0	John Hurd.
	2	0 0	Lord Galmoy.
172	0 0	Michael Jones.	
20	0 0	C. S. (not forftd).	
{	68	0 0	Lord Galmoy.
	225	0 0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
19	0 0	Lord Galmoy.	
37	1 0	Charles Hawkins.	
25	2 27	Michael Jones.	
{	16	1 13	John Hurd.
	52	1 28	Sir Charles Wheeler.
	36	0 27	Charles Merredith.
56	0 0	Michael Jones.	
109	0 0		

COUNTY KILKENNY.—POWERSTOWNE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

Redmond Archdeacon, Jas

Blanchville, Sir Ed.

Butler.

Ballycabbiss

...

...

87 0 0

JERPOINT PARISH.

(Part of Jerpoint in Cranagh Barony.)

Earl of Ormonde	{ Jerpoint	...	...	678	0	0
	{ Baweskoighy	...	...	303	0	0
Sir Richard Butler	{ Plebearstowne	...	...	368	0	0
	{ Desertbeg	...	...	216	0	0
Gerald Grace, Ir. Pa.	Ballylinch	...	...	309	0	0
Gerald Grace	Legan	...	...	386	0	0
Gerald Grace	Rathduffe	...	...	324	0	0

INISTEAGE PARISH.

Richard Butler of Kil-	{ Killmacshane	...	...	380	0	0
cash, Ir. Pa.	{ Balliduffe	...	...	129	0	0
	{ Coolereney	...	...	154	0	0
Richard Butler, afsd.	Cooleroe	...	...	183	0	0
Earl of Ormonde	Boghilhay	...	...	192	0	0
Richard Strange	Ballycacksouse	...	...	426	0	0
Lord Mountgarret	{ Ballivole and Balligogan	...	...	247	0	0
Oliver Watson						
Richard Power	Powerswood	...	...	395	0	0
Henry Archer	Ballygallon	...	...	524	0	0
Mrs. Fitzgerald, F.	Coolesillagh	...	...	29	0	0
Henry Archer, Cappagh		...	...	182	0	0
Nicholas Dobbin	{ Rosroe	...	...	
	{ Kilkeran	...	...	219	0	0
	{ Fedanaraby	...	...	160	0	0
Earl of Ormonde	Killcrosse	...	...	486	0	0
The aforesaid pt.	of Inisteage Libertys	...	...	33	0	0
Earl of Ormonde, Epr.	Lisnemanaght, $\frac{1}{32}$ Hor. bed	...	...	200	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

87 0 0 Lord Galmoy.

678	0	0	}	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
303	0	0		
355	0	0		Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
216	0	0		Do.
{ 9	0	0		Col. Daniel Redmond.
{ 300	0	0		Do.
{ 34	0	0		Do.
{ 112	0	0		Robert Mihill.
{ 240	0	0		Col. Daniel Redmond.
324	0	0		Robert Mihill. 56a. Hollow Blades.

380	0	0		Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
129	0	0	}	Joseph Deane.
154	0	0		
183	0	0		Joseph Deane.
192	0	0		Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
426	0	0		Joseph Deane.
71	0	15		Lord Mountgarrett.
78	3	25		Cornt. Richard Whally.
97	0	0		Idem, Balligogan.
395	0	0		Joseph Deane.
{ 400	0	0		Joseph Deane.
{ 124	0	0		Nathaniel Cooper.
29	0	0		Joseph Deane.
182	0	0	}	Nathaniel Cooper.
130	0	0		
{ 183	2	26		Sir Charles Wheeler.
{ 35	1	14		Nathaniel Cooper.
{ 106	2	27		Christopher Render.
{ 33	0	13		Bishop of Ossory.
486	0	0		Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
33	0	0		Lord Mountgarret.
200	0	0		Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—THOMASTOWN LIBERTIES.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
Hen. Denn, Rob. Dobbin and Owen Fennel	} Smithstown ...	335	0	0
Burgers of	Thomastown als Carrickamony	859	0	0
Archdeacon	Drangan ...	58	0	0
Thomas Denn	Grennan ...	386	0	0
Robert Shortall.	Brownesbarne ...	202	0	0

COLLUMKILL PARISH.

Edmond Dobbin and Jas. Cooley.	Collumkill ...	478	0	0
Edmond Dobbin.	Ballynarry ...	171	0	0
	Killcollan ...	126	0	0
Thomas Denn.	Ballyroe ...	70	0	0
Pierce Cuddy.	Killmurry ...	205	0	0
Id.	Killjames ...	299	0	0
James Cooley.	Killbeg ...	36	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	{ Jackstown ...	63	0	0
	{ Lisnomaught ...	160	0	0
Nicholas Dobbin,	Rosroe ...	174	0	0
Peirce Cuddy, Ir. Pa.	Mumcody als. Munge ...	230	0	0

KILFANE PARISH.

John Cantwell,	{ Stroane ...	339	0	0
	{ Killfane ...	865	0	0
Robert Forstall.	Castlegarden 20 ...	534	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

{ 194	0	0	Christopher Hewetson.
9	0	0	Thomas Burrell.
{ 132	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
313	0	0	Christopher Hewetson.
113	0	0	Duke of Ormonde.
343	0	35	Charles Meredith.
40	0	0	Lord Galmoy.
58	0	0	Christopher Hewetson.
384	3	11	Anthony Stanpe.
			Thobald Den, 1a. 9r. 29p.
134	2	27	John Nixon.
52	2	17	Thos. Dickinson.
478	0	0	Oliver Tallent.
171	0	0	John Stopford.
126	0	0	Idem.
70	0	0	Theobald Denn; Col. Wm. Warden.
205	0	0	William Warden and Richard Reddy.
129	0	0	Lord Fitzharding.
149	2	0	Richard Archdeacon.
20	0	29	Col. Wm. Warden.
			Pierce Butler.
36	0	0	{ William Warden
			{ Peirce Butler.
63	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
160	0	0	Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.
122	0	0	Oliver Tallent.
52	0	0	Duke of York.
178	2	0	Oliver Tallent.
51	2	0	Duke York.
339	0	0	{ Walter Jones.
			{ Arthur Upton.
{ 237	2	26	Jacob Cormocke.
475	1	14	John Bush.
{ 152	1	5	Thomas Lestrang; 152 William Keating.
25	1	10	Charles Houbert.
{ 143	3	25	Thomas Lestrang.
339	0	0	Richard Carney.
{ 20	0	0	Bishop of Ossory.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILFANE PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.

A. R. P.

John Cantwell	Clostreggy	...	...	413	0	0
Glebe land.	In this place	...	...	22	0	0

DUNGARVAN PARISH.

Peter Shortall, John Archdeacon, and Redmond Archdeacon	} Dungarvan	...	...	496	0	0
Redmond Archdeacon and William St. Leger		} Ologlee	649	0	0
Peirce Dobbin	Jenkin's Garden		83	0	0
Patrick Forstall	Killmanehine	...	...	351	0	0
John Archdeacon	Rahinroth	...	...	617	0	0
Ed. Ryan, Ed. Sweetman and Redmd. Archdeacon	} Bodalmore and Closduff	...	...	72	0	0
Edward Butler		Neigham	301	0	0
Peter Shortall	Orockerneabtcoge	...	...	22	0	0
Glebe in	this Parish	...	...	29	0	0
Countess of Ormonde	Bramblestown, $\frac{1}{4}$ hors. bed	...	...	800	0	0

TULLOHERIN PARISH AND KILLERNEY PARISH.

Bishop of Ossory	Ballyneboley	...	...	411	0	0
Mary Fitzgerald	Nashtowne	...	...	181	0	0
Bishop of Ossory	{ Tulloheerin	...	...	488	0	0
Peter Shortall		Bishop's Lough...	...	743	0	0
Thomas Denny	Kilbline	...	...	581	0	0
Lady Ormonde	New House	...	...	355	0	0
	Part of New House, $\frac{1}{16}$ Horseman's bed	...	...	200	0	0

KILLERNEY PARISH.

Edmd. Blanchville	Bennetsbridge in 4 surrounds	...	...	238	0	0
Earl of Ormonde	{ Tradeingstowne	...	...	202	0	0
		Woolen Grange in two surrounds	...	457	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A.	B.	P.	NEW PROPRIETORS.
{ 274	2	8	Jacob Cormeck.
{ 32	2	27	William Burgess.
{ 24	1	13	Richard Carney.
{ 81	1	2	Bishop of Ossory.
22	0	0	Church land.
496	0	0	Sir Charles Merredith
{ 171	2	14	Duke of York
{ 224	0	0	Charles Merredith
{ 253	1	38	Adam Loftus
83	0	0	Ad. Loftus
351	0	0	Charles Merredith
{ 513	0	0	Charles Merredith
{ 104	0	0	Duke of York
72	0	0	Charles Merredith
22	0	0	Charles Merredith
29	0	0	Church land
800	0	0	Protestant land—Duke of Ormonde
{ 92	0	0	Coll Dan. Redmond
{ 274	0	0	Bishop of Ossory, being $\frac{2}{3}$.
{ 43	3	13	Charles Merredith
{ 42	3	10	Capt. Thos. Evans
{ 87	2	26	Godfrey Pert
{ 6	2	31	Adam Loftus
488	0	0	{ Bishop of Ossory, in right of ye Church
743	0	0	
581	0	0	Duke of York
355	0	0	Coll. Wm. Warden
200	0	0	Countess of Ormonde, Pt.
238	0	0	Edwd. Blanchard; 210—Hollow Bl.
202	0	0	{ Duke of Ormonde, Domesne land.
457	0	0	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—KILLERNEY PARISH—*Continued.*

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
Gerrald Grace	Killerney ...	124	0	0
Earl of Ormonde	Straines in two surrounds ...	49	0	0

DUNBILL PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde	Dunbill ...	786	0	0
James Kelly	Woolingstowne ...	159	0	0
Sir Edward Blanchvill	Shegerstowne and Currine ...	225	0	0

BLANCHFEILDS AND SMYTHSTOWN PARISH.

Edmd. Blanchvill	{ Blanchvillstown ...	380	0	0
	{ Blanchfeilds Kill ...	222	0	0
	{ The other part of ye same ...	418	0	0
	{ Smythstown ...	258	0	0

BLACKRATH AND PART OF ST. MARTIN'S PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	B.	P.
Nicholas Nash	Higginstowne ...	365	0	0
Thomas Tobbin	Lyrath ...	116	0	0
Peter Shortall	Highrath ...	292	0	0
Sir Edmd. Blanchville	Maddockstown ...	288	0	0
The Prebend	Blackrath ...	8	0	0
Peter Shortall	St. Martin's ...	44	0	0
Thom. Denn	Rathmore in 2 surrounds ...	271	0	0
Earl of Ormonde	A pell. of land and mill in Maddockstown ...	12	0	0
Glebe Land	In this Parish ...	16	0	0
Thos Denn & Mary Denn	Lowvistowne (Lavistowne)...	117	0	0

TEIGHISCOFFIN PARISH.

Henry Archer	Castlewarren, etc. ...	1361	0	0
Robert Shee	{ Graigecodrigg ...	468	0	0
	{	518	0	0
James Blanchfield	Rathcosh, 1 acre ...	92	0	0
Countess of Ormonde	The other 1/2 of Rathcosh ...	88	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

124	0	0	Robert Mihill		
49	0	0	Duke of Ormonde		
.					
786	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ;	Demesne lands	
159	0	0	Lumley Thellnell		
225	0	0	Edward Blanchvill.	290a. Hollow Blades	
.					
380	0	0	} Ed. Blanchvill	652a. 223a	} Hollow Blades.
222	0	0			
418	0	0			
258	0	0			
.					
365	0	0	} Lord Rannalagh		
116	0	0			
292	2	0	Charles Merredith		
288	0	0	Edward Blanchfield.	336a. Hollow Blades.	
8	0	0	Church land		
44	0	0	Lord Rannalagh		
153	0	2	Joseph Cuffe		
118	0	0	Duke of Ormonde		
.					
12	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ;	Demesne land	
16	0	0	Church land		
117	0	0	Waltr. Lawless		
117	0	0	Richard Shee		
.					
97	0	0	Andrew Ram		
627	2	27	John Hatch, Richd. Reddy,	105a.	
154	0	0	Coll. Carey Dillon		
69	0	27	Richard Moore		
308	0	26	Duke of York		
462	0	26	Dame Eliz. Butler		
468	0	0	} B Land		
518	0	0			
80	0	0	George Say, &c.		
12	0	0	Ed. Blanchvill.	12a. Hollow Blades.	
88	0	0	Duke of Ormonde, Protestant		

COUNTY KILKENNY.—CHURCH OLARAH PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Sir Edmd. Blanchfeild	Church Olaragh in 2 surrounds	208	0	0
	{ Brickinclaragh ...	310	0	0
Hen. Archer ppr. in 1640, O.S.	{ Upper Olaragh	436	0	0
	{ Killmogar ...	337	0	0
James Blanchfeild	Rathgarvan ...	269	0	0
Henry Archer	Ounnygan ...	144	0	0
Peirce Shortall	Baunemore ...	122	0	0
Glebe	in this Parish ...	19	0	0

KILDERRY PARISH AND RATHCOOLE.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Nicholas Purcell	Ballysallagh ...	758	0	0
Elinor Shortall	Agha—184a. ...	575	0	0
Sir John Temple, Prot.	287a. ...	...	...	...
The Lady Temple E. Prot.	Kilderry, $\frac{1}{8}$ hors. bed ...	200	0	0

RATHCOOLE PARISH.

John Cantwell	Cantwell's Court ...	417	0	0
Nicholas Cantwell	Carrigeene ...	277	0	0
John Cantwell, junior	Kilkerane ...	448	0	0
John Cantwell	Cantwell's Garden ...	206	0	0
John Cantwell	Tulloghbrine, 428a. ...	753	0	0

KILMODUM PARISH.

Phill. Purcell, Ir. Pa.	Ballyfoyle and Glenballyfoyle	855	0	0
Phill. Purcell.	Cloifowke ...	360	0	0
Michael Oooley, Ir. Pa.	Glanbill als. Knockanpish als. Knockaneredritty, being poll. of Ballyfoyle ...	32	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

208	0	0	Ed. Blanchfield, etc.	208a. Hollow Blades
310	0	0	James Stopford	
147	0	0	Thomas Throgmorton	
{ 16	0	0	Jacob Cormock	
{ 21	0	0	Duke of York.	24a. Hollow Blades.
251	2	20	Henry Johnson	
{ 151	3	13	Sir Charles Wheeler	
{ 84	3	13	Robert Grimshaw	
{ 136	1	14	Thos. Throgmorton	
269	0	0	Earle of Anglesey	
144	0	0	Patrick Archer.	142a. Marmaduke Coghil
{ 77	0	0	Jacob Cormack	
{ 45	0	0	Duke of York	45a. Hollow Blades
19	0	0	Church Lands	

308	2	27	William Gumbell	
150	0	0	Mark Moulde	
299	0	0	Bishop of Ossory	
575	0	0	Sir John Temple	
287	0	0	Protestant land.	Sir John Temple
200	0	0	Lady Temple, Protestant	

417	0	0	} Lord Rannalaghe	
277	0	0		
437	1	13	} Do.	
10	2	9		
13	0	0	Tobias Cramer	
190	0	0	Thomas Throgmorton	
{ 572	3	26	Arthur St. George	
{ 142	0	14	Duke of York.	142a. Richard St. George
{ 38	0	0	Lord Rannalagh	

855	0	0	Tobias Cramer.	
360	0	0	Edward Purcell.	

COUNTY KILKENNY.—UPPER GRANGE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.

			A.	R.	P.
Ed. Butler.	Dominee	... ..	700	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Butler's Grove	... ..	264	0	0
	Castle-kelly	... ..	291	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler, Ir. Pa., O.S.	Upper Grange	... ..	500	0	0
Id.	Lower Grange	... ..	1060	0	0
	Barren mountain als. Old				
	Abley	... ..	400	0	0
Lord Mountgarret.	Gilliah	... ..	10	0	0
Sir Ed. Butler, Ir. Pa.	Ackerrynemanagh $\frac{1}{8}$ H. bed.				

SHANKILLE PARISH.

Richard Kelly.	Ballytorsney	... ..	120	0	0
Peirce Burren, Peirce Shee and John Comberford.	Ballymacaughlin...	... ..	1038	0	0

Henry Archer.	Ballygurteene	... ..	1293	0	0
Sir Walter Butler, Ir. Pa., in O.S.	Ballyvaldin	... ..	240	0	0
Do.	Shankill, $\frac{1}{2}$ horseman's bed		500	0	0 O.S.

KILLMAOAHILL PARISH.

Earl of Ormonde.	Killmacahill	... ..	146	0	0
	Shraghgaddy	... ..	184	0	0
Henry Acher.	Ballinvally	... ..	786	0	0

James Kelly.	Blanchfield's Park	... ..	589	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Ballyquerke	... ..	303	0	0
Sir Wal. Butler, ppr. 1640	Garryduff, $\frac{1}{2}$ horseman's bed		400	0	0
Id.	Powlestowne and Fordans- towne, $\frac{1}{2}$ horseman's bed	... ..	500	0	0
Earl of Ormonde.	Butler's Grove, $\frac{1}{2}$ hms bed	... ..	375	0	0
Do.	Castlekealy, $\frac{1}{2}$ do.	381	0	0

DONMORE PARISH.

Countess of Ormonde,	Donmore, $\frac{1}{2}$ horseman's bed		860	0	0
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GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

700	0	0	Lord Galmoy.
264	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde.
291	0	0	
500	0	0	
1060	0	0	} Lord Galmoy.
400	0	0	
10	0	0	
12	0	0	Lord Mountgarret.
			Church land.
120	0	0	Sir Theophilus Jones.
167	2	35	} John Mallocke.
66	0	29	
147	1	34	Charles Houlecroft.
132	1	19	Quarter-Master Wm. Foord, Richard Reddy, 132a.
337	1	13	Lord Thomas Conway.
187	0	0	John Lord Colville.
1293	0	0	Theo. Eaton, &c. ; Richard Reddy, 1293a.
			Dame Eliz. Butler.
240	0	0	Col. Sankey.
			Dame Eliz. Butler.
1072	0	0	Sir Richard Butler.
146	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
184	0	0	
499	3	20	Col. Sankey.
140	0	0	Sir Richard Butler.
138	3	10	Dame Eliz. Butler.
8	1	10	Robert Arundell.
589	0	0	Edmd. Blanchfield. 524a. Hollow Blades.
303	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.
433	0	0	Sir Richard Butler.
500	0	0	Do.
375	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde.
381	0	0	
860	0	0	Duke of Ormonde ; demesne land.

COUNTY KILKENNY.—WOOLEN GRANGE PARISH.

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Earl of Ormonde, Prot.	Woollen Grange, $\frac{1}{4}$ hms. bed	400	0	0

GOWRAN PARISH.

(This whole Parish out of

OLD PROPRIETORS.		A.	R.	P.
Earl of Ormonde.	Ballyquirke, $\frac{1}{8}$ h. bed	200	0	0
Earl of Ormonde, ppr. 1640	Ballyshanmore $\frac{1}{8}$ h. bed	160	0	0
Id.	Castle Ellis, $\frac{1}{4}$ do.	30	0	0
Do.	Haggard-street, $\frac{1}{12}$ do.	150	0	0

GOWRAN BARONY—*Continued.*

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

400 0 0 Duke of Ormonde; demesne land.

the Civil Survey.

A. R. P. NEW PROPRIETORS.

200	0	0	Duke of Ormonde
160	0	0	} Duke of Ormonde.
39	0	0	
150	0	0	

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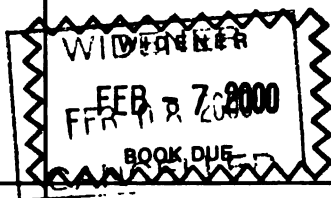


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